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THE

NORTH BRITISH REVIEW.

No. XXXV.

FOR NOVEMBER, 1852.

ART. I .- Report of Her Majesty's Commis- been done by either to supersede any com-University and Colleges of Oxford; toge in or from without. ther with the Evidence, and an Appendix, London, 1852.

VOL. XVIII.

sioners appointed to inquire into the State, ments which we may venture to offer on the Discipline, Studies, and Revenues of the aspect of the question as viewed from with-

Though the proceedings of judicial Westminster and dependent Oxford are still in dubio, there is, we believe, no doubt that Two years ago we reviewed the history, the Report has been well received. Even existing condition, and future prospects of the more advanced section of the Liberal the University of Oxford, on the occasion of press has spoken of it as forming a favourthe appointment of the Royal Commission able exception to the vacillation and feebleof Inquiry. That Commission has now laid ness of most of our parliamentary literature the result of its labours before Parliament -even the prejudice of High Church journaland the public, in the shape of a Blue Book ism admits that it is able and well-conof more than 700 pages. The document appeared at a time of happy omen for the abolition of old things and the introduction of the course not to be expected that the The late House of Commons was microscopic gaze of the clder Conservative redrawing its last legislative breath, while the sidents should not have discovered some flaws arraigned University was witnessing the intellectual as well as moral, in a document close of another academical year—an epoch affecting their interests, yet not emanating which, like similar periods in that individual from themselves in whole or in part. Nor which, like similar periods in that individual from themselves in whote or in part. Nor life which is regarded as so exact a parallel can we wonder that the publication should to the existence of corporations, may be charitably supposed to be sacred to self-two doubtful Reformers who are disappoint-examination and resolutions of amendment. On the large self-two doubtful Reformers who are disappointed in the large self-two doubtful which may be sport to the one or death to the other. Before these pages reach our readers to the other. Before these pages reach our readers to the other, the two bodies, if not both, will other conclusion. At the first glance it is have met for the despatch of business—evident that the Commissioners have a summoned by the inexorable requirements thorough acquaintance with their subject, of University routine, or the more capri- both in its history and in its philosophy; cious dictates of Lord Derby's sense of de-cency. But whenever Parliament may as- is now going on in Oxford, and as historical semble, the temporary pressure of political students, what has been found possible there perplexities, no less than the invariable in former times, they are not blind to those slowness of Oxford movements, is a suffi- less limited visions which represent an ideal cient guarantee to us that nothing will have but seldom contemplated by English minds

-the University of the Future. But it is not lectual character of the Society might have to the authors of the Report alone that the been benefited by the elevation of Mr. public has to render its acknowledgments. Pattison to the Rectorship. Mr. Wall's the University; and the proportion holds which are making Balliol College as pre-More than fifty gentlemen of academical intellectually and socially. Nor ought we that the general sense of men of onlighten- University. There is beside a considerable ment should be ascertained; and there is variety of dissertations on special points, besides much direct testimony to special Mr. Denison contributes some valuable resuch as professors and tutors of colleges. fostering the study of law in Oxford, and The result is, that the country has been precould have been made under the circum- legal knowledge to bear on the questions of direct proportion to the reputation enjoyed that he might have made an excellent lawcomprehensive observation and mature re-Jowett, Or to take an instance of men, the University, Mr. Wilkinson, the unknown ditated on the condition of his Alma Mater Merivale, late Professor of Political Economy, and Under Secretary for the Colonies. directly than to leave it to be inferred from academical celebrity did not require any additional support; but we would thank him most warmly for the profound thought, austere enthusiasm, and lofty eloquence, which would commend his evidence to general attention, even if regarded merely as ledge, and energy, as are now engaged in a piece of composition. The rare judgment pleading for its reformation. and practical power shown in Mr. Temple's elaborate and systematic exposition will the Report, we shall not be required to besatisfy the public that it is fortunate in stow an equal share of notice on every part having secured the services of such a man as of it. Much space is naturally devoted to a Principal of the Training College at Kneller historical account of the University and the tracted to the unfortunate disputes at Lin- to our readers as sufficiently clear, vigorous, coln College, recently made matter of pub- and complete. To enter upon this, how-

One half at least of the bulky folio is occu- answers will enable practical men out of pied with the evidence of other members of Oxford to judge of the ability and zeal good no less morally than materially, eminent economically as it has long been station and recognised ability have come to forget the brief but decisive statement in forward to state their views on a number of which Mr. Lowe, the new member for Kidquestions, indicated by the Commissioners derminster, disposes of certain educational as those on which it was most important fallacies which yet haunt the mind of the facts by persons officially qualified to speak, marks on the propriety and possibility of Dr. Acland does the same for medicine. sented with a collection, as complete as Mr. Neate, on the other hand, brings his stances, of pamphlets on University matters the permanent obligation of founders' wills, by the best authors, especially addressed to and the management of College property; readers of the year 1852. These, as might while the indefatigable Mr. Wilkinson adds be supposed, are in many cases distinguished a postscript on the visitatorial power of the by striking ability, and that not always in Crown over the University, which proves by the various writers in the world without; yer himself. But it is the merit of the so that the further advantage is gained of whole collection, rather than that of its sevefamiliarizing people with the names of men ral parts, which constitutes, in our view, its who have hitherto deserved rather than at-chief claim to attention. As we turn over tained notoriety. The past experience of its pages, we feel that one thing at least is the Archbishop of Dublin, though unfolded demonstrated indisputably-that the princiwith characteristic acuteness, shows less of ples and objects, as well as the multifarious details, of University education, are in the flection than the present impressions of Mr. main thoroughly understood by Oxford men in the nineteenth century. Educators, reboth of whom have long been absent from cluse students, and men of the world, have combined to produce a work which England Rector of Broughton Gifford, Wilts, has me can present to Paris or Heidelberg, in the confidence that it will be received with with much more profit than Mr. Herman respect, even by those whose superiority in some essential points it frankly acknowledges. We feel that if the Academical It is pleasanter, however, to award praise citadel be susceptible of defence against the anti-educational influences of the day, there invidious comparisons. Professor Vaughan's is no lack of hands to defend it. Nay, we doubt whether Oxford conservatism could vindicate itself better than by pointing to this very Blue Book, and insisting on the fact that the old system has been found capable of producing so much intellect, know-

In passing on to a closer examination of Those whose attention has been at- Colleges, which we can safely recommend licity, will now see how greatly the intel- ever, would be only to repeat a considerable

of the conclusions which appeared to follow as practical corollaries from our view of the past, to prove again that the Universities are national, and that College property is not private property. It is a satisfaction to have a regular legal statement like Mr. Dampier's on the subject of collegiate trusts, as an answer to those who prefer the letter to the spirit of the constitution; but little good would be done by attempting an analysis of it for the benefit of persons already convinced that proved abuses are their own condemnation. We purpose, then, at once to dismiss all that has reference to the principle of the inquiry, both as having already received such consideration as it was in our power to give, and as being virtually settled by the institution of an inment be fairly made a matter of debate in or out of Parliament, the superstructure of practical suggestions resting on the admitted hypothesis of University and Collegiate re-

The first recommendation of the Commissioners, as might be surmised, is, that the University be relieved from the chains in which, two hundred years ago, it was bound hand and foot by the serpent wisdom of Laud. What is the precise extent of its present bondage is indeed not absolutely clear. In 1759, the Heads of Houses were desirous of altering one of the Laudian statutes, and found no difficulty in getting lawyers to assure them that no act of the University could possibly have deprived it of a privilege once belonging to it. But the eminent counsel of 1759, like the cminent counsel of 1851, failed to remove the scruples of men who asserted that the opinion, however consolatory in the abwho accurred that in depriving Dr. Hamp-inden of the rights secured to the Regius Pro-fessor of Divinity by the Laudian Code, the University had, in the eye of the law, forfeited its charter. The practice of the forfeited its charter. The practice of the University, it appears, has been a singular attempt at compromise, analogous to the policy which the Colleges have observed with regard to their own statutes. Three

part of our former Article, as the general of the Laudian statutes have been detached results aimed at by the Commissioners, are, from the rest and treated as inviolable, we are happy to say, the same as our own, while the others have been explained, disand our limits will not allow us to lose any pensed with, and even abrogated at pleasure time in the by-ways of antiquarian detail. —a distinction for which the Commission-Neither will it be necessary to reiterate any ers profess themselves unable to discover any authority. Under these eircumstances they suggest that steps should be taken to ascertain the legal position of the University, and that, if necessary, indemnity should be granted for the past and liberty for the future. If there be any prudence in the academical mind, we do not see how this suggestion can be regarded as otherwise than well-timed. The best course for Oxford in general may be to remain quiet and avoid public notice; but it must surely be more advisable to accept an obligation from the English Parliament than to run the risk of a crushing collision with the English Law.

This antecedent disability removed, the thing which comes first under question is the academical constitution itself. Of the three insurmountable statutes that which estabquiry at all, and so to occupy ourselves lishes the government of the University of with the only part which can in our judg-course is one. Unchanged itself, the Hebdomadal Board has been the arbiter of all change-of the many corruptions which the lapse of two centuries and the decay of learning and enthusiasm have introduced, and of the few remedies which have been applied to meet the disease. And now at last, when it is put on its trial before the University which it has governed so long, its condemna-tion is all but unanimous. The one exception proves the rule most unmistakably. "It is, however," the Commissioners gravely say, "that of an eminent man who is himself a member of the governing body," a sentence adroitly worded, so as to leave it doubtful whether the meaning is that an eminent man is more or less entitled to a hearing on account of the position which has at once given him a personal knowledge of the system and a personal interest in maintaining it. Doubtless, however, all the other Heads of Houses, if they could or would speak, would assure the world that the University has no chance of getting on without them. The ominous silence of Dr. Macstract, did not meet the precise facts of the case. At any rate, a directly contrary opinion was given in 1836 by Lord (then Sir John) Campbell, and Dr. Lushington, who declared that in depriving Dr. Hamp may also be set down to the good taste of self from the meetings of the Commission | men actively employed on the spot-to judgment of one of the privileged few.

during this part of their deliberations, as was throw out a statute which nine-tenths of them done by one of his colleagues, on a subse- would be puzzled to explain, or to degrade a quent occasion, to avoid the operation of theologian for an elaborate work known to personal bias; so full credit ought to be gi- them only by a few garbled extracts, and ven for the value of his adhesion. When even those imperfectly apprehended. It is we read (Report, pp. 11, 12) that "it is not a question of universal suffrage, of the anomalous that the government of this great Braintree rabble versus Major Boresford, institution should be committed to persons, strange as it would be that the Tory Univer-the great majority of whom are elected by sity should set so high a value on the poputhe fellows of the separate colleges out of lar voice. The masses of England are ditheir own narrow circle, often for reasons of rectly interested in the leading questions of a personal or social nature, and with little English politics; they are alive to the impoor no regard to the welfare of the Universi- sition of taxes, and naturally anxious about ty," and, "more anomalous still, that the their appropriation. But the masses of Oxliterary interests of the University should ford cannot be said to be concerned in a be committed to persons who are not neces-system with the working of which they have sarily chosen for literary qualifications," it is nothing whatever to do, and to the support important to recollect that these are words of which, in spite of their slender yearly in which the instinctive sentiment of the un- payments, they will not venture to pretend privileged many is ratified by the deliberate that they contribute anything. As members of the nation, they may justly claim to ex-After this unprecedented concurrence of creise a certain general control over the seats opinion, sanctioned by authority so unim- of national education; but that is already peachable, we may be spared the necessity secured to them in Parliament and in public of arguing against the Hebdomadal Board, opinion. The cause of Convocation is not It constitutes, in fact, the climax of the great the cause of academical self-government, but corruption of Oxford, the superseding of the the reverse-the cause of interference from University by the Colleges, though the ad- without, and that not by a qualified funcvocates of the collegiate system are second tionary, but by a miscellaneous multitude-a to none in their expressions of hostility to thing to which the worst democracies, so far this last development of the usurpation as we know, supply no parallel. Nothing, which they so strennously abet. But while we fear, short of a coup d'état could sweep the evil is palpable, the cure, as the Com- it away altogether: but we hail with delight missioners themselves feel, is not so clear. any measure which tends to counteract its Wisely, in our opinion, they reject the simplest of the expedients proposed—that of debating and amending all propositions submitted to its vote." So far from it, they would abridge the powers already possessed by that unruly and unenlightened body. We have since been told that "the shutting up of the great council" imperils "the heritage of Alfred and de Montfort:" but these magniloquent antiquarianisms fail to convince us of the desirableness of encumbering the academical legislature with a large body of persons in most cases originally incompetent, and further disqualified by lengthened absence from the place which is to be affected by their legislation. The Universities, as things now stand, are far too the affected by their legislation. The Universities, as things now stand, are far too the accretificate of real merit; but as it is the length of the contents of the contents of the contents of the contents of the care the sound the "stable oligarchy of the Ilebdomadal Board." It has been proposed to regenerate the Board itself either by encaptured the sound along the proposed to regenerate the Board itself either by encaptured the sound along the proposed to regenerate the Board itself either by encaptured to be differed and de Montfort: but the heritage of Alfred and de Montfort: but the heritage of Alfred and de Montfort: but the heritage of the commissioners feel, and we think with justice, that neither plan would answer the desired end—the one as involving the making an invidious and possibly ineffications distinction, while it would leave the whole is the proposed to regenerate the Board itself either by engreenate the Board itse Wisely, in our opinion, they reject the sim- injurious efficiency. However, the only alincora in conterring a degree which ought to the ascendily of re-be a certificate of real merit; but as it is the gents, which, as we explained formerly, was country which is mainly in fault, so it is the once a living reality, and is now an existing country which mainly suffers by the lower-nullity. As regency now implies not teach-ing of the standard. But the disgrace be-comes flagrant and cruel injustice when this indiscriminate assemblage of graduates is as well as emancipation. It is suggested summoned to Oxford to neutralize and over-that it should consist of the heads of houses whelm the bona fide votes of distinguished and proctors, the professors and public leewith it.

turers, (a class which, as we shall see, the and the means of acting on them, but the Report proposes considerably to increase.) whole subject of University Extension. The and the senior tutor of each College. This, former part of it, however, though infinitely assembly is to meet not regularly but by difficult to grapple with in practice, necessaheads, or of a certain number of its own members, and to deliberate in English on such matters as fall within the province of the University. The Hel domadal Board is to remain, independently of its position in total congregation, for the purpose apparently of nothing else, succeeds in securing to a small to remain, independently of its position in Congregation, for the purpose apparently of nothing else, succeeds in securing to a small transacting administrative business, and of exercising the initiative just mentioned. Convocation, too, is to remain, in its present condition of a Lower House, receiving and (if it pleases) rejecting but not discussing bills, and electing the chancellor and the burgesses, though not the professors. This elemency, as we have said, we are inclined to grudge; nor do we sympathize with that which continues to the Hebdomadal Board an abbreviated authority. It is true that heads of Colleges, if deprived of their university functions, would find a large part of their occupation gone, and their offices would in consequence fall considerably as objects of ambition; but this cannot be helped, if fully both in the Report and in the Evidence, indeed it would not be a positive advantage. The influence which the Commissioners sioners, and others interested in education, would leave them is somewhat indeterminhad reflected on the subject, and felt its diffiate; but we see no medium between an opeluly. But about extravagance there is a pressive fact and an unmeaning fiction. We good deal more to be said. The respectation, too, there is some academical pedantry ble public has of late years become awake in the notion of formally retiving an institute the fact, that to have a son hampered tution which has been a count maximum since with collected deals of the control of the collected and the control of the collected and the collected are the collected as the collected and the collected are the collected as the collected are the collected as the collected are the collected as the collected are the collected are the collected as the collected are the collected ar the notion of comany revising an institution which has been a coput mortuum since with college debts is exceedingly inconvenient. Reformation, as if it were absolutely neighbor of a cannot University and College authorities change clearly good in itself, as if such presenting the proceedents, when not followed literally, but strained to admit large modifications, could a question which, as it seems to us, they do really be said to retain any appreciable his not themselves regard as a very profitable reany oe sant to retain any appreciation instructions used in the tion such nominal revivals, as concessions to such nominal revivals, as concessions to serupulous lawyers or timid Conservatives; that no debt shall be recoverable from a but, on the other hand, they have a fatal minor in statu pupillari, unless the bills tendency to encourage, what in Oxford needs shall have been sent in within a certain time of the property of mo encourage, what in OADM needs shall have been sent in within a certain time on encouragement, that distrust of new remedies which, as Bacon remarks, is the surest way of incurring new diseases. Still, it is by them as indirect, strikes us as much more well to be thankful for what we can get; so to the purpose—the summary removal of we will not quarrel with the boon of Congregation either for its name or for its concomes the pinch. Would the respectable correlates but account in the hore that the abilia surest the authorities in thing and comitants, but accept it in the hope that the public support the authorities in taking such old form may prove a new power, strong stringent measures? in other words, Would enough to control the two most uncongenial it be wise enough to see that the less proelements which are still suffered to co-exist mising part of the rising generation must be sacrificed to save the rest? We fear not. The discipline of the University is the "Ces peres de familie sont capables de natural pendant to its administration. This tout:" and though ready enough to speak of question, as treated by the Commissioners, their grievances as a class, they feel and act is a very wide one, embracing not only the as individuals. Some would talk of eruelty condition of the present race of students, and injustice, others of ill-judged and impertinent interference. And if the result | given after a deliberate consideration of the were, as it probably would be, a visible diminution of numbers even in the most flourishing Colleges, would principals and vice-principals have the strength of mind to perceive that this failure was probably temporary, to be followed by a return of public confidence equal in quantity and increased in quality a hundred fold, and that in any case their duty to the youth of England is to be performed not by lowering themselves to its standard, but by raising it to theirs? We suspect that the Committee of Heads of Houses in 1846, in declaring that little would be done by direct interference, was not sorry to discourage an activity which might lead to unpleasant consequences. "Malumus regnum vastatum esse quam damnatum," is a hard saying—perhaps more than can be expected from any whose convictions are not of equal strength with the bigotry that originally uttered it. Yet Arnold was found to declare, that while it was not necessary that Rugby should be a school of 300, or 100, or 50 boys, it was necessary that it should be a school of Christian gentlemen; and it would be humiliating to think that such sentiments were utterly unknown to the officials of his own University. Certainly no better answer could be given to the complaints of parents than the announcement of a resolution to purify the College atmosphere till it could be safely breathed by the weak and inexperienced. The onus would then be thrown on society, which would have to bear it as it best might. the Commissioners, which, supported as it is by the great bulk of the evidence, will, we trust, encounter but little opposition-the abolition of all academical distinctions of rank and wealth. After ages will hardly credit, that up to 1852, Oxford so far encouraged some of the worst tendencies of the English character, as to accept extra fees from as many of its students as thought it worth their while to go to the expense, and grant them in return a measure of exemption from that moral and intellectual discipline which, on general grounds, she declared to be essential.

On the subject of University extension our own opinious have already been expressed too fully to need repetition. It must be confessed, however, that both the Report of the Commissioners and the great body of the evidence are decidedly against us. When we are despondent they are sanguine. We do not wish to underrate the importance of such an accumulated weight of testimony. But we should have thought

arguments that present themselves on the other side. We never disguised from ourselves that on this point we were dissenters from the catholic faith of University reformers; we only felt that we had protestant reasons to render for our dissidence. Thus, when we find that neither the Commissioners nor the mass of their supporters appear to have been insensible of the difficulties which struck us as not only grave but insuperable, we can hardly think our position altered from what it was in November 1850. Mr. Clough, late Fellow and Tutor of Oriel College, and afterwards Principal of the new Hall in connexion with the London University, is the only one whose adhesion to the orthodox belief seems to be based on a full consciousness that there are two sides to the question. But against his testimony we may set off that of Mr. Mansel, Fellow and Tutor of St. John's College, whose views as nearly as possible coincide with those hazarded by ourselves. No allusion is made to this part of his evidence in the Report: while Mr. Clough, though quoted at length, as liaving "well argued the whole question," is appealed to, not in answer to objections actual or possible, but simply in con-firmation of a sentiment assumed to be universally prevalent. We will give such extracts from the arguments of both these gentlemen as may enable our readers to judge of them positively as well as comparatively.

After stating the presumption which the Meantime there is one recommendation of increase of commercialism affords against the success of any attempt to extend the University, Mr. Clough proceeds,-

"Though there certainly is a good deal of reluctance to allow much time for education before business, yet it seems to be true that the opposite feeling gains ground. If fathers are on one side, mothers are on the other. It is not uncommon for a merchant to send his son abroad, after leaving school, for a year's experience of the world. The apprenticeship both for solicitors and merchants, it is said, might be abridged with advantage. Indefinite fears of extravagant and dissipated courses, the notion of unfit habits and ideas and uscless studies and tastes, would undoubtedly operate long enough to make the change extremely gradual. But if those fears are, as I believe them to be, exaggerated, and that notion only half true, experience would surely, however gradually, lessen the former and modify the latter. The sphere which already includes the London banker would presently be extended over other commercial classes. More and more young men, sons of the more affluent parents, destined for business, would be brought under the influence of the ancient rational education. more highly of it if it had obviously been There would perhaps be a pressure for earlier

admission than is now usual. Yet the data of of knowledge is not the best means of gaining University or King's College, London, must not practical experience in one only, general Univerbe overstrained. They prove, perhaps, that sity extension is in this respect a backward, not classical and mathematical instruction, even a forward step. . The Church is about when modified for modern views, is not a sufficient attraction. But Oxford and Cambridge do not apply; partly because clerical duties are have others. On the whole, I venture to conclude that there are a great many young men clude that there are a great many young men means of pecuniary competition, and partly be-who ought to come to the old Universities, and cause the canonical period fixed for ordination who would come. What keeps them away is, I believe, rather the want of confidence than the race of life. And it must be allowed that the actual amount of expenses. Single colleges, I lendency of late years has been to make the Unitedneys of late years has been to make the Unitedneys of late years has been to make the Unitedneys of late years has been to make the Unitedneys of late years has been to make the Unitedneys of late years has been to make the Unitedneys of late years has been to make the Unitedneys of late years has been to make the Unitedness of late years have been to make the Unitedness of late years have been to make the Unitedness of late years have been to make the Unitedness of late years have been to make the Unitedness of late years have been to make the Unitedness of late years have been the want of late years have been the late years have been the want of late years have been want of late years have be am told, in which confidence is felt, are applied versities, in an educational point of view, chiefly to by numbers, who, if refused admission there, on to come to the University at all. I would fortune who need no profession. In this respect suggest to Her Majesty's Commissioners the analogy of the public schools. Twenty years great degree regulated by the relations of supply analogy of the public schools. Twenty years ago somewhat of a similar feeling prevailed and degree regulated by the remaions of suppry ago somewhat of a similar feeling prevailed and demand for labour in one particular department. And this has always appeared to me to be years as greatly extend the University system as the last have the public schools? I do not at all say that these as they now are perfect, but they are extensively useful; and any change the B.A. degree were the end of a man's natural, which averaginges shall prove to be needed will be a second or suppry and the provided of the control of the second of the s which experience shall prove to be needed will as it generally is of his academical, life. Were not knock at those doors altogether hopelessly. The vesse is in motion, and its course may be guided. And certainly, if I may judge by personal recollections of the conduct of that can you do with your man when you have educations of the conduct of that can you do with your man when you have educations of the conduct of that can you do with your man when you have educations of the conduct of the first years, under the most vigorous and effective of the reconstructing hands, a good deal of unfearing experimentation may and should in such cases be hazarded."—Evidence, pp. 212, 213, quoted in Report, p. 97.

On the other hand, Mr. Mansel says,-

"I do not think that any great scheme of University extension is practicable in the present day. The whole current of society appears to be set-ting in an opposite direction. In an age of great competition of all trades and professions, few parents will send a son to spend three years at the University in the general enlargement of his mind, when he might be concentrating his faculties in his own business in the office, the counting-house, or the surgery. It gives his competi-tors too great a start in the race of life. Nor would this be in any great degree obviated by making University education more professional. The University must undertake to supply all the technical details of each special apprenticeship, or she will be unable to compete with any as a training-school for money-making. Such a teach-ing of technicalities is not desirable, and, what is more to the purpose, it is not practicable: the working part of every business will be best learned on the spot where it is exercised. Even as regards theoretical study, I believe that the minute cultivation of special departments of knowledge is as incompatible with the local not carry him very far. Their history during grouping of all on the same spot, as with the last twenty years proves that it is possi-possession of universal information by a single ble to introduce with success considerable mind. A study, to be cultivated with real zeal, changes into an old established system of must be the study of the place. Each separate instruction, supposing external circumstances

not, like those of other professions, a direct change, during what may be called its eight cated him? Is it really a charity to fit him for one walk only in life, to give him much general cultivation of mind, but little special means of bread-making; to turn him out too poor to associate with his equals in culture, too cultivated to associate with his equals in purse? Will Church extension meet the supply? and are very poor curates the most desirable or the only practicable means of Church extension? or is it expedient or practicable to introduce, as is largely the case in Germany, a body of family tutorships as a provision for poor scholars; in other words, to combine on a large scale the education of a gentleman with the condition of a servant? And will not the victim occasionally wish that dignity had been sacrificed to comfort, and that he had been sent behind the counter?"-Evidence, pp. 19, 20.

In one respect Mr. Clough's opinion is the more valuable of the two, as being presumably the result of a more extensive experience, the judgment of one who knows London as well as Oxford. We suspect, however, that distance lends enchantment to his view of the prospects of his original Alma Mater. Against the fact of an undeniable tendency he has little to offer beyond surmises and possibilities. The analogy of the last twenty years proves that it is possimust os the study of the piace. Learn separate instruction, supposing external circumstances branch tends in its progress to acquire, not merely its own special devotees, but its own special locality. If the whole tendency of the age is to education as the means of earning a living, it, relatively to that purpose, practical experience is relatively to that purpose, practical experience is orbing to prevent a reform in the public everything, and if centralization of all branches attached to the status quo. If the reactionary | tures, are improvements which will suit Oxagreed with Mr. Clough's?

that the vision of an extended University neutralize each other's defects. belongs rather to the irrevocable past than

process has already commenced, as we grieve ford as it is, no less than Oxford as it will to think that it has, in the very head-quarters be. The College monopoly, as the Com-, of improvement,-Arnold's own school of missioners appear to see, is an evil in any Rugby,-that is owing not to any irresistible case, productive of useless expense, without obstacles existing in the nature of things, any counterbalancing advantage: and its but simply and solely to a change of dynasty, destruction is a simple matter of justice to such as may be brought about any day by a those classes of society already within the body of conservative trustees. Boys in academical pale, as well as to those, be they tended for business could be sent to public many or few, who are deterred from enterschools so soon as their parents became con- ing solely by the expense of the academical vinced that the instruction to be got there course. It may be said, indeed, that should would be useful and not merely ornamental. no large extension take place, the accommo-Some might remain at school during the dation already supplied will be amply suffiwhole of the usual time, and others could be cient; but we can hardly be expected to withdrawn earlier, whenever an opening for listen to reasoning which virtually contends them could be found elsewhere. But it does that students are to be forced to reside within not follow, that because our future merchants | College walls mercly because College walls and manufacturers can be spared from the have been erceted for their reception. Any counting-house or the factory till the age of suggestion for the improvement of the Unisixteen, or even nineteen, they are to be versity is surely entitled to a hearing on its tempted by any amount of educational or own merits, subject to no reservation of the economical reform to defer their entry into rights of empty buildings or their unprolife to their twenty-second or twenty-third teeted proprietors. Let us say then that we year. On the contrary, it is obvious that admire the magnanimity with which the where the demands of a school are complied Commissioners recommend that a fair trial with reluctantly, those of a University are should be given to all of the four plans alsure to be refused altogether. The fact is, ready referred to, simply on account of the that, as Mr. Griffiths remarks, (Evidence, p. evidence with which each is supported, 202,) our public schools have taken the place though themselves doubting the feasibility and do the work of what our Universities of one or two of the number. It is only were in former times, so that an argument by such a spirit of liberal concession that from the success of the one to that of the the cause of reform can possibly be advanced other is not only inconsequent but absolutely in these days, when the dissatisfaction of suicidal. The instance of the London bankers years has to find expression in a moment, only proves that men whose fortunes are and every sufferer draws on his own exassured can afford to exempt their sons, to perience for a universal remedy. Oxford is a certain extent, from that competition to now in the position of Germany in 1848; which the less favoured have to submit, no Parliamentary Government has taught But those are surely exceptional cases in it the measure of political practicability; which a man of business can hope to hold its soundest and best thinkers have never his own by mere hereditary right, like a land-owner or a member of a Whig cabinet, even the most common-sense proposition by Since our last article appeared Mr. Cobden the strength of ordinary combination, much has told the people of Manchester what sort less by the mere force of reason: and the of education it is that the nature and oppor- only thing to be wondered at is, that a manitunities of manufacturing life will allow, festo representing so great a variety of float-Standard works are to give place to periodi- ing opinion should contain so little individual cals, Thucydides to the Times. Can our crotchet. In the present instance, we think rulers believe that if he could have been got the simultaneous developement of rival to furnish evidence to the Commissioners, schemes may prove to be not only necessary, his estimate of the literary leisure of the but positively beneficial. Even where they younger portion of his order would have encroach on each other's sphere, the public may reap advantage from the competition. But although we think with Mr. Mansel Existing side by side, they may tend to

We have no great affection for the project to the possible future, we cordially concur of a hall for poor students, as we believe that in the remedial measures suggested in the line of demarkation thus introduced report. New halls, private lodgings, con- would be equally injurious to the poor and nected with or independent of colleges, and the rich, impressing the former with a daily admission of strangers to professorial lec-sense of social inferiority, and confirming

the latter in any habits of indolence or in- with Colleges are another expedient which solence which they may have formed already. may be rapidly dismissed. The apprehenthe Chancellor, whose power it helped to consolidate; but the purposes which it has really secured have been those of the College oligarchy. The question as it stands now is in effect that of the voluntary system against an effete establishment. The same cause which engages the interests of inferior men in support of the existing monopoly makes really able and energetic persons anxious for its abolition. They would far rather trust for their lodgers. The educational routine to their own powers of attractine students of the College would be acually binding on leges themselves, such as, we shall see, the Commissioners proceed to propose. But though it would have been absurd for them, port finds its precedent not in Cambridge in their position, with an unlimited power of but in the Scottish and Continental University. against repealing any statute which forbids natures willing to accept education at the would probably prevent the reception of in their case the compulsory expenditure of such a proposal by the present governors of a College course operates as a real disfranshape mainly to the limitations imposed on any other place, without having to submit to not openly avowed. Lodgings in connexion might have some advantages, but it would

the latter in any habits of indolence or in-with Colleges are another expedient which solence which they may have formed already, may be rapidly dismissed. The apprehen-But the evil would be mitigated if the cheap shall were to present itself as one out of jection, and that may, perhaps, be worth many means of avoiding expense, so that something. Cambridge, where, if we misthe choice might not lie between aularian take not, about half the students of the larger frugality and collegiate extravagance. On colleges reside in lodgings, is commonly reputed to be less moral than Oxford; and be said against restoring to the academical from post hoc to propter hoc is an easy in-back, the liberty of comming fresh halls ference. There are however, some reasons be said against restoring to the academical from post not to propher not is an easy in-body the liberty of opening fresh halls, ference. There are, however, some reasons. The cancement which took away the right for doubting its validity in the present in-seems to have been passed for the benefit of stance. So far as morality, in the common the Chancellor, whose power it helped to sense of the term, is promoted by actual that doubten. They would are rather trust for their roughts. In education routine to their own powers of attracting students of the College would be equally binding on than to the prestige of an institution which, in-door and out-door pupils. On the other whatever its endowments, must always seen hand, the good effects of the Cambridge to them more or less hampered and paralyzed. System are clear and unequivocal. It is The complaint indeed may be met in a much more obvious way by a reform of the College in Europe to double the number of its

suggestion, to attempt to compass their ob-ject otherwise than directly, it is but com- in fact, a return to the ancient University mon prudence in us to remind our readers system, when Colleges were not; and as that changes are seldom effected wholesale, and that a large portion of a reformer's work all whom interest or conviction engages will generally be in the counteraction rather on the side of the existing monopoly. It than in the removal of evils. As for affiliated halls, supplementary to the several Commissioners, who evidently expect far Colleges, it is hardly worth while to waste a greater results from it than from any other word in their defence. As the Commis- project of extension. There can be little sioners remark, they would be mere ex- doubt that they are right. No better, tensions of the parent societies, so that no because no more direct means can be devised objection on the ground of principle can for placing an Oxford education within the possibly apply to them. Difficulties of de-reach of all who may happen to wish for tail, such as want of funds, and want of it. We do not believe, as we have said building ground, are palpably matters of repeatedly, that any large accession is to consideration for the Colleges which are am- be expected from classes who are at prebitious of so extending themselves. It might sent excluded not so much by formal be a question whether they should be obliged enactments, as by the necessities of Engto found halls; but nothing can be said lish life; but there will always be some Oxford, the jealousy felt by the inferior Col- chisement. All that they ask is to be alleges, which owe their continuance in any lowed to live in Oxford as they would in the developement of their more meritorious a system not calculated for their special rivals, can be powerful only so long as it is exigencies. For such men a cheap hall

have many drawbacks, independently of oppressive restriction should be removed, and Even the regulations to which the Comas not to interfere with that private and personal character which belongs to all really economical living. On the other hand, there would be little fear that lodgers of this class would abuse their liberty. The circumstances of their connexion with the University would be a far more efficient safeguard to them than the discipline of College officers, which they would be without, or that of the Proctors, to which they would still be amenable. Permission to live independently in lodgings, the Commissioners naturally presume would only be granted on special application to the Vice-Chancellor, who might easily command sufficient applicant. It is merely in accordance with the analogy of ordinary life that the sons of the poor should require, as they receive, less of vigilant superintendence than those of the rich. These considerations, we trust, may serve to quiet the alarms which are already beginning to be expressed at the mere announcement of so revolutionary a proposal.

At any rate, the last point raised by the Commissioners is one at which even timidity itself need not be startled. It appears at professorial lectures, and even to receive certificates of attendance, so that all that is needed is that the permission should not only to two or three.

It may be fairly pleaded, too, that the advocates of University extension have a right to have their disabilities removed. We feel as they do, that practice is the only test of the truth or falsehood of their antiprotection, but simply freedom to act, it would be the mere prejudice of ultra-conservatism to refuse the request. The following appeal is from one of the most effieient of the tutorial body, Mr. Pattison :-

"Instead of guessing in the dark at the pro-bable effect, [of these plans.] let us make the experiment. Let it not be forgotten that we panie effect, [of these plans,] let us make the experiment. Let it not be forgotten that we diverted the Great Western Railway to Dilect, pp. 43, 44. for fear of its bad effects on our discipline.

the outlay necessary for its establishment, the field thrown open to private enterprise and energy. When free, this will speedily run into the best channels. Let us leave halls and colmissioners propose to subject these lodg- leges old and new all with unlimited liberty ings would have to be cautiously applied, so of admission to work together, and trust to the power of self-adjustment in things which will bring to the surface the capabilities of the several methods. It might be allowed for ten years; nothing will have been done that cannot then be recalled. If the evil now anticipated should be found to result from lodging in the town, we shall then be warranted in recalling the students within the walls, and shall be sup-ported by public opinion in so doing. Or pri-vate munificence, or government, would then more probably come forward to erect hospitia to meet a proved need than to provide for a pro-bable one. It might be found that both me-thods (i.e., halls and lodging out) would work well logether, as accommodating different classes of persons. There would always be found persons who would be willing to pay the existing information as to the antecedents of the high rates for the advantages they believe to attach to domestication under our roofs; while all that class who cannot afford £120 to £130 per annum, but who could afford from £60 to £80, would, by this single enactment, be admitted to the general benefits of University education. It is incumbent, indeed, on a University to be cautious and deliberate in all its proceedings. But experiments are not necessarily rash-there are wise ones; there are even wise experiments in legislation which do not answer, and then to desist from them involves no disgrace. On the other band, nothing would be more feeble than for us to emerge from this crisis of opinion with a scheme of that persons unconnected with the Univerpaltry reforms. A great measure sideates sity are at present allowed to be present itself, and helps its own success. The present is a moment which may be made very decisive. I would earnestly press, not indeed the more comprehensive measure that one could wish for for that the public mind, either in the be withdrawn when the Professoriate be-liniversity or the country, is not prepared—but comes really active, and every subject of such an extension as will at least set agitation knowledge is expounded with the same on that subject at rest for some years to come. ability and zeal which is now extended We in Oxford are weary of scheming, suggesting, and pamphleteering. Give us leave to be doing something. Until our hands, and open our gates, and let us at least try if we can attract here, and can usefully deal with that large circle of youth whom we are told we ought to have here. If only a little relaxation is given us, and if then our numbers do not incipations; and when what is asked is not crease, it will be impossible to avoid ascribing that to the usual abortiveness of half measures. But, indeed, the utmost that is now asked for is truly little. The ideal of a national university is that it should be co-extensive with the nation-it should be the common source of all the higher (or secondary) instruction for the country; but the proposed measure would after all, only go part of the way towards making it

Whatever we may think of University What is urged is not the creation of any new machinery, not that the University should undertake to do any thing more, but that an interest of Oxford to place herself in the

hands of men of this stamp. Their labours city of the authorities? It is now superseded hands of men of this stamp. Their hadden server and monopolies, but they will not injure anything that jects of study, nor in the mode of examinais worth preserving. Ten years of their failures will do more for the University and the country, than ten years of the greatest success which can be attained in these days in spite of pertinacious opposition, been success which can be attained in these days in spite of pertinacious opposition, been success which can be attained in these days in spite of pertinacious opposition, been by the organized imbecility of a collegiate made to undergo considerable reforms. oligarchy.

the Commissioners glance in passing at wholly remedied by the Commissioners. another sort of exclusion—that by religious "We do not offer any suggestion as to the

Even as it is, however, it exhibits grave We ought not to omit to mention that faults, which are duly noted, though not

The most crying sin of the unreformed Tests. The general question of the admis- system was, that it demanded from the stusion of Dissenters is one which they were dent either too much or too little. It de-instructed not to entertain, though several manded too much, if we look to its nominal of those who have given evidence conderning requirements, involving a real proficiency in the present policy in terms much more de-three very different branches of knowledge cided than those just quoted from Mr. Pat—classical philology, moral and mental philoton: but they consider that the particular sophy, and Greek and Roman history. It mode of exclusion comes fairly within the demanded too little, if we judge it by the scope of their inquiry in connexion with results which were practically found to satisthe morality and discipline of the Univer- fy an examiner, a certain acquaintance with sity. Accordingly, they proceed briefly the language and substance of twelve or but emphatically to enumerate their object thirteen books, most of them single works but emphatically to enumerate their objections to the existing practice of subscription, of some classical author, a facility in recolcensuring it as arbitrary, indefinite, and halecting and using the jargon of contradictory rassing, uncertain in operation, and generally systems of philosophy, and a moderate—demoralizing. As we wish to imitate their sometimes a very moderate—measure of the contradictory of the contradictory. conciseness, we will only copy their con-clusion, in which we cordially coincide:— end proposed was the imparting of general cultivation; the means adopted were the manner in which the evil should be reme- destruction or injury of any special aptitude died; but we must express our conviction which the student might possess by compell-that the imposition of subscription, in the ing him to bestow time and trouble on sub-manner in which it is now imposed in the jects which were never likely to engage his University of Oxford, habituates the mind mind to any purpose, though they might to give a careless assent to truths which it very well succeed in dissipating it. This has never considered, and naturally leads to evil has been aggravated rather than mitisophistry in the interpretation of solemn gated by the authors of the late reforms.

Two new schools are added to the old bipartite divisions of Classics and Mathematics, From the taught the Report naturally viz., those of Physical Science and of Mo-passes to the teaching and the teachers. dern History; but the great advantage to We need not follow it into the history of the old Laudian examination for the B.A. de- comprehension of students whom a narrowgree, further than to notice an extraordinary statement by the present Hebdornadal neutralized by a clause requiring every can-board, who, in their Letter to the Duke of didate for a degree to pass through two Wellington on the announcement of the Commission, speak of "the academic system of study" as having been "admirably substantially untouched. Besides the Greek arranged in 1636, at a time when not only and Latin languages—such are the words the nature and faculties of the human of the statute—candidates for classical mind were exactly what they are still, and honours are to be prepared with philosophy must of course remain, but the principles and ancient history as before. Those who also of sound and enlarged intellectual know experimentally what the Greek and culture were far from imperfectly under Latin languages include will smile at the stood." Will our readers believe that this \upidativation \upidation \upidativation \upidation \upidativation \upidativation \upidativation \upidativation \upidation \upidativation \upidation \upidativation \upidativatio ment, fell into a neglect from which it has quaintance with them on the part of an un-never recovered, partly from defects in its dergraduate as a sort of preliminary requiprovisions, partly from the culpable compli-lsite. Practically, we believe, the words are

likely to become mere surplusage, philoso- misplaced in being made a subject of acaphy and ancient history alone being requir- demical discipline, objectively, an important amination. ford is to have a school of litera humaniores, from which humane letters, so called, are to be expressly excluded-Hamlet with the been announced since their Report appeared. formed or unreformed, has yet supplied; wholly neglected in our Universities." philosophy, which is to embrace not only Latin and Greek, but Sanscrit and the Oriental languages, and also those of modern Europe. It is true that they would allow the student to select one or more languages as his especial study. But this, if really carried out, would create not one school but many, with different subjects and different examiners, while in practice it would probably come to the exaction of a superficial acquaintance with most or all of the languages included. The conception of an examination in comparative philology, which seems to lie at the bottom of this proposal, is sufficiently disposed of by Sir William Hamilton in his elaborate appendix on Oxford as it might be, (subjoined to his recent republication of Discussions on Philosophy, &c.,) from which it may be worth while to extract a few sentences. "This doctrine," that of ethnology, "most curious and important in itself, is, as a result to be taken upon trust, so limited, that it may be com-prised in a brief book, in fact, in a single table: whereas, if intelligently known, that is, in its grounds, it imposes an acquaintance with some ten, twenty, fifty,in truth, with above a hundred languages and dialects. Now, to institute a chair for a professor to retail his second hand opinions

ed. In other words, classical scholarship is knowledge, it remains, subjectively, an unto have no place whatever in the final ex-important mechanism."—(Pp. 690, 691, This is certainly one way of note.) The same high authority, however, getting rid of a self-imposed difficulty. Ox- emphatically recommends the cultivation of "another philology." "Nothing," he says, " can better exercise the mind than a rational study, either of the grammar of character of Hamlet omitted by particular a known language, or of universal gramrequest. The Commissioners do not seem mar, illustrated by the languages with to have anticipated this solution, which has which a student is acquainted. Here every doctrine of the teacher is elaborated by They are sensible, however, that classical the taught. Yet this most valuable scischolarship in Oxford requires an encourage- ence, (an applied logic and psychology,) ment which no system of examinations, re- and most profitable exercise of mind, is and they see that the only thing to be done trust that this reproach will not long continue is to give it a department of its own. Yet to attach to Oxford, though we doubt the even they are not free from the Oxford vice existence of energy within the University of overloading. They talk of a school of sufficient to effect its removal. It might be difficult, however, to make a satisfactory division of subjects. Applied logic and psychology would seem rather to belong to a school of mental philosophy, such as the Commissioners proceed to advocate. Indeed, Sir William Hamilton himself, in a subsequent part of his Appendix, (p. 732,) when he comes to speak definitely of the subjects proper for a University course, holds very different language. He there discri-minates the two kinds of knowledge which he would connect with the highest neademical distinction as empirical and rational -the former a knowledge of the fact, com-limited to the domain of Greek and Roman letters," the latter a knowledge of the cause or reason, comprehending, "in a proximate sphere, the science of mind, in its faculties, its laws, and its relations, (Psychology, Logic, Morals, Politics, &c.); in a less proximate sphere, the science of the instrument of mind, (Grammar, Rhetorie, Poetic," &c.) The first he would call the department (or school) of humane letters, the second that of philosophy. "The present confusion," he says, "of the empirical and the rational, in the one department of litera is sufficiently foolish; but the lectures humaniores, originates in the inability of the would be equally inept for academical edu- tutors, as at present constituted, to teach cation were the professor, instead of speakention were the professor, instead of speaking on the authority of others, himself a
Mezzofauti and a Grimm in one: himself a
Mezzofauti and a Grimm in one: himself a
state reflection may be, we doubt whether
guages on which he founds: for the pupils
would still be only passive recipients of
another's dicta, and their comparative philology, at least, would at best be the philology
of pariots.

Ethnology is thus seem unreasonable to expect an intelligent knowledge of Greck and Latin—a knowledge, that is, of principles as well as of facts both from teachers and learners. The examination in that, in short, should include all the requisites which are usually understood to concur in forming an accomplished classical scholar. We would exclude "all acquaintance with historical record," thinking, with the Commissioners, that history may properly claim a separate school, in which there need be no distinction of ancient and modern. Sir William Hamilton, it is true, does not wish to confine one class of students to rational, and another to empirical knowledge. On the contrary, he thinks that a minimum, not in one, but in each, ought to be established as the condition of a degree at all. We can only repeat our conviction, that a student who is expected to know many things will, as a general rule, know nothing to any purpose. Surely what is wanted is a knowledge, both rational and empirical, of some one subject. In earlier depression, and the boy is taught a variety of things of which it is judged important that he should know something. But, as the other mental powers become matured, special education is seen to be more and more of a necessity, with reference, not merely to a professional occupation, but to the culture of the mind itself. It is precise-typically that mental powers become matured, special education is seen to be more and more of a necessity, with reference, not merely to a professional occupation, but to the culture of the mind itself. It is precise-typically that a minute of the mind itself. It is precise-typically the conviction that there are questions which the clergy, as a body, are unprepared to knowledge. Whatever dangers are then the district produced by the conviction that there are questions which the clergy, as a body, are unprepared to apprecial education is seen to be more and more of a necessity, with reference, not mentally university and the number of those who same time, we are quite disposed to b history, or mathematics, so that the progress lost. which he makes may be genuine, and the honours which are awarded to him really significant.

quired at all, (a point about which the Com- the Commissioners hope to attain, by a remissioners are judiciously sceptical,) was form of academical studies, the restoration acquired in seven years, not in three or four. of a connection between the Universities and As it is, we tremble to think of the proba- the learned professions, we must confess ourble results of a formal examination, not selves still unconvinced. We think, as we only in Psychology, Logic, Morals, and Polisiaid in our previous article, that the separatics, but in Grammar, Rhetoric, and Poetic. tion which has taken place has been owing, We know of but one man who would be not only to the shortcomings of the Univerbold enough to undertake any office in con- sities, but to the general course of society, nexion with such a school, and that man is so that we can have no great faith in any Mr. Sewell. Surely the four first-named increly intra-academical remedy. To the subjects would be amply sufficient for a high department, without the addition of the not apply. If divinity students are driven three last. On the other hand, it does not to seek instruction elsewhere, at Wellowship to the control of the seek instruction elsewhere, at Wellowship to the control of the seek instruction elsewhere, at Wellowship to the control of the seek instruction elsewhere, at Wellowship to the seek instruction elsewhere at the seek instruction elsewhere at the seek instruction elsewhe vation of the superficial, the amusing, the get a foretaste of his profession before palpable, the materially useful," that we he begins to attend chambers, or walk the would have the Oxford student, in the last hospitals. Oxford may make her teaching year of his pupilage, left perfectly free to useful to those who still come to her, take his own course-free to concentrate without flattering herself with hopes of rehimself on classics, or mental philosophy, or covering those whom she has unavoidably

We have lingered so long among the more important details of the Oxford examinations, that we can merely allude to With regard to the further object which those which remain behind. The Commismissioners recommend an examination at | Wall calls it, of examining senior men matriculation, but discourage one for the higher degrees. The first is absolutely rethe University on incurable ignorance, whether voluntary or involuntary, whether found among the rich or the poor, is no more than common sense and common justice. In discussing the question of the higher designation of the hi grees, the Commissioners have scarcely shewn their wouted courage or penetralisting regime would meet with extreme section. It may be desirable, under present circumstances, to let a higher degree follow That men, most of whom either are or were be, a reality, while the indignity, as Mr. the first class;" and concludes that "if

We now approach one of the most imhigher degrees. The first is absolutely required as a protection to the University portant parts of the Report—that which against the facility of the inferior colleges, which not only sacrifice their own character, with reference to the teachers. The historic but lower the standard of the public examinations, by the admission of unqualified members. It might be well, as the Commission-teat the difference in this respect between crs suggest, to allow deficiency in one branch ancient and modern Oxford. The authorized to be compensated by proficiency in another, teaching of the University was formerly conso as not to exclude those who have not had dueted by the University itself: it is now in the advantage of the ordinary course of pre-vious instruction. But to shut the gates of has taken place in violation rather than in

as a matter of course, where a lower one recently in actual connection with the Unihas been fairly obtained; but it cannot versity, should earwass strictly the qualifi-be well that any degree should be conferred cations of a body, comprising the majority on a candidate whose qualifications are un-known. Yet this is what they propose in the case of Divinity and Law, both the de-grees in which are supposed to be supple-mentary to the lower degree in Arts. Surely they might have seen that here at rial staff of each College, and the effects of least was an opportunity of turning the new their teaching, as shown in the academical schools to some practical account. What successes of their pupils, combining the would be easier than to make the lower de-grees in Divinity, Law, and Medicine con-weighed against College with a minute acditional in passing an examination in the schools of Theology, Jurisprudence, and Physical Science? The present practice of Colleges, are not always such as the experi-University standing is a mere anachronism, fault owing to causes which it would be belonging to the Laudian system, with its tedious to explain; but the general conclulong course of years. In a modern scheme sion is clearly made out—the fact of an they ought clearly to be allowed to fall into enormous difference between College and their natural place, so as to become co-ordi- College, in respect of educational power. nate with the degree of B.A., as at present It would not be fair to rely wholly or princonferred. The student, after graduating in cipally on the success of the pupil as a proof some one of the non-professional schools, of the competency of the tutor, though the might offer himself for examination in that two are generally supposed to bear some faculty in which he desired, for professional kind of relation to each other, and a College reasons, to obtain a degree. This would in- is to a certain extent responsible for the volve no addition to the existing require-ments, which oblige a candidate for the B.A. tion attracts. But Sir William Hamilton degree to go through two schools at least, at stands on firm ground when he calls attenthe same time that it would introduce an in- tion to the fact, that "in the two departtelligible distinction between those who ments which the University possesses, and wish to prosecute their non-professional stu- which the Colleges and Tutors are, de facto, dies and those who regard their academical exclusively authorized to teach, the whole education merely as subsidiary to some one Collegial Tutors (49) have only, of their of the professions. The degrees of the body, in Litera Humaniores, about a half University would be made what they should (26), in Mathematics, about a sixth (8), of

there be any connection between superior tion of the Professoriate. The Tutors are knowledge and superior tuition, Oxford now to be left in statu quo, security being taken abandons, indifferently, the work of education for their fitness by the removal of the reto competent and incompetent hands."- strictions on Fellowship elections, while (P. 701.) We need not stop to remark those whom they have supplanted are rethat the test of the public examinations, established and fortified by fresh endowthough, of course, not infallible, is generally ments drawn chiefly from the Colleges a fair one-not to mention that the Univer-themselves. Under these circumstances, it sity itself elects to be tried by it; and that, is believed that the two systems would as a matter of fact, the most efficient Col-work well side by side, each occupying its leges are those which number most first own sphere without eneroaching on that of class men among their tutors. It is of more the other. The Private Tutors are not to importance to show that the result com- be directly interfered with: but hopes are plained of is due entirely to the Colleges expressed that their influence may be dithemselves. The nomination of tutors be minished, partly by the improvement of longs, apparently by an unstatutable usur- public instruction, and the greater facilities pation, solely to the Head of the College, given to individual superintendence by the the Fellows, preference being mostly given the more eminent among the Private Tuto seniority. Owing to the restrictions with tors themselves into the Professoriate, which all the Colleges are more or less fet- which is to have a lower department of tered, there are very few instances in which University Lecturers, taking the more elethe election to a Fellowship is entirely open, mentary part of the work, and acting as a so as to secure the services of the ablest sort of Professorial nursery. man in the University not otherwise proallowed to trim?

propose to remedy this state of things are, whose discernment in educational matters the reform of the Colleges and the reanimathe University has no guarantee? Why

The weak point of this arrangement apvided for. Thus, neither the persons in pears to us to be that which affects the Colwhom the choice of tutors is vested, the lege Tutors. Nothing in our judgment can principle of choice, nor the field of choice, be said for retaining them in their present are such as to promise any large measure of position, except the fact that they are in educational success. If anything be wanted possession. We fully recognise the importo complete the condemnation of the system, it is to be found in the sentence practical and Tutorial functions. Sir William tically passed on it by the University itself Hamilton's definition shews that both have in the tacit recognition of private tutors, a class of men who, as the Commissioners sor," he says, "I mean a teacher exclusively remark, though unknown to University or privileged to deliver from his own resources College statutes, exercise at once the per- and at his own discretion, a course of lec-sonal supervision belonging to the original tures, on a certain department of know-Tutores, and the privilege of free teaching ledge, to the whole academical alumni. By which is the statutable right of all gradu- Tutor, I mean a teacher, among others, When we consider that this kind of privileged to see that his peculiar pupils (a instruction has become popular under infi-section of the academical alumni) read and nite discouragement both direct and indi-understand certain books, certain texts, rect, the real teaching of the best men in codes, departments of doctrine, authorized the University having, as is admitted by by the University." But the question which one of the most decided opponents of the naturally arises is, why should not these Tusystem, Mr. Congreve, lain for some time tors be University Tutors? Why should past in the hands of the private tutors, not men be appointed to the Tutorial office though the money paid to them by the Stu-dents is not in place of but in addition to not in virtue of their University reputation, dents is not in place of but in addition to not in virtue of their connexion with this or that which is exacted for College tuition, we that College ? Even supposing the Fellowshall learn what to think of the indefeasible ships to be given away by merit, there is right of a usurpation which has failed to jus-tify itself not only in the eyes of the world, divides the qualified men in the University but even in those of its perpetrators. What into twenty-four houses, and makes their plea can be urged in favour of those who appointments depend on the accidental are found wanting, when weighed in a wants of the particular society with which balance which they have themselves been they may be connected. Again, why should the choice of these Tutors be left in the The means by which the Commissioners hands of the Heads of Houses, a body for

should the students be forced to attend the of these students, and to take all means in cational action of a free University.

Edward VI., and even the Laudian Code, details. though the latter superadds instruction to

tuition supplied by the College to which their power for exercising over them a due they happen to attach themselves, when moral and religious superintendence." Yet there may be other Tutorial lectures deliv- it surely cannot be meant that these stuered elsewhere which would be of greater dents are to go without tutorial instruction. service to them? Differences between Tu- What is necessary for residents in Colleges tor and Tutor will still exist after each Col-must be equally necessary for residents in lege has done its best to secure the most unattached lodgings. The obvious solution competent men: and it is surely unjust to is, the appointment of Tutors by the Unilimit a Tutor's usefulness by the accommo- versity. Their classes would be formed to dation which the buildings of his College suit the wants not of the undergraduates of may chance to afford, Add to this, that each College, but of the aggregate mass. even in a reformed Oxford the isolated cha- This would at once remove what is felt to racter of small societies is sure to generate be an inherent evil in the present system,narrow and local feelings, petty rivalries, "that of crowding into the same class stuand a general disposition to estimate aca-dents differing greatly in knowledge and ca-demical questions by a College rather than pacity, merely because they happen to come a University standard. The appointment of to the University at the same time." Ox-Examiners by the Proctors is at present re- ford would, in fact, realize the condition of tained on two grounds, that of justice to the a large public school, the chief difference Colleges, that University offices may de- being that the classes would consist not of scend to them in rotation, without reference boys, but of young men, and consequently to the comparative merit of their respective that the scale of instruction as a whole bodies of fellows, and that of justice to the would be higher, while the discipline enundergraduates, that they may have tutors forced would be less irksome. The Profesof their own to protect their interests social lectures would find their natural paragainst those of other candidates. We are allel in the instruction given to the Sixth not inventing motives, but merely repeat- Form at Eton or Rugby. The mechanical ing those which, if we are not greatly mis- arrangement of the classes might be the informed, have been actually assigned. Such same as that which now obtains in College views of justice are intelligible enough, but lectures, men being drafted from one class they are searcely compatible with the edu- to another without that inflexible regularity of promotion which is required where re-We think, then, that the Commissioners wards and punishments have to be looked are mistaken in supposing that the continu- to as the principal motive powers. Sir Wilance of College tuition is the best or the liam Hamilton, who goes into the subject only way of combining the labours of Tu-tors and Professors. The proper functions honours should be awarded by the joint of a College Tutor are moral rather than in- suffrage of pupils and teachers, -a suggestellectual. Such was undoubtedly the origi- tion probably better adapted to the latitude nal conception of the office, as it appears in of Edinburgh or Glasgow than to that of the College Statutes, the Ordinances of Oxford. But we must not wander into

One complaint, at least, we may safely the Tutor's other duties. Such is, in effect, make of the Commissioners. If they found the theory current at the present hour in themselves unable or unwilling to reduce the Cambridge, where though the Colleges have College tutors to their normal dimensions, engrossed the education no less than at Ox- why could they not have followed the milder ford, the Tutor's business is not so much to counsels of Mr. Clough, who sees "no reason lecture to his pupils as to look after their why " the proficients of the several Colleges bills. Such, finally, is the view taken by "should not be united in a College class, and the Commissioners themselves, when they the viva disjoined from the mortua corpora, are legislating for those students who are to by collegiate or inter-collegiate arrange-be admitted to the University without be ments?" The concordat need hardly bear longing to any College or Hall. Their even on the less competent Tutors, who lodging houses, we read in the Report, are would merely be required to abandon what to be "placed under the special superin- ought to be the distasteful work of lecturing tendence of University officers, to be consti- on certain subjects with which they are not tuted Tutors or Guardians of the University fully conversant. In any case, their anticistudents,"—men whose "duty would be so pated remonstrances cannot be set against far as the case permitted, to acquaint them, the palpable interest of the students. The selves with the character and circumstances practice of a public school, which we have just referred to, will furnish us with an apt collegiate system, the Commissioners appaillustration. What would be said if the assistant-masters, instead of taking some a law tuition at all. But to protest against higher, some a lower form, were to claim to teach those boys, and those boys only, who happened to reside in their respective yet happened to reside in their respective yet. Pet Mr. Pattison, throughout, appears to themselves, and as the only means of Because pupils require to be made to master maintaining an influence over their pupils?

unattached students, which he regards as by the Commissioners, (p. 96.) Of the a virtual substitution of professorial for tutorial instruction. The report shows that ed by "the sight" of an assemblage of the apprehension is not groundless, as by hearers, and the sense of "the personal rerefusing to separate the tutorial from the lation in which they stand towards" their

boarding houses, as a matter of justice to themselves, and as the only means of maintaining an influence over their pupils?

The reanimation of the professoriate is a measure for which it could hardly have been supposed that an apology would be needed. Anywhere but in Oxford Professor Vaughan's splendid vindication of his order, (Evidence, p. 274.) which we wish our space would allow us to extract, would read like the oulogy pronounced on Hercules by the sophist in the story. But the collegiate system is not only alien from, but antagonistic to the professoriate: and even the reform camp is recruited from the anti-professorial party. In extracting passages from the evidence of the most prominent of these recusants, Mr. Pattison, the Commissioners significantly express their belief that there are many persons entertaining sentiments of a similar kind. Mr. Pattison's own opinion, however, deserves a which he has unfolded and illustrated it, as well as from the character which is stamped on the portion of his evidence already quoted by us, that of a vigorous and decided reformer. In the course of delivering it, he reviews the intellectual history of the levidence of Oxford. ted by us, that of a vigorous and decided lew, what is to be said of the attainments of reformer. In the course of delivering it, the graduates of Oxford? Will Mr. Pattihe reviews the intellectual history of the son tell us that the majority of Oxford Universities in a rapid but effective sketch, students are more thoroughly educated than which is well worth consulting for its own the youths described in his quotation from sake, independently of any arguments which Dr. Niemeyer? The distinction between may or may not be deducible from it. One thing is evident, that in denouncing professorial instruction, "the system of deliver-liatively correct, but cannot go for much ing courses of critical discertations to a practically. Why should not a well-grounded ing courses of original dissertations to a practically. Why should not a well-grounded miscellaneous audience," as superficial and unsatisfactory, he is not deerying a line in which he might not himself exect. Nevertheless, we cannot think that he has made Pattison's own admission, "we ourselves the content of the conte out any case for his alarm. As the Comexperience from new views?" The allegamissioners well remark, his argument in tion that a professor is likely to be less volves several assumptions;—the incompatibility of the professorial and tutorial than a tutor on the other, is another logical pationity of the professorial and tutorial than a tutor on the other, is another logical systems—the absolute sufficiency of the juggle. At worst he might surely be serformer, and the inevitable superficiality of viceable as combining a portion of the the latter. For the first of these, indeed, the Commissioners themselves are in some believe that beside this he might be some-measure answerable. A reference to Mr. Pattison's evidence will show that his fears are excited by the proposed admission of in the well-known words of Niebuhr, quoted unpattached students, which he regards as by the Commissioners (n. 96.) Of the

professor, how few present themselves; either to the writer or reader of a book, either to the catechiser or to the catechised student! At the close of his remarks Mr. Pattison virtually abandons his heresy by censuring the professorial system as the main method of education; but the sur-Whether from render comes too late. dread of the supposed anti-tutorial tendencies of the Commissioners, or from involuntary one-sidedness, he has certainly contrived to produce the impression that he is altogether opposed to professorial instruction. We are sorry for the result, as it takes away from the effect of at least one remark which as we shall see presently, is really valuable. But we would not punish him further than by wishing that he may himself become a member of an active professoriate in a regenerate Oxford.

A more tangible objection to the restora-

tion of the professoriate might be, that it is the revival of a system which has already died a natural death. But we demur to the fact. The death of the professoriate was not natural, having been caused partly by want of proper sustenance, partly by actual violence. The Laudian Examinations had no connexion with professorial lectures:

The details of the restoration may be difficult in practice, but they are comparatively easy to arrange in theory. It will be necessary to found new professorships, and to increase the endowments of existing Chairs. Every subject which the University under takes to teach ought to have one or more professors, as the case may be. At present the only department which can be said to be adequately endowed is that of Theology, which has seized on several of the canonries of Christ Church. The lay professors will require to have their numbers and their incomes raised in proportion. The Report justly says, that £800 a year is the least which they have a right to expect. Whence the funds are to be drawn we shall see before long. To all these recommendations, which the Commissioners pursue into minute particulars, we give our hearty assent. If they are not carried out it will only be because the strength of possession is stronger than the strength of reason. We agree, too, that professorships should be freed from all restrictions whatever, except the negative theological test provided by the statute, which forbids all professors to impugn the faith of the Church of England. On the mode of appointing professors the Commisthe latter examinations were not established till professorial teaching lad ceased to exist. The professorship of Moral Philosophy we know to have been deliberately stifled for more than one hundred and fifty years by a private compact among the electors. Now that it has recovered its existence, it has shown that it is abundantly endowed with inherent vitality. Four other of the statutable readerships were illegally extinguished by the Hebdomadal Board, at what time and under what circumstances we know not; and the re-establishment of an officient success to show that the day for a University prelator of Logic is by no means passed. As for the Chairs of the efficiences, which, as forming part of the efficiency or inefficiency of the Chairs of the efficiency or inefficiency of Auction. History delivers no available lectures; the Professor of Greek none whatever. The Professor of Greek none whatever. The Professor of Greek none whatever. The Professor of Greek none whatever in name. On the other hand, Dr. Arnold's said Professor Vannehan's lectures on Modern the latter examinations were not established sioners would have done well to consult an till professorial teaching had ceased to exist. elaborate article by Sir William Hamilton name. On the other hand, Dr. Arnold's multiplication of professorships as from any and Professor Vaughan's lectures on Modern History drew crowded audiences before the University held out any inducement to the study of that subject. There is no need to fear that the para of the undergreducte are clear.

that the ears of the undergraduates are closed. "Dein Herz ist zu, dein Sinn ist todt." The project of University lecturers certainly looks well at first sight. If introduced

into Oxford as it now is, or under the circumstances contemplated by the Commissioners, it would undoubtedly do great good, principally by affording congenial employement to unplaced talent and learning. But may be doubted how far the duties of these lecturers would be distinguished from those of the tutors, except by the factitious. The remainder of our space must be devoted concomitants of exemption from College restraints, and a sort of hereditary expects ancy of a professorship. The professor, as Reform of the Colleges. we have seen, delivers original expositions: the tutor sees that his pupils know their a thoroughly reformed system, where tutorial for.

sure to have the yulgar on either side.

important point, as unenlightened majorities are at present in the habit of voting away the trust-money of the corporation for observed way, and an inestimable benefit con-

We have already said that we are not going to tell twice the tale of the foundation books: but what is the lecturer to do? In of these institutions, nor to slay the slain arguments in support of their inviolability. as well as professorial labours were regulated In a national document like the Report, it is and economized by the University, the diffright that the historical truth should be ficulty would doubtless be felt and provided formally stated, and the current fallacies judicially disallowed; but a reviewer, having Before leaving the Report on the professo- once gone over the ground, may be excused riate, we must note, briefly but gravely, one great omission. No place whatever is made for those scholars and men of seience whose vocation it may be to teach by the pen rather than by the tongue. Professor Vaughan has done justice to the utility of vaughan has done justice to the utility of for judging of their appropriateness, we can "silent men" in a strain of commanding eloquence, which the Commissioners actually will have been similarly favoured; and quote, as if unconscious of its meaning. Another of those who have given evidence has made this particular deficiency the keynote of all his suggestions. Even Mr. Patison, in his academical scheme, has found from for a professor who is "not the organ of instruction," but "the man of greatest attainment in his branch, rewarded and with-large from instruction, to enable him to devote himself to the cultivation of the more family restrictions on fellowships is, of course, the first thing. The restrictions to articular schools are removed in the case of riate, we must note, briefly but gravely, one from traversing it again. A different reason Commissioners apparently ignore altogether particular schools are removed in the case of either the existence or the desirability of fellowships, continued in that of scholar-such an element. In this at least they are ships. New College, however, is made an exception, being allowed to retain its con-We pass, sicco pede, over a few pages of detail about scholarships, prizes, libraries, and museums, as adapted rather for special stand the ground of this exemption. The than for general consideration. The ques-tion of the University revenues is equally the evidence is contained in the words "Nottechnical, and embarrassed with the further withstanding, few persons would be willing difficulty of the absence of authentic infor-roation, owing to the refusal of the authorities Wykcham," following immediately on a to comply with requests made in the name statement of the practical evils of the conof their royal Visitor. All that we can do nexion. How can the associations of Wil-is to endorse the five recommendations of liam of Wykcham, in any true or high the Commissioners,—the publication of the sense, be said to be preserved by the spec-University accounts, the publication of all tacle of a College paralyzed by an indisso-fees and their application, and the reduction luble alliance with a single school, not of of their amount, the confinement of academithe first rank? However, the next recomcal revenues to academical objects, (a most mendation of the Commissioners makes

of universal suffrage, by abolishing all nomi-Queen in Council.

ferred not only on education, literature, and presumably a man of superior education, the other professions, but on the clergy. It possesses £200 a-year of his own, and is unmight have been expected that the obligation married. Even resident fellows are pretent of ridicule has prevailed, and the resident is retained on grounds which apply already named, being that they sometimes only to tutors, and even as regards them are by no means impregnable. The obligation they have no better engagement, meet occasions in the applied statushy as seasonally for the proprial performance of to residence is to be annulled statutably, as easionally for the nominal performance of it has long been annulled practically. The business, which is really performed by offiproperty disqualification, as it may be called, cials, and live in rooms instead of in lodg-is to be put on a uniform and more intelligings. Again, the collegiate framework is gible footing, income as well as property not necessary to the existence of tutors: being included, and the disqualifying amount their present lectures might be delivered in raised. All compulsion to proceed to higher University lecture-rooms, their present superdegrees is to be removed-an arrangement intendence exercised over halls or boardingwhich would not have been required if those houses. All powerful as the Colleges are degrees had been rationally dealt with. in the University, the University eannot be Something is to be done towards purifying said to gain anything by their organization. College Elections, by substituting in the larger societies electoral boards in the place done without such a machinery. After this we need not add, that the machinery itself nations by persons or bodies external to the is something worse than harmless. Perhaps College, and by extending the right of appeal to the visitor from decisions presumably of unstatutable to decisions presumably not according to merit. Certain fellowships are college and Winehester, men imagine that to be specifically appropriate to proficients in the new university studies. Colleges are founder, when they are pursuing occupations in the new university studies. Colleges are tounder, when they are pursuing occupations to be compelled to found open scholarships which, even when most useful and laudable, adequate in number and value. The wealthier societies, such as All Souls, New College, Queen's, Magdalen, Merton, and Corpus, are totally different from anything contembers to receive from one to six professors, for more to be regretted in proportion to the supersessed. University seems to be suppressed. University seems to be ordinary fellows of Col- and moral, of the age and nation are ignored described in the vain attempt, loweyer leges, living partly on their fellowships, and despised in the vain attempt, however partly on fees from their pupils, and allowed disguised from the mind itself, to recall an to marry. The Election to Headships of irrevocable past. Leisure and quiet, and Colleges is still to be vested in the fellows, means of study, which might be engaged in who, however, are to be permitted to choose satisfying the inquiries of a busy but specuany Master of Arts. Lastly, visitors are to lative century, are used only to thwart them. require annual reports from their respective The theological history of the last twenty Colleges, and transmit such reports to the years is no more than a logical deduction from the operation of the collegiate system. All this, bold as it is in some respects, and It was no mere accident that connected the likely to be beneficial so far as it goes, ap- Tracts for the Times with the Oriel Common pears to us essentially unsatisfactory. It is, Room, and the persecution of Dr. Hampden in fact, mere tinkering-an attempt to im- with the Corpus Committee. And while prove a thing which is not partially but the higher minds are exhausted by this unwholly unsuitable. College life at one time reality, the lower are filled by realities of a meant something very definite, comprehen very earthly sort. Community of life, to sible, and real. College life now means which special duties are not attached, nanothing of the kind. A fellow used to be a turally comes to be synonymous with compoor student, following an ecclesiastical rule, munity of indulgence. Jobbing is proverperforming certain duties, religious and bially the vice of corporations; and small domestic, and receiving a small payment, eorporations, without any definite object, are A fellow is now a clergyman, a lawyer, a peculiarly liable to it. The injunction which physician, a London habitué, differing in no is at present found in the statutes of some respect from other elergymen, lawyers, Colleges, to prefer a member of the society physicians, and habitués, except that he is in an academical election to any other candi-

date, is a duty which naturally commends feel that they may be made without detractitself to a Fellow's moral sense. Not many ing from its substantial excellence. And years ago four close Colleges, distinguished though we might ourselves wish to re write for nothing but the number of their fellows, a few of its pages, we more than doubt formed a league which went by the appro- whether we should allow that privilege to priate name of the Unholy Alliance, for the any one else. "Pass it, pass it!" was the express object of carrying elections. This exclamation with which the most enlightconspiracy against the University was at ened and most independent of Liberal jourlast broken up by a disagreement among the nals greeted the promulgation of the Re-conspirators about the division of the spoil, form Bill in 1831. So our desire is that the but not until it had procured the exclusion recommendations of the Commissioners may of several men enjoying a university repu- become law as quickly as possible, without tation in favour of persons undistinguished change or modification. In Parliament, most before or since. The opening of the foun- of those acquainted with the condition of dations may possibly prevent the repetition the Universities are hostile to reform; and of such a scandal as this; but it will not re- if the Liberals descend to the discussion of move the unmeaningness or inexpediency of particular points, in the hope of introducing the system. Even when a fellowship is improvements, they may be decived into open, it is nothing better than a scanty cell- letting go the very things which Reformers bate sinecure. Even after the new profession within the Universities feel to be the most sors have taken their share, a number of precious. Let them beware of Mr. Gladthese sinecures will still remain-and it is stone in committee. scarcely possible that many of them should not be ill bestowed. If a College had no more appointments than were absolutely required for the work it had to do, there might be some security for the choice of fit men: but the permission of non-residence shews ART. II .- 1. Acta Laboratorii Chymici Mothat this is not expected under the new regime. It may be right that a certain portion of the resources of Oxford should principal work.)
be employed to help men who have distin- 2. G. E. Stahlii Fundamenta Chymiae Dogguished themselves there on entering upon a profession: but why not let this be done fairly and openly by means expressly cal-culated for the end? In a word, why suffer any part of the academical revenue to be apportioned without a special object, recog-nised and provided for as such? Why Par M. Lavoisier, de l'Académie des make the distribution of the intellectual and educational forces of the University depend 5. in any way on the accidental existence of twenty-four houses? If tutorships are desirable, why not let them exist for their own sake? If professors require maintenance, The polypharmacists of the Arabian school why billet them on societies with which of medicine, and the alchymists of mediwhy billet them on societies with which lot when they have nothing to do, and to which they eval Europe, followed ideas so transcendening the possibly be uncongenial? These are questions which, it is obvious, strike at the aims were concerned, they at first sight seem root of the Collegiate system, not only as it is, but as it will be, if the suggestions of the Report should take effect. Whether they present century. The sceking for the alcahave ever occurred to the Commissioners themselves is more than we can pretend to guess. But we can well understand why they should have been kept out of sight on the mist and darkness of a time which was the present occasion. In any case, however, rather the night than the morning of there is no reason why a reviewer should science), were things essentially unlike the not ask them.

nacensis seu Physica Subterranea, (Leipz, STAUL'S edition of BECCHER'S

matico-Rationalis et Experimentalis, &c. Norimbergae, 1747.

3. Experiments upon Magnesia Alba, Quick-lime, &c. By Joseph Black, M.D. Edinburgh, 1782.

Sciences, &c. Paris, 1789.

Leçons sur La Philosophie Chimique, &c. Par M. Dumas, recueillies par M. BINAU. Paris, 1837.

sober and attainable aims of our own posi-Nevertheless, after all our objections, we tive chemistry; and the men of our labornust return to our original verdict. If ratories could have taken little interest in the Report is open to some criticisms, we the labours they involved, had it not been

for the fact that those old scholastics, chasing for a play upon words, that the Arabian of stuff as ourselves. Following their hewere the first discoverers of those material the heavens, they began to subdue the earth. It has been remarked, that those of the polypharmacists, regarding whom there is culation; while the really great men among gold is as beautiful and curious as ever, the alchemists, from Reger Bacon down even Glauber, whose 'wonderful salt' is still to Paracelsus, were the busy students of the friend of horses and horse-dectors, and such chemical reactions as could then be brought within the reach of the experimentalist, and made no personal pretensions to the stone.* The hypothesis and the sensible though prosy Agricola, described the stone. these successive schools, namely, the trans-mutation or elevation of the metals and the analogous elevation of man's fallen and to do their poor day's work. It should also tions and practical hopes of the higher order of adepts; although it certainly vitiated their observations not a little, and corrupted the phraseology of their works through and through, if it did not demoralize their after the insolent, but gallant and impera- and the inductive syllogism. tive protest of Aureolus Theophrastus Bommedical school of his day, the alchemical theory and the alchemical practice of genuine observation in the laboratory fell asunder ;- one might say, always under censure

images they were never to seize, worked particle separated itself by fissiparation out thousands of incidental results. If from the good Greek noun, if Greek it be; they went after the illusions of the dawn, the oriental Al took itself off, and left shaped out of the murk by the twisted chemistry to pursue its own fortunes. The rays of a sun which was yet far below their ancient eastern element, however, did not at horizon, it was on the solid ground of na- once disappear from the earth; for it reture that they sped their weary hunt; and tained its devotees, no longer respectable bemany a trophy they found lying in the cause behind their age, till the close of last twilight, ready for their early hands, some-century; and indeed it has them yet, old times dazzling them into false perception half-witted men and younger monomaniaes again, but always rewarding their pains, not a few; happy creatures, ignoring all the visionaries, they were also chemists; and at the gifts of nature with ineffectual it is as chemists that they deserve the recog- hands, like ghosts at a feast! On the other nition of the world. They worked with water, hand, those of the sons of the prophets, they worked with fire; they digested, boiled, who at this parting of the ways chose the distilled, rossted, burned, smelted, crystal-path of true chemistry, were men of much lized, set agoing putrefactions and fermenta diligence and sound understandings, and tions; in short, they put in operation the they addicted themselves with zeal to the same sorts of processes upon the same sorts finding out of all sorts of new chemicals and chemical reactions. Van Helmont had bereditary and antique elemental ideas, they gun life as an alchemist, not in the sinister sense of the word; but he ended his career principles and compounds, which are com-monly called chemicals. Trying to scale although he will perhaps be better known although he will perhaps be better known to posterity as the originator of that hypothesis concerning an all pervading cosmical fluid, which has been elaborated in later sickly body into the state of golden health, be observed in their praise that, if they seems at all times to have been a very separable thing from the everyday occupa- men of science, it was particularly in their persons that (what Comte not happily calls) the metaphysical epoch of scientific history was reaching towards a higher stage of development, namely, toward the positive epochal method, the era of Descartes and intellectual habits in some degree. Soon Bacon, the day of experimental observation

It will be readily understood how, as soon bastes Paracelsus, modestly so self-styled, as the mind of science was withdrawn from against the pseudo aristoteleanism of the aims which were too lofty for its reach, and aims which were too lofty for its reach, and was then unreservedly directed to the positive labours of the laboratory, there would quickly succeed a remarkable extension of practical or concrete chemistry. The only thing that could compensate the emancipated votaries of alchemy for the giving up of their Chambers' votaries of alcaemy received appears the craving

^{*} Alchemy and the Alchemists. Papers for the People, No. 66.

of the soul for greatness of some sort or generalization of the phenomenon throughascension of the phlogistic chemistry,

by the post-alchemical craftsmen, a true che- the act of combustion itself. of wood, or brimstone, or anything else that cess was one and indivisible. is capable of being destroyed or changed by

another, was the rapid accumulation of a out all its known particulars and circumgreat mass of new information. Ideal had stances. The metals, with the exception of to be substituted by material wonderfulness, silver and gold, were changed into rusts or sublimity by size, depth by surface: and it calxes, resembling chalk or brick-dust or must be confessed even by the lingering dis- other colored earthy bodies, when heated high ciples of the alchemical mysticism, if such in exposure to the air of the furnace; and this posthumous and undated spirits can turn alteration they saw to be identical with what aside for a moment from their enchanted is undergone by brimstone, phosphorus or toils, that the number of solid and liquid be- any common combustible, when it burns dies, curious for their aspect or for their pro- with flame. Tin burns with a glow, indeed, perties as chemical reagents, acids, alkalis, which is so like ordinary flame as to have salts, mixts, calxes, precipitates, sublimates, been quite adequate to the suggesting of the essences, oils, butters and spirits, which were rest of the secret ;--no secret now-a-days, of brought out of nature at this period, was as course, since we work in metals that take It is impossible, indeed, for the fi e when thrown on water, and think nothing most positive and the least speculative of the of burning iron-wire in oxygen like a waxchemists of the present day, were it even a match in the air; but a great affair for the Rose among his platinum crucibles or a Platt- early twilight, between the meteors of the ner with his blowpipe, to overvalue the alchemical night and the coming sun of posiamount of plain honest and sufficient, though tive chemistry, in which it was first made. merely preliminary, work that was done be- It was thus, then, that the whole science, tween the apotheosis of alchemy and the such as it was in the first watch of the postmediæval morning of its now broad day, But that happy, though somewhat meteo- was divided into distinguishable parts:-the ric, rise of a new science from the shaken study of bodies before combustion, and that ashes of the old mystery was not long of of the same bodies after that great cosmical beginning; for, in the midst of all the gal process. This division of chemical objects thering and crowding details, wrought out implied, as a matter of course, the study of mical principle began to gleam. These indus- matter was the thesis, burned matter the trious experimentalists began to understand, antithesis, and the process of burning the once for all, that the act of the burning of a mesothesis, of the new logic of chemistry. body, or the process of combustion, as it is The matters were as various as nature could now called, is a phenomenon of principal afford; they already knew a large number significance in chemistry. Perceiving that of substances, and undoubtedly anticipated the interpretation of the burning of a piece the acquisition of many more; but the pro-

Even this dividing of all the species of fire, would yield the clew to this whole de- matter then known into these two great partment of inquiry, namely, to the half-classes, the burned and the unburned, was chaotic mass of the chemical discoveries of most important for the wants of the period; the period, they invented a theory, or rather and it is now well understood to have been a hypothesis of the fictitious sort, capable of founded in truth. In a larger sense, it is as rendering the phenomenon of fire intelligi- true to-day as it was then, that all mineral ble to the mind, but not of explaining it in substances are either combustibles or ashes; conformity with the now known reality of and in the smaller sense of those grandfathings; and it was that memorable hypothers of ours, namely, in that of every inorthesis which constituted or consummated the ganic matter being either a combustible or new movement, and fairly consolidated the an atmospheric ash (that is, an oxide) it is second epoch of chemical development. But still correct, in so far as the immense matheir doctrine was founded on fact, and it jority of natural bodies are concerned. The owed all its value to the facts it represented. chemistry of that time was therefore brought Notwithstanding the fictitiousness of the into intelligible order by the generalization point of view, on which they eventually in question; and all the facts, of which its planted themselves, they were eminently body then consisted, were thereby made to practical men. They noticed with learned revolve round one great phenomenon as their eye that the process of common combustion common centre. In short, similar things concealed one of those central facts, on the were put together, in spite of their apparent elimination of which the progress of science dissimilarity; and dissimilar things were put is ever and anon depending. Obedient to asunder, notwithstanding their superficial rethe hint of genius, they proceeded to the semblances; and a genuine reformation was

begun, all with a degree of sagacity far more ashes or earth! But our cunning and wellphenomenon of fire itself, that one and universal agent of their chemical transformaa figment or a hypothesis, far to seek. The tile, material element of nature, had been played but a small figure in their doctrine; it, while they had made nothing of it what Egyptian, matter of fire, the empyrean eleunder the classical name and style of Phlogiston!

that long-lived word with historical accuracy from chemist to chemist, or even from time to time of its existence as a scientific power, proceeding to the consideration of the posi-

manly school.

A lighted candle burns till it is done, giv-

than equal to the task in hand. But it has appointed chemists, as has been said above, already been hinted that those venerable generalized the idea all over the enlarging chemists were by no means satisfied with the science. A stick of brimstone burns away perception and exposition of the analogy that with a blue flame and a suffocating vapour, subsists between the metallic calxes and the and the residue of its combustion is the sulacids, nor yet with their new classification of phurous acid: in the language of the phlomaterial forms. They advanced, without the gistians, brimstone is a compound of two infirmity of a doubt, to the explication of the things, sulphurous acid and phlogiston; and, when it is suffered to burn, it gives out its phlogiston or flame of fire, and there remains tions. Nor was an interpretation, say rather its dephlogisticated sulphur, or sulphurous acid, in the separated state. Phosphorus confiction, that fire is a substantial, though sub- tains, according to the exploded hypothesis, a white deliquescent acid and phlogiston; promulgated by Empedocles more than four and that so loosely united as to be kindled centuries before the coming of Christ: hand- or decomposed by a little friction, or by a ed down to the polypharmacists, it had slight elevation of its temperature: being burned, it sheds its phlogiston and the phosbrought to Europe once more, the alchemists phoric acid is reproduced. This school also had written not a little about it and about regarded the metals as compound bodies: each metal was supposed to consist of its ever as a theoretic centre: but now it was des- own rust or calx and the all-embracing phlotined to quicken the whole mass of a grow- giston; and, when any metal was burnt to a ing chemistry, and to give that unity to all calx in the fire or before the blowpipe, it was its parts, of which they stood more in need considered to have given out its fiery princithan ever. In fine, the ancient Greek, if not ple, and its ashes or rust remained. Iron was composed of iron-rust and fire, in the ment of the old quaternion, was at length scientific theory of those speculators; derecognised, set apart and consecrated by the phlogisticate it, that is, burn it to a cinder, hierophants of a young European science and you have the rust. Hence some bodies, such as wood, coal and especially charcoal, which give out much heat and leave appa-Not to trace the hypothesis embodied in rently little dephlogisticated matter when burnt, were viewed as substances overcharged with phlogiston, and therefore capab'e of imparting it largely to others. Now it allet us look at it as an epochal whole before ways was, as it still is, desirable to transform ores, such as the iron-rust in the various tive chemistry of Lavoisier and his more iron-stones, into reguline metals, such as iron; and it has long been understood that the best way of doing so, in the majority of ing out flame or matter of fire all the while : common instances, consists in mingling those -for what reason, but because a candle is a ores with carbon in some form or other and compound of candle-matter and phlogiston, then heating them in the furnace; a thing because that compound is decompounded but too easily explained by the fiction under when it burns, and because phlogiston is consideration, for the carbon had only to thereby set free and shews itself in the flame pour its phlogiston into the ores, and thereby from the beginning to the end of the pro- to convert them to metallic natures, solid The pure dephlogisticated candle- and bright! In the substance of silver and matter is also liberated, of course, little by gold, however, the fire was so compacted and little as the taper burns from top to socket; inherent that nothing could take it out of that candle-matter turning out to be carbonic them; and thence their fixity in the furnace, acid gas and water, as discovered by later under all ordinary circumstances: other methods of research: so that, according to metals were dephlogisticated or turned to the phlogistic chemistry, tallow should have mere calxes, their metallic nature quite gone been tabulated as a compound of fire with when heated to redness or melted in the air; water and fixed air. Counting the ashes of but the royal pair remained intact under the the wick and oil, this was neither more nor fiercest trial, and that constituted their royless than the experiment of the Greek phy- alty then, as it is one of the conditions of siologists after all :--phlogiston or fire, car-their value now. Even when their calxes bonic acid or air, moisture or water, and were stealthily made by precipitation from

the solutions of these noble metals, in the phlogiston were really a material substance. nitric and the nitro-muriatic acids respectively (the strong and the royal waters of a by e-gone terminology), the least elevation of temperature, even the action of light in some circumstances, or the mere contact of some highly phlogisticated substance, at once enabled them to snatch back their appropriate portions of phlogiston, and thereupon to become silver and gold again!

It might readily have occurred to an ingenious student of those days to inquire into the fortunes of phlogiston, when once liberated from a metal or a combustible: for, after the combustion of a piece of phosphorus, for example, the phosphoric acid remained and could be bottled up as a specimen of one of the supposed ingredients of that kind of matter; but what came of the fiery principle? where did the flame go to? was it merely seen for a moment and then lost? could it not be caught and kept like the acid? The opinion of the ancients seems to have been that it ascended right to the empyrean, that boundless space of pure fire which was supposed to inclose the air as the air inclosed the earth and the water of their universe; but, in the view of the phlogistians, it was no sooner liberated from a combustible than it passed into combination with the surrounding atmosphere, coming forth from the latent state of combination only to be devoured by the air, born only to die again! It could not, indeed, be emancipated from its union with one body unless another were ready to take it in without delay: fire was the momentaneous glance of phlogiston in its passage from one engagement to another; and thence the necessity of air to common fire, or else of some other atmosphere to the process of combustion in its more exceptional forms. It was, therefore, in connexion with this way of thinking concerning flame (and respiration at a later period) that Priestley, when he discovered oxygen, one of the constituents of our mingled atmosphere, supposed it to be air deprived of that phlogiston which fire-places and lungs appeared to be continually pouring into it, and he called it dephlogisticated air.

Among the difficulties which stood in the way of poor phlogiston, there was one which it needed both ingenuity and hardihood to surmount. It had been early observed (especially by Jean Rey, whose name de-

Lead, supposed a compound body, gave off one of its ingredients, phlogiston, becoming thereby the mere calx of lead; and yet that calx was heavier than the original lead. Whereupon the friends of phlogiston discovered that it was the one exceptional substance, and possessed of the unique property of positive levity; so that what body soever it entered into union with, such as lead-calx, straightway became lighter than it was before such addition to its substance! Air and smoke had formerly been supposed to be positively light, until Torricelli shewed that they rise, not because of their greater levity, but on account of their less density; and it is curious to consider that the popular mind, as well as the young or half-taught individual intellect, resembles the earlier historie spirit in this particular, and is invariably prone to the conception of cold, darkness, and other undeniable privatives or minors, as positive things. It is easy to smile at such mistakes now-a-days, with all those accumulated advantages to which the present age has been promoted by the labours of the very men who made them; but it is difficult to realize the position and the attitude of their minds. To do the former requires only a little information and flippancy; while the latter demands knowledge, reverence and imagination. It would be as ridiculous as it is impossible, of course, for the investigators of the nineteenth century to go back to the ways of thinking (not to mention the opinions and attainments) in science of the mediæval or the transitional period: but it were desirable to study the circumstances and the psychological direction of the times, together with the particular misconceptions and hypotheses which prevailed in them; for it is probable, if not certain, that similar errors, both in method and in matter, predominate in those departments of our own science, which have not yet lifted themselves entirely out of the limbo of fiction.

The singular evasion of the question of weight, frank and ready as it was, only introduced another perplexity; but the good old chemists were equal to the new emergency. If the calx of lead, or of any other metal, became lighter in common balanceweight by combining with phlogiston, that subject of a positive levity, how was it that it also became specifically heavier? The serves honourable mention as the unwitting calx was a comparatively light sort of stone; herald of Lavoisier) that certain metals were the lead, into which it was converted by heavier after than before calcification: ten union with light phlogiston, was a comparagrains or ounces of lead weighed more than tively heavy metal: a cubic inch of the ten after having been burned to a ealx; metal was twice as heavy as an inch of the whereas they ought to have weighed less, if stone. If the particles of an ounce of calk

had buoys of fire attached to them, so as at of the ancient Greek movement in philosohow should such enlarged and lightened par- that they were the equals of Lavoisier and ticles produce a metal of so much greater a Dalton in all intellectual respects, excepting specific gravity than the unphlogisticated that Christian virtue of sacrificing the intelphlogisticated particles of calx were not they were certainly their superiors in extent enlarged, they were only lightened; the of culture and in aspiration. Assuredly this then constringed or compressed them, as the that cavernous part of the history of chemisearth draws the atmosphere tight about it, try which they were traversing, but it was so that a greater number of the fire-pierced an image worthy of admiration and revecalcareous particles, thereby rendered me-rence. As to the generic idea of it, errotallic, packed into the same space, and there- neous though it was and is, it is extant in absolutely lighter, than the calx from which wherein that of Caloric differs from it as a it was made!

is exactly the reverse.

once to change them into particles of lead phy. Nobody who knows anything of and to make them lighter in the aggregate, Beccher and Stahl, for example, can doubt But there lay the secret: these leet itself on the altar of observation, while fiery particles were not stuck on the calx philogiston of theirs was nothing but an ones like so many vesicles; they penetrated Idolum Specus, a figure cast upon the imathem, as a sword goes into a scabbard, and gination from the phosphorescent walls of fore the metal was specifically heavier, though the science yet; for it is impossible to see scientific conception, although elaborated How catholic, elastic and satisfactory this with immensely greater precision, except venerable hypothesis must have been! It that caloric is the matter of heat while was all wrong, indeed, as a substantive doe-phlogiston was the matter of fire. Both trine. In one particular, it was a sort of phlogiston and caloric are substances which reverse of the truth. It is not the calxes have no existence whatever in the external and acids that are simple: it is not the com- world; they have both been the convenient, bustibles and metals that are compound; it though fictitious representatives of natural Sulphur, phos- realities, and they have both been eminently phorus, carbon and the combustibles, on one useful in standing for certain phenomena in hand, with lead, iron and the metals on the their several days: but the latter creature other, are elementary: the respective acids of the materializing tendency of unripe and calxes of these principles are the com- science is not a whit better in essence than pounds. The phlogistians may therefore be the former. Then as for the application of said to have perceived the relation subsisting the phlogistic dogma to the details of chebetween these two classes of bodies upsidedown, like the figures in a Camera Obscura; yet it glanced by the fact of the case in a and surely their chamber was obscure remarkable manner: the doctrine was little enough, all honour to the light they managed short of being the half of the actual truth. to cast into it from the depths of their own It kept the calxes together, and the known minds. The images of things are painted acids too, as all so many analogous; so that, on the nervous receiving-sheet inside the when Lavoisier arrived and discovered the eyeball in the same fashion, namely, in the composition of the mercurial calx, the reinverted position; but there is some cun- mainder of his task was done to his hand, ning principle of rectification, whether in or and all the other rusts and acids followed beyond the retina, whereby those images are the oxide of quicksilver by a natural and put on their feet again before presentation to easy consequence. Moreover, when Davy the perception of the indwelling mind. Now came on the scene, the classification of our this correcting power was wanting in the in-phlogistians, as extended and enhanced by tellectual organ of the phlogistic schoolmen; the great discovery grafted on it by the their interior eye had probably not been French chemistry, pointed not doubtfully to sufficiently educated to the unsophisticated the alkalis and earths as being probably perception of outward truth by the eruel nothing but the rusts or oxides of metals experience of their predecessors; and they difficult of separation from their ores; consequently suffered that we might learn, whereupon, with the help of electrolysis, he not only to look exclusively at nature, but made the brilliant discovery of potassium also to see things as they are. Their cogi- and the other easily combustible metals. To tative energy was still, in fact, greater than sum up the whole matter, this phlogiston their perceptive capacity; as had been more prepared the way for the balance, just as the and more signally the case with their three balance heralded the Daltonian arithmetic races of predecessors, the alchemists, the of chemistry: it had done the gigantic task polypharmacists, and the physiological school of putting the enormous huddle of known

awaiting the renovated eye of science in the epoch.

person of Lavoisier.

facts into order; and there they stood, fore proceeding to that still more remarkable

If phlogiston was not formally enunciated, It also served as a centre of coherence for or invented and applied in all its breadth, it the thoughts and new attempts of a race of was at all events announced in an intelligisplendid thinkers and industrions workmen, ble manner by Joachim Beecher; a man of from Stahl down to Cavendish. But for an eccentric and keen spirit, a scholar of phlogiston, less than half-truth though it liberal cultivation, and a wanderer upon the was, the science of these clear-headed and face of the earth. Little that is certain can adventurous men would have been but a be said about the particulars of his outward crude heap, instead of an intimate and life. He was born at Spire in 1635, was of all sorts of observations, not a melting of Bavaria in succession, and subsequently the them into one substance; a clumsy pudding-stone, or at best a somewhat confused under the auspices of the Emperor. One granite, not a clear and many-crystalled cannot know how much or how little he may quartz; a chaos of the senses, and not a have drawn the enmity of his contempora-creation of the mind. A great half-truth ries upon him by defiance and waywardwill be found at the core of the Lavoisierian, ness; and it is certainly interesting to obat the heart of the Daltonian, chemistries serve how frequently the Galileos, Keplers too; for man, at least considered as chemist, and Hahnemanns of scientific history have is destined to advance by a succession of oblique steps, forward yet ever somewhat ment they have received at the hands of a aside, for many a time to come; and the sooner he becomes aware of the fact the placable by submission. It is not easy to better. Not till then, at all events, shall he avoid the suspicion that he must have been be able to show forth a childlike faith in the but a 'discomfortable cousin' at the best, and past, a manly contentment with the present, perhaps he drew untold comfort and self-re-and a ripened trust in the future of science liance from the fact. Be that as it may, he and of all generous endeavour. Not till was pursued with the utmost rigour of both then will be feel the succeeding wons of his the civil and the lynch law of his day, and vast existence, in every part of history, to had to betake himself to flight and expatribe the onflowing of one river, the growing of one tree of life, or the rising as of one human being from infancy to age. The last exile and his latter end are now lost in obof these is the truest image, in fact, that scurity. Dumas avers that the envy of could be used. The playful and apparently courtiers, and the persecution he every-successless childhood of chemistry may be said to have passed among those young-souled Greeks, from whom pilogiston came in the most wretched of men; but even inordinate self-assertion, still down: they asked such profound questions more that over-valiant self-trust which is eaat Nature that they could not understand sily mistaken by the vain for the insolence her motherly responses, yet the very putting of pride, is not without its secret joy, with of those questions foreshadowed the whole which no stranger can intermeddle. It is history of the science. Its busy but little- therefore not inconceivable though surpridoing boyhood was spent in the East, under sing that, notwithstanding his erratic and caliphs and physicians, whose very names peaceless career, he wrote largely on theare fragrant with romance: its ardent and ology, politics, history, philology, mathe-imaginative pubescence, in the unbroken matics and chemistry. In one of his chemi-Christendom of the middle ages, amid the cal pieces, he describes an excellent porthum of scholasticism and under the shadow able furnace, full of little contrivances, and of Gothic architecture: and we have just handy enough in its way; and it is to be inseen something of its sturdy youth of some ferred that there was a practical turn in the what positive effort during the reign of midst of his multifarious speculative tenphlogiston. The fifth of its ages, that of dencies. He was even more fiercely antivictorious and self-confident manhood, now scholastic than his turbulent predecessor, the offers itself to the attention of the histor cal raging Paracelsus himself. Standing out for student: but it will be a relief to the strain the rights of experiment, he rejected the of chemical discussion, to put in a few words about the men whose names are associated fifth element or first matter of the later alwith the memory of the matter of fire, be- chemists; but he did so only to promulgate

four elements of his own, namely, fire, the Jof deep and wide views, or attempts to unsecond; and combustibles, including both combustibles, such as brimstone and phosphorus, formed the third: fire, the products of combustion, and combustibles eventually constituting the logical triad of that chemistry which arose out of the protest and new classification of this singular reformer; and it is needless to shew how true and invaluable all this was, always deducting the materialization of fire-a thing with which, by the way, the science of this age should kindly sympathize, for it still abounds in materializations of the same sort. His great work was, let us rather say is, the Physica Subterranea, of which only one part re-mains. It is dedicated to the Almighty doubt as to whether it is impious, or merely impious, or actually though fantastically pious. It is true, to be sure, that Van Helmont inscribed his works to Jehovah in a strain, which is as devout as it is foreign to the taste, if not to the spirit, of the present day. It were a becoming consecration, indeed, to put upon every grave production: but it ought to be written all over the book. and not only at the beginning or the end; and it should surely be done in invisible and sympathetic lines, so that only the warm and understanding heart of the reader should be able to bring them out on the unostentatious page, and that for no eye but his own.

George Ernest Stahl, the elaborator of the phlogistic hypothesis, was inspired with Was there any inward necessity, of a perhis thought by the works of this uneasy He adored the Physica Subterranea more especially. He calls it Opus sine not but invest his new thoughts, as seems to Parû, a work without a peer, Primum ac be the case of our own Carlyle? Or may it Princeps, first and foremost, Liber undique not have been a determined will to introet undique Primus, a book everywhere and duce, to the extent that he could, the writing everywhere supreme-and so forth. Born of scientific works in the vernacular speech? at Anspach in 1660, twenty-five years after Let our admiration and gratitude prevail his master or intellectual sire, he was a with us to suppose that the last of these is physician, and a first-physician to dukes the true explanation of this ludicrous chaand kings, in Saxe-Weimar and at Berlin, racteristic of his, for in that case he would till he died in 1734. His medical as well have one claim more on our regard; a as his chemical works approve him a man claim which should have peculiar force in a

earthy principle, the combustible element derstand those parts of nature to which he and the metallic one. The foundation of belonged; and it is well known that he is his chemical doctrine, in fact, was just a an important figure in the history of Euroclassification of material substances into pean medicine, while the Homœopathists of fiery or imponderable bodies, earths, combustibles and metals. The latter two kinds as one of the forerunners or outriders of of matter being subsequently understood to their hierophant. He was born a methobe analogous in so far as combustibility is dologist, and there lay his strength. His concerned, this division was still further extensive information, gathered from many simplified. Fire was then the first kind of quarters, grew easily into a system within substance; earths, calxes and acids were the his mind. By nature and by cultivation he was an unrestrainable system-builder; and, the metals and the common acid-yielding happily, his method, or principle of unity, was a good one for his sort of studies, especially for the chemistry of that day, which lay waiting for reduction to order after its agitation by the rough-handed Joachim of Spire. There was the particular work to do, here was the very man to do it; and it was done. Under the influence of poor Paracelsus, as well as of his more immediate exemplar, he was an experimentalist as well as a dogmatist, an advocate for experience as well as for thought, a man of facts as well as of ideas. In short, the theory of chemistry, which has just been explained at some length, was mainly the result of his observative meditation; and it is unnecessary Compounder in a queer, familiar yet strik- to add anything to that explanation, until ing style, leaving the sympathetic reader in the movement against it under the conduct of Lavoisier comes to be considered.

If Beecher was odd as well as original in his way of thinking, Stahl was certainly original as well as odd in his way of writing. His style is the strangest motley. It is half Latin and half German. This cannot have been owing to ignorance, for he was a learned man, and had more than enough Latin for his purposes. Neither is it to be rashly attributed to indolence or carelessness, for he was an industrious and painstaking chemist and physician. Certes, neither ignorance nor laziness were amongst his defects. Can it have been the sheer wilfulness of a Titanic and intellectually licentious spirit, like that of his elephantine and sportive countryman Richter in later times? sonal and psychological kind, for this fantastic coat of many colours, in which he could

popular dissertation like this, for it is clear science, it was under the illumination and that science could never have been discussed guidance of this Pillar of Fire that there before the unprofessional reader, until good lived, laboured, and prevailed some of the German and English had been substituted finest spirits that ever devoted their talents in our books for bad Latin. Since, then, to the work of chemistry. Amongst others, Doctor Stahl may really be considered as whom the particular limitations and the one of the tutelary geniuses of scientific lite- general scope of this short review render rature, the concluding words of his five fo- it undesirable even to name, there were lios on the Foundations of Chemistry cannot Scheele of Sweden, Priestley and Caven-be without some interest in the present condish of England, Black and Watt of Scotnexion. It is impossible to exhibit the gro- land, as well as the great Frenchman, tesque effect of the mixture of Latin and Lavoisier himself, at the commencement of German, with a sprinkling of Greek, in a his career. To say nothing of the modest translation; but the impatient etecteras are and secluded Scheele's discovery of new faithfully taken from the text, and they will solid and liquid bodies of every kind, it was convey some impression of the glorious ab- these men who began and carried forward surdity of the original. The recipe of the that pneumatic ehemistry, or chemistry of folio is this-three parts of good Dog-latin, the gases, which has done so much for the two of German, one of Etecteras, and a arts of life, which has also been incidental dash of new Greck, to say nothing partieu- to the transformation of the science, and lar about a pinch of Arabic.

science (that is, the excessive delectation and because it led to that memorable exand the cultivation of the mind,) and for pansion of modern ehemistry about to be purposes which are physical, economical, described as the epoch of Lavoisier. civil, &c., all that has been said is worthy, It was long till the vital air was clearly &c.:—I advise my noble readers to rumi understood to be a substance essentially so the world takes its last farewell of alchemy, with the wrath of heaven and an &c. !

into which it is now necessary to look, both 'As for the use of these things, both for because it arose among the phlogistians,

nate over what has been said, &c. But I similar to the earth and the sea; and there warn them altogether against those meteo- is little wonder that it should not, it is so zic studies, and vain promisings, opinions, thin, transparent, evanescent, invisible and speculations, for fear their mind should ruin mysterious. The result of the earliest their conscience, fame, time, faculty, &c. thoughts of mankind on the subject, in so Wherefore I warn them away from that vul- far as these are embodied in the young garly so-called alchemy and its foolish hopes, languages of the world, seems always to for it were surely absurd to hope that God imply some supposed analogy between the would make a man rich because he has impalpable breath of the physical heavens made him wise : and as for doing good with and the inscrutable spirit of God himself. it, that is mere knavery to be spit upon. The winds were Æolian powers, or rather Our Lord God wishes to have the poor and potentates, passing through the omnipresent the rich together, although he could soon sea of life, now rushing with demoniacal make us all rich. Morrhosius, in his epistle hurry athwart the scene, and now gently concerning transmutation, which is certainly stirring it like the breath of angels. The worth reading, for it contains some excellent things, tells how Kelly the Englishman got Latin, is significant of breath. It appears a certain tincture in a wonderful manner, that the force of inspiration, or the coming namely, on condition that he should dower of god or demon into an ecstatic person, is poor virgins with it; but while he toyed expressed by the word Wareen, the winds, with it, and wished to see if he really knew in Hindostan; and the very name cannot the craft of the thing, he actually wasted it but remind one of the divine Aura of the all in trials; and there happened to him ancient Romans, the sacred breeze of poetic one of those fates, whereof we have no ex- or prophetic rapture. Let facts of this sort amples now-a-days: wherein is to be seen be the indications, either that the mind of how their own inconsiderate nature and per- man in history has ascended step by step versity, especially in youth, ean bring men from material towards spiritual concepto ruin. Well, truly, does God ever deal tions; or, contrariwise, that he has come with us, even while the divine goodness de down from a primeval life of ideas into that nies us smiles in order to award us wrath, of nature and the senses, until he has lost &c.' So ends the Fundamenta Chymiae, and the idea in the symbol, and thereby become materialized: there is one conclusion that remains the same in either case, namely, that it was only in comparatively modern In addition to these two patriarchs of the times that the truly crass and unreservedly

material nature even of atmospheric air, have seen into the secret at once. not to mention the other (long unknown) reserved, however, for his pupil Torricelli gases, was plainly recognised. Nor has the to establish and work out his ready conjecwerial ocean, in which we are submerged, ture. The celebrated Pascal repeated, vericeased to be the inalienable symbol of what fied, and extended Torricelli's experiments. ever is spiritual and divine, even now that The truth of the thing, in brief, was and is we know all about it. It is still the appro- just this :- air, though comparatively light, priate type for the inflowing of the Catholic is positively heavy, having a weight of its spirit into the private soul of the saint, own. although its soft and secret substance has showed that a square inch of it, carried up been weighed in the balance, solidified in from the surface of the earth to the top of recoveries it is just as beautiful, as mys water into the void left by the updrawn the spiritual significancy of nature at all, it water, namely, the point of height at which

like a right conception of the ponderous character of the atmosphere. It had been thanks to Galileo, Torricelli and Blaise found, during the erection of certain public Pascal, the seer, the discoverer and the veriworks by the then reigning Grand-duke of fier of the fact. Tuscany, that water could not be drawn up a pump any higher than some two-and flourished at the beginning of the seventhirty feet. towards the upper end of a tall pump, the German mines were molested, just as our water followed with due fidelity so far, but it would not budge beyond a certain height. The schoolmen of that day had found an (for the words were German, though only easy explanation of the rise of water in too easily domesticated in England), by pumps, when the pistons are drawn up, in sufficienting and by fiery vapours, the former the famous proposition, or rather figure of of which put out life silently but summarily, speech, that Nature abhors a void :- the while the latter might blow its unfortunate air tight piston being clevated, an empty victims to pieces. In sarcastic playfulness space is left between the surface of the with the popular superstition regarding water and the piston, and therefore the these guardians of the mineral treasures of water goes up to fill it without a sensible the old earth, that singular man imposed instant of delay. But they had now to upon them the name of ghosts or gases; mend their maxim, because it appeared that but it must be confessed that he knew Nature did not unreservedly and implace-little or nothing positive about them. bly abhor a void after all; inasmuch as Boyle was probably the first to suspect that even water, the very type of mobility and some solid bodies do in certain circumstanobedience, would not follow the piston an ces, when they are heated for instance, inch above its own particular point of throw off artificial airs resembling the comchoice :- and they were thereby driven mon atmospheric gas in thinness and in. from the ineffectual, but not unpoetical, elasticity, as well as in dryness and permamysticism of their fathers to something like nency, but differing from it he could not sophistication, for they were fain to assert well tell how. It is related of Hoffman, that that she abhors it only to the height of ten he got himself into much trouble with the yards or so! It is never the originators of ecclesiastics of his place and time, who ema great but useful scientific error, nor yet bittered his latter days not a little on acits true and industrious believers, but its count of his physical criticisms, by averring indolent perpetuators who will not move that the spirits by whom certain foolish to the music of the new fact and the new students, addicted to midnight magical intime, that are ridiculous, shifty, ambiguous, cantations over chaufers glowing within and not respectable.

of the satellites of Jupiter, and he seems to maltreated, and hardly suffered to escape

The experiments of these men many a tangible compound, and made out the atmosphere, is no less than 15 lbs. in of stones by the hands of art. Notwith weight. It is this weight of the atmosphere, standing all our experiments, fixations and 15 lbs, on every square inch, that pushes terious, and as necessary to life as ever; piston of a pump; and there is, of course, for science does not destroy the poetical or a limit beyond which it cannot push the only removes it to a greater depth. 'Thou the column of water in the pump-tube is canst not tell whence it cometh, nor whither exactly balanced by the weight of the atmosphere. It is just a question of balance; Galileo was the first to form something 15 lbs. can support only 15 lbs.,-a thing which every body understands now-a-days,

In the time of Van Helmont, who The piston having been raised teenth century, the workmen in certain colliers still are, by poisonous choke-damp and explosive fire-damp; that is to say, chalk-drawn circles and pentagrams, had The case was now put to the discoverer been seduced, frightened, floored, otherwise with their beggarly lives, were undoubtedly It has to be taken in the dark, it has to be evil spirits or caco-demons, as they had been pronounced by a respectable bench of theological judges,-but the spirit of avarice to begin with, and the spirit of charcoal to

carry on the process! It was young Black, however, the greatest chemist Scotland has produced, and the discoverer of that fact of latent heat which Watt has embodied in the steam-engine, that took the first positively chemical step in this progress. He discovered that limestone (or chalk or marble or oyster-shell,) when burned in the kiln and thereby rendered quick, parts with a kind of air in which no animal can breathe and live; and also that it is owing to its setting free this air or gas that the change from inactive limestone to caustic quicklime is due. He called it fixed air, imprisoned in the rock till the furnace or oil of vitriol or the spirit of salt extricated it from its fixture. perceived and proved that this fixed air was neither more nor less than of the nature of an acid, but existing, alone of all acids, in the airy or gaseous state; not in the liquid or solid one, as was common and world-like. Thus was the fertile conception that there may exist many different kinds of airy matter, just as there are many kinds of solid and liquid substances, differing as much from the gas of the atmosphere as the vitriolic oil or the fuming liquor of Libavius or the essence of turpentine differs from the waters of the ocean, or as marble differs from sandstone, and sandstone from alabaster, fairly inaugurated. It was a magnificent discovery, and it was made at Edinburgh almost within the memory of its present inhabitants. late venerable Lord Glenlee, who had been the companion of Black, Hutton, Robertson, Adam Smith and all the intellectual magnates of old Edinburgh, once described to us the sensation it excited amongst the learned of that critical city; and it must still be avowed that it is the greatest discovery in natural science that has ever been made there. We also remember a conversation with Doctor Chalmers, who retained his generous love of science to the last concerning this chemistry of the gases. Flinging himself back into the last century, after having condescended on the latest improvements in organic analysis, he exclaimed,-'Yes, it is all very beautiful; but think of Black catching fixed air, and discerning it to be an acid, at a time when nobody thought of such things: that was the great stroke; it was a very great thing to do.' Yes, be the orator's judgment re-echoed now, for it impartiality. is the first step that is ever the heroic step. separated from chemical union with one

taken alone, it can be taken only by a man who is capable of taking all the past along with him, and it cannot be taken by him on whom the bounded present has already erystallized, changing him to a pillar of salt.

Soon after this initiative had been taken by Joseph Black, Priestley invented an easy way of collecting and handling gaseous bodies, the pneumatic trough with its jars, and actually came upon some nine kinds of gas (all differing from ordinary air and from one another) in the course of a few busy and even stormy years,-for poor Priestley was as restless a controversialist in theology and philosophy as ever Beccher or any of the alchemists had been, and had to undergo a world of trouble in connexion with his disputatious career. Scheele had meanwhile been making conquests of the same sort in an obscure Swedish town, with no apparatus but phials and bladders, and had added two or three more to the list of new gases. All Europe followed these sagacious leaders, Cavendish the discoverer of hydrogen. Watt who first suspected water to be eomposed of two gases, Rutherfurd the discoverer of nitrogen, Lavoisier the interpreter though not the first discoverer of oxygen, and the rest; until everybody has at length become aware that gases are just the steams of liquids which boil at immensely low points of temperature, these liquids being the liquefactions of solid bodies which melt at temperatures lower still, and that therefore there may be no end to the number of the kinds of gaseous matter, precisely as there is no known limit to the vast variety of liquids and solids. One species, or rather a variable mixture of two or three, composed of carbon and hydrogen, is made in the outskirts of nearly every town nowa-days in enormous quantities, and then sent away from a huge Priestlevan trough and jar, as from a heart, to eirculate through a system of metallic arteries for the purpose of lighting the houses of the rich, the chambers of the poor and the halls of the public, the incredulity of Walter Scott notwithstanding. Hoffman's spirit of charcoal, the fixed air of Black, the carbonie acid of the present nomenclature, is studiously crushed into bottles of soda-water by stout machinery, to be quaffed by the luxurious and the ailing before it has time to fly away. Our cottons and linens are bleached by chlorine. Great balloon are filled with the phlogisticated air or hydrogen of Cavendish, the lightest of corporeal bodies, to carry men of science and fools with singular Oxygen and hydrogen are

another in water, suffered to remain mecha- But neither the multifarious applications nically mingled, and then made to unite of the pneumatic chemistry, nor yet the again by combustion at the nozzle of the light it threw on a multitude of natural opeoxy-hydrogen blow-pipe, so as to produce a number of useful and beautiful results. The arsenic that may lark about the putrid important than these things. It was noremains of a dead and buried man is transformed by an easy process into arseniuretted history of chemistry at large. It rendered hydrogen gas, so as by its decomposition to bring the metal that laid him low before the eye of a jury. The spirit of could not stretch to its demands; the tree hartshorn is now understood to be but a began to burst its bark. That admirable compound of nitrogen and hydrogen, called phantom phlogiston could not contain, keep ammonia, absorbed and probably in combination with water; while the old spirit of ries. It was no longer sufficient for its hissalt or muriatic acid, is just an aqueous solution of hydrochlorie gas; and the knowledge of these things is daily made use of discoveries, which would never have been in the manufacture of those indispensable made but for phlogiston, were turning liquors. The nitrogen is seduced into something like an unwilling chemical union with made. As is ever the case, his own prothe oxygen of the atmosphere, by a device borrowed from nature, so as to yield the own dogs wheeled round on this Action to nitrate of lime, the nitrate of potassa or rend him; and the memory of Thales and salt-petre, the nitrate of soda, and (by a se- all the Greeks was now to be done to death condary process) the nitric acid or nitrate for more than age. But the old fellow stood of water itself, that invaluable oxydant and gallantly at bay; and it is notorious that solvent of the metallurgist and the chemist. the very men, whose discoveries brought all Hydrogen, oxygen, nitrogen and chlorine, this tendency to mutiny and revolution the four gaseous elements now known, (to about, stood by the falling order of things say nothing of fluorine, which is doubtless to the last. Neither Cavendish nor Priestdestined to be proved a true gas) and a ley ever abandoned the matter of fire. great number of gaseous compounds of these True to Empedocles and Stahl, they persimple airs with one another, and with both sisted in conceiving of hydrogen as phlogisliquid and solid kinds of matter, are not tieated and of oxygen as dephlogisticated only daily prepared with certainty and pre- airs respectively, even after the ponderable eision, but hourly transferred from combi- constitution of water had been suggested nation to combination, in the operations of by Watt, discovered by Cavendish himself, the manufactory and the laboratory. In and completely interpreted by Lavoisier. fact, there is no end to the applications of Cavendish, indeed, gave over chemical inthis pneumatic chemistry, which took its vestigation in disgust, and betook himself rise within the (old) college of Edinburgh to electricity, as soon as it became clear from the mind of a student of medicine, that the new theory of chemistry had won who had been faithfully brought up in the the day. The restless and hasty, but in-Stahlian creed by Dr. Cullen, at once his ventive and generous Priestley in his old preceptor and his disciple. The chemistry age took refuge from his enemies in Ameof the gases, in truth, is one of several rica; and persevered in the writing of long achievements which unite to throw some querulous letters to the Academy at Paris thing like an imaginative lustre around those about phlogiston, after it had been taken up crowds of nomadic young men, who yearly by the roots with universal acclamation and congregate in the metropolis of Scotland for consigned to the Hortus Sicens of History. the study of physic. Within the indefinite Old doctrines and beliefs are the true mancircumstances and the questionable appear drakes, many-rooted in the long-trodden ance of the student of any current session, soil; and they utter their cries of pain there may be working and striving towards when they are torn up, like those living effective utterance some conception, which plants of old and fabulous renown. Alas, will one day raise him to the companion- the superlative difficulty, and that not only ship of the accomplished and much accom- the intellectual, but even more especially plishing, though mild, retiring and delicate the moral difficulty of loosening the mind Joseph Black, who lived as fine a life of from the firm-seeming coast of prescriptive science as was ever lived, and died with a and contemporary theory, and of thereupon cup of milk unspilt in his hand.

rations, was its greatest result. Its relation to the growth of the science was still more thing less than a critical momentum in the in order, and govern all those new discovetorical purpose. Chemistry was growing too great for its antiquated rule. The very against it almost as soon as they were geny rose up to devour this Saturn; his tempting the untried deep where no credible

land appears to rise, has never been handled which constitutes the turning point of the with love and justice, whether by poets or history now under review. It is easy and historians. More commonly the apostle of social to speak with effusion about the diviphet of the old idea :- and yet the New nation, but it seems generally to be indiviman, whose nature it is to love the past, to better than them all. revere its great names, to delight in its excellent construction, to eling to its established ways, to take a paternal pride in his own contributions to its citizenship, and, in fine, to embrace it with all the arms of his soul, must feel the island-home of his thoughts and hopes begin to move under his tread as if it were no island, can be altogether understood only by the high-hearted and adventurous mariner, who has pitched his tent on some pleasant, but volcanic and temporary margent the day before its going down again to the deep. To bring this sad reflection to a merry end, however, it must also be confessed that there is a lazy conservative spirit which is as ridiculous and comic as this earnest passion for the good old ways is tragic and far from ignoble. Perhaps the quaintest instance on record of that funny indolence was the case of a worthy professor of chemistry at Aberdeen. He had allowed some years to pass over Davy's brilliant discovery of potassium and its congeneric metals without a word about them in his lectures. At length the learned doctor was concussed by his colleagues on the subject, and he condescended to notice it :- 'Both potash and soda are now said to be metallic oxides, said he; the oxides, in fact, of two metals, called potassium and sodium by the discoverer of them, one Davy in London-a verra troublesome person in chemistry.'

It was Antoine Laurent Lavoisier, who first felt the pressure of this necessity for a renovated theory of Chemistry, and at once began to construct it, say rather to woo it from the opening bosom of nature, where it lay ready to come forth at the call of him that knew the word of power. Dumas has triumphantly shown that his countrymen had formed the idea of his great revolution at the very outset of his career, and that even before many of the pneumatic discoveries of the Swedish and British phlogistians had been made and published. There can be no manner of doubt, in fact, of the single-handed originality of the French lawthe cupel to that of oxygen and the balance air and exercise was going to do him harm.

the new insults over the senility of the pro- sion of labour and the grandeur of combi-Testament might surely have taught Chris- dual men that do the greater business of tendom how to think, feel and speak about science and of the world after all. Instievery foregoing dispensation. On the other tutes, academies, royal societies, have all hand, the pain with which an industrious been good; but a man like Lavoisier is German, British, American associations have their important purposes to serve, and they subserve them well; but an opinion just begins to prevail, that in these days we run some danger of being associated to death. Excessive association certainly tends to the production of weakness in the individual unit, if the resulting whole is strong; and it is fortunate that there are some men so unsocial as to dwell apart, drawing inspiration from the quiet past, from the instant universe itself, and from the twittering dawn that is ever arising in the east.

Strange to say, although Lavoisier was early an academician, there was not a little of this individuality and isolation in his character, notwithstanding that he did not resemble Stahl so much in this respect as Dalton did,-but he is never to be compared with these epochal men, his sole co-equals in the history of chemistry, in largeness and energy of intellectual structure, while he may be confidently pronounced their superior in lucidity of the understanding. Born at Paris on the 16th of August in 1743, the son of a rich merchant capable of appreciating his child, he was left very much to the guidance of his own intellectual instincts. Having studied mathematics, astronomy, botany, all with some degree of particularity, he at length took lessons in chemistry at the hands of old Rouelle, an odd and extravagant enthusiast who professed the science at Paris in those days. A young man of many talents and accomplishments, the world of science lay all before him and invited his devotion. Circumstances conspired with his peculiar genius to lead him into those chemical recesses or Physica Subterranea of nature, into which he was one day to shed a whole atmosphere of light. Dumas mentions with honest pride how, while yet a youth of twenty-two, his hero kept himself six weeks in total darkness, in order to intensify the sensibility of his eye to the perception of faint degrees of luminosity; also how he renounced the solicitations and blandishments of Parisian society for the secluded pursuit of science; and how he giver of chemistry in bringing about that put himself on short commons of bread transition, from the era of phlogiston and and milk, when he found that the want of These are probably things, one might say, ever in the history of chemistry and human which it is more difficult to do in Paris than progress. Take him all in all, he must have in London or at Edinburgh, otherwise his been an industrious, devoted, aspiring, pubcountryman and celebrator would scarcely lie-spirited, virtuous, and really great man; have thought them so notable; yet they do as he was certainly an accomplished man indicate a spirit of quiet self-determination of science and the first of chemists. As a on the part of the young discoverer. It man of intellect he belonged to his city likewise appears that he soon understood the scope of the great task which began to tivist, a disciple of Condillae in philosophy unfold its proportions before him, and he (if philosophy it might be called), a man of made ready to undertake it with a deal of the senses and the judgment according to cool-bloodedness. need a good income for his purposes, he ist, a man of science not a philosopher, busied himself to obtain the appointment analytic and rhetorical rather than a syntheof a farmer-general of the public revenues. tist and a maker, acute not subtle, crystal-When he succeeded, the chemists said he clear but not profound. What with his had forsaken chemistry, and the farmers young and demonstrative enthusiasm in purlooked askance upon him as an interloper; suit, his intimacy with Laplace and many but he eventually approved himself the best of the greater men of his day, his liberal of farmers and the greatest of the chemists public spirit, his perspicacious and sceptical of his day. In timely consolidation of his mind, his keen but not ungenial criticism of monetary foundation, he at the same time the past, and his discoveries in physical obtained the hand of the daughter of one of science, it would be difficult to find a more his colleagues in the financial trade, a lady favourable and substantially excellent examwho married Thompson the American, com- ple of the kind of man and thinker which monly called Count Rumford, after the ex- the eighteenth century could produce, in ecution of her immortal Lavoisier.

age, he was put at the head of the govern- qualities could not save him from the revomental saltpetre works at thirty-three, during | lutionary scaffold. Upon some paltry accuthe ministry of Turgot; and, after several sation of their having authorized or winked other little public dignities had been contact the putting of too much water on the ferred on him, he was made a member of Republic's tobacco, a number of the farmersthe famous commission on weights and mea- general were condemned to death; and the sures in 1790. The year after this he progreat chemist was one of them. It was in duced his treatise on the territorial wealth vain that he hid himself in some innerof France, and the Constituent Assembly most cabinet of the academy: he was printed it at the expense of the common-wealth. It moreover seems to be the unanimous verdict of his countrymen, at least in these days, that he behaved himself seems now to aggravate this disgusting existence there moved an orb of thought to think that the guillotine swept off the chemical discovery and doctrine all the time. Inceted with this homicide, was the fact that Beginning in 1772, in the course of his the discoverer was just at the middle of his thirtieth year, he published some forty memoirs in the Transactions of the Academy two sentences he supposed. These are the last two sentences he ever wrote:—'This is not by 1786, within the space of fifteen years, all of them bearing on his new theory of ign organized bodies; indeed I have purchalle about the place to enter into any details concerning organized bodies; indeed I have purchase the place to enter into any details concerning organized bodies; indeed I have purchase the place to enter into any details concerning organized bodies; indeed I have purchased bodies; indeed I

Perceiving he should sense, essentially if not formally a material-France and at Paris, than this our lucid La-An academician at twenty-five years of voisier. Yet all his services and all his fine in a manly and business-like way in all his scene in the historical eyes of Dumas, but it public capacities, such as they were. But surely relieves its ignominy in so far as the within all this busy and successful outward raging populace were concerned at the time, and labour, which was of incalculably more head, not of the crowned and illustrious importance to the world. The revenue-farmer was working out a vast scheme of Five. The truly pathetic circumstance, conchemical discovery and doctrine all the time. neeted with this homicide, was the fact that public character, and a great legislator in ing of the phenomena of respiration, sanscience, he engaged in some of the most guification, and animal heat. I shall return disgusting of chemical investigations from some day soon to these subjects.' He nemotives of humanity, thereby adding works ver returned-in the body; but his spirit, of supererogation to those great labours the clear and unmistifiable spirit with which which have given him a name to live for he questioned the unknown, the candid and

obedient spirit wherewith he listened for the | poured a kind of mild and sad contempt answer of nature, is with us still, the nobler portion of the legacy he left with his disciples. May it never leave them! While the chemists of the rising generation endeavour to assimilate, in their proper personalities, somewhat of the profound insight into principles of the Greek physiologists, the religious industry of Ghebir and his pharmacologers, the intellectual ambition of Friar Bacon and the alchemists, the inventiveness and method of Stahl and the pneumatic leaders, may they always be strong enough to subordinate those shining qualities to the incorruptible common sense of the great French chemist and his disciples; and, if still newer intellectual manifestations are now about to be evolved with the development of science, may the same principles of common sense accompany chemistry and its explorers, as the ballast of the good ship, for the name of the slaughtered Lavoisier can never cease to be whispered from ear to ear even on the strangest seas.

It is illustrative of his inborn disposition to cope with the greatest questions, as well as of the power of an old idea in a science, that the earliest spontaneous investigation of Lavoisier actually drew its initiative from the dogma of Thales concerning water as the first and fontal element of things. That primitive conception, in truth, had never quite disappeared from the horizon of physics; although water was early reduced to the inferior dignity of being no more than one of four elemental natures as has been explained above. The fontal or generative character of that all-important liquid had been advanced by Van Helmont in later times in connexion with an especial chemical instance. That converted alchemist maintained that water was convertible into earth by prolonged boiling, an opinion, apparently grounded on experiment, which had the continued countenance of Beccher and That transcendental element of the old chemistry, in fact, was long-lived and tenacious. The inordinate love of sublimity and unity was not easily extinguished, even in so methodical a spirit as Stahl himself. He retained a provisional region for facts and thoughts beyond the reach of Phlogiston. The belief, or rather the apprehension, of something far more wondrous than metallic calxes and the matter of fire formed the back-ground on which his particular chemical doctrine was painted; and through the visible darkness of that distance there loom-

upon it. They provoked an undefinable longing in the mind for something they could never give. It therefore behoved the man of a new time, it behoved the young Lavoisier to lay them to rest in one way or another, to settle the questions they suggest-ed once for all, to discover the limits of chemical enquiry, in one word, to understand without mistake the boundaries of his sphere; and, happily, those lingering ghosts remained in such a questionable shape that he could speak to them. He asked not authority, not reason, not imagination; for none of these could tell, and he knew it: he asked Nature if water could or could not be turned into stone, and asked in such a way that she could not but accord an intelligible and also an unmistakable answer. took an alembic, which may be described as an air-tight still in which the condensed steam or distilled liquor always flows back into the boiler, weighed it, put an ascertained quantity of water into it, made it airtight, and set the water a boiling; the steam rising, getting condensed, and trickling back continually through the tubular arms of the pelican. It was kept boiling in this way for a hundred-and-one nights and days, circulating inside the air-tight apparatus. At the end of that period, the whole affair had lost no weight. The pelican or alembic had lost seventeen grains. The water had gained weight, and it was muddy with earthy particles. When this mudded water was evaporated to dryness there remained 20 grains of earth, 17 grains of which had clearly been worn out of the substance of the vessel; but where had the other 3 grains come from? Lavoisier at once assigned them to the incidental errors of experiment, and he does appear to have been wonderfully easily satisfied on the point; for surely an error of three grains in twenty was too large to be overlooked in an attempt to solve so great and venerable a question. The fact is that the three odd grains came from the water itself, the original water doubtless containing that amount of saline and organic matter in solution. But this experimentalist was right in the main, and the earth, which Van Helmont and Beecher traced to the transformation of water, was thus discovered to have come from the earthy vessel in which the water had been pertinaciously boiled. Scheele investigated this very question in another manner; he analyzed the earth produced, ed two or three shadowy figures, pointing and found it to be the same as the stuff of inwards to some land of promise. These did not interfere with the foreground, but French and Swedish chemists, taken togethey made it feel unsatisfactory. They ther told with fatal effect. The day of

was growing great enough to fill the ina- - a kind of thing which posterity always gination without the help of transcendental likes to forget. dogma, and the new students were merciless

experimenters.

The notable circumstances in this experiment of Lavoisier, as has been pointedly urged by Dumas, is the use of the balance. Till this weighing of the alembic, the water used in chemistry as an implement of retaught that, when a calx united with a quanmetal was not so heavy as the original calx. to be the principal agent in chemical operation, was supposed to be even lighter than nothing, the balance could not possibly be ininvestigation. Accordingly, when Lavoisier the balance implied the perception, by him solid litharge employed.' stance whatsoever are burned, distilled, or in any way altered by a chemical process, then must be accounted for after the operation; are consumed by fire, the 100 must be found, when all is done, in the ashes, the water and the carbonic acid resulting from the combustion, for nothing is ever lost. Weight was, for this intelligent and resolute stranger on the arena of chemistry, an immutable thing in nature. He saw without a doubt that the opposite of gravity, namely, the levity of the schoolmen, was a mere negation; a relative term, not a positive reality; a no, not This original perception, or first act of insight, was the starting-point of his ca-It was the first-fruit of his happy genius; and, thank heaven, there were also vouchsafed to him industry, courage, talent and wealth, sufficient for its fulfilment and elaboration: he had not to teach a dayschool, attended by scrubby little boys with bare feet and with satchels on their backs, like Dalton during a considerable part of his

scepticism had come at last, for chemistry forc he was either listened to or understood

After what has been mentioned, it is easy to understand how Lavoisier should have communicated the following note to the Academy so early as the 1st November 1772, when only in his thirtieth year, before the discovery of oxygen gas, and before and the residue, the balance had not been the full development of chemical pneumatics, which has been sketched above :- 'I search; even Scheele had an eye only to have lately discovered that where sulphur the quality, not at all to the quantity, of the is burned there is produced an acid with inearthy matter, when he made his analysis crease of weight; and it is the same with or rather his testing of it. We have already phosphorus. That increase of weight comes seen how the phlogistians conceived and from the fixation of a prodigious quantity of air. If the metals also, when calcined, tity of phlogiston, it had lightness added to increase in weight, it is just from a similar it, not weight, and therefore the resultant fixation of air, and I can prove it by experiment. In fact, if I take a metallic calx and In fact then, so long as philogiston, assumed heat it with carbon in shut vessels, then at the moment when the calx is reduced to the metallic state,-at the moment, for example, when litharge, (the calx of lead) is changed troduced into chemistry as an instrument of into metallic lead, there reappears the air which had become fixed when the metallic ordered a fine balance to be made with a view lead had previously been made into a calx, to its employment in research, the fate of and you may collect an aerial product at phlogiston was sealed. The very thought of least a thousand times more bulky than the 'This experiwho first thought of it, of the central idea of ment,' it is added, 'appears to me to be one all positive chemistry, namely, that every of the most interesting that has been made chemical operation ends in an equation; if since Stahl:'-and so indeed it was, for it 100 grains, ounces or pounds of any sub-involved the superseding of the Stahlian view of, and way of looking at, the phenomena of chemistry. This experiment, in truth, clear-100 pounds, ounces or grains of material ly contained the discovery that when brimstone and phosphorus are changed by comif 100 grains or hundred-weights of wood bustion into acids, and when a metal is burned to a calx, the change is owing, not to the giving out of a phlogiston by these combustibles respectively, but to their absorption of and chemical combination with large quantities of some ponderable kind of But nobody saw its vast importance except the experimentalist himself. So late as 1778, six years after the observation was made known, Macquer had a great load taken off his stomach (to use his own expression in a letter) by finding, after all due ventilation of the matter among his scientific gossips, that phlogiston was far from having any need of going to the wall yet. Be it repeated once more, with deep and affectionate respect, that it is no easy thing to give over a cherished theory: it is almost as difficult as to discover a new one; and it is only the frivolous and changeable inventor of new-fangled conceits, or the light-hearted life; and therefore he was comparatively minion of every glittering innovator, that rapid in his progress, although he had to refuses to do homage to the loyal spirit of work and write during not a few years be- the honest conservative. We remember with how much tenderness, we had almost but facts which never conducted them to said with what a tone of sadness and sense of injury, the late Doctor Hope chid one of the expectant graduates of the College at Edinburgh, on the occasion of the public defence of their medical theses in 1839, for entertaining the undemonstrable Ammoniumview of the constitution of the ammoniacal salts. The venerable professor retained his well-grounded fidelity to good old Ammonia, saying that he had 'hoped it should at least last all his days.'

Lavoisier knew the worth, and anticipated the future value, of his young and yet immature idea; and that was enough. Dumas has called the particular attention of chemists to the fact, accordingly, that although it was in 1772 that his hero began the interchange of preliminary shots, it was not till 1783, eleven years later and in the course of his forty-first year, that he fairly gave battle to phlogiston. Till that period, says the historian, Lavoisier seemed to have retreated from his position, in the opinion of the superficial. But it was only because he had not yet collected and organized a strong enough array of facts for the defence of his proposals. In truth, after having been eleven years engaged in the working out of his theory, Lavoisier was in the glorious minority of one, in so far as the chemists were concerned: he had only one disciple, and that one was his friend Laplace, the astronomer. It was not till 1787, when the reformer was forty-four years of age and a veteran in science, that Fourcroy began to teach both the phlogiston hypothesis and the oxygen theory in his public lectures, and to draw a comparison between them to the advantage of the latter. Berthollet joined the new Guyton Morveau, cause the same year. Monge, and gradually all the world, including Great Britain, followed their leaders at Then, after everybody was converted to the new views, and after the academicians had aided our discoverer in the construction of a nomenclature fitted for the expression and illustration of the new chemistry, it began to be everywhere discussed and applauded as the doctrine of the French chemists forsooth! 'This new blow was very painful to him,' writes his admirable vindicator :- 'That theory,' he cried, 'is not, as I hear it called, is not the theory of the French chemists, it is mine own; it is a possession which I claim at the hands of my contemporaries and posterity.' Much was also said, of course, about those things which he owed to Priestley, Cavendish, Scheele. He try may be briefly summed up in a few owed them much; yet he owed them only paragraphs, but that without being careful to facts, and facts distorted by the false medium assign each particular to its author, seeing

any such theory, facts which easily fell into order under his theory, and facts that he discovered for the most part almost as soon as themselves. He owed them not a ray of thought: he owed them obstruction. Nor were good-natured and impartial critics slow to remind a generous cosmopolitan public that Jean Rey, (and who knows whom besides?) had previously found that metals were heavier after than before combustion or calcination and did then contain air; but they reminded neither the world nor themselves that the invaluable discovery remained as barren as ice, until the radiance of Lavoisier's searching spirit made it flow over the plain, bringing all manner of fruits out of the willing earth, and going down to bear rich fleets upon its bosom.

It were impossible, within our limits, to trace the succession of particulars in the progress of Lavoisier's career: suffice it that it was arduous, singlehanded, and victorious in his own lifetime. The crowning moment was perhaps the following discovery:-Oxygen had been discovered by Priestley and by himself; he had also ascertained that it is the oxygen of the atmospheric air that becomes fixed (or absorbed and combined with) when brimstone is burnt or a metal calcined; so that the calx of quicksilver was known to contain at least mercury and oxygen, whatsoever else it might contain. He therefore took a known weight of mercurial rust, and drove the oxygen out of it by heat (for simple heating decomposes that oxide); but did so in such an apparatus as enabled him to catch and retain that oxygen, as well as to preserve the liberated quicksilver also. He next recalcined this same mercury, by means of the same oxygen as had just been expelled from the original calx employed; and he thereby obtained the same weight of the calx of mercury as had been introduced into the apparatus at the beginning of the experiment. This was an express illustration of the fact that the red rust of quicksilver is a compound of nothing ponderable but mercury and oxygen, instead of quicksilver being (as had been so long and loyally believed) a compound of its own calx with the positively light phlogiston. When it was made out that the sum of the weights of the mercury and the oxygen, obtainable by heat from any known weight of mercurial calx, is exactly equal to that weight, the experimental demonstration was complete.

The substance of the Lavoisierian chemisthrough which their discoverers saw them, the central facts and the great vivifying truth of the whole system were Lavoisier's own question. Lord Brougham, Arago, Dumas, unmistakable handiwork.

things, not the first of material forms, not the beginning of creation. It is not even It is not long, indeed, since a deceased critic the best or highest in rank, as Pindar expresses it, of four or any other number of It is not an element at all: it is the resulting unity of two elements in combination, hydrogen and oxygen. It is the rust or calx of hydrogen, as iron-rust is the calx of iron, as the oxide of mercury is the calx of quicksilver: it is the oxide of the gaseous metal hydrogen. It is curious to take notice of the changing fortunes of this sweet blood of nature in the history of chemistry. First the matrix of the whole universe, then only one of four elements, though the chief of the quaternion, more latterly looked upon as at least an altogether peculiar and calx-producing principle, and at last discovered to be itself nothing but a liquid product of combustion, one oxyde among many, the mere ashes of so much burnt hydrogen, a common compound of two out of a large number of elements. Yet this composition of water was a critical discovery in its day: for some years the whole seience revolved around it; and it is still the typical illustration of the chemistry of analysis and synthesis. James Watt of the Steam-engine, though not otherwise known in chemistry, was the first to form the conception that water is composed of hydrogen and oxygen, or rather of phlogisticated and dephlogisticated airs (the same things as objects certainly, but somewhat different in and for the mind); and Cavendish, a truly great discoverer of facts in this science, was the first to or main products of the decomposition of ormake the proposition good by unassailable ganized creatures, plants and animals. experiments: but this all-important discoof both these inventors, by their mistaken adhesion to phlogiston; so that it was the light of Lavoisier's system after all, that speak from the point of view of chemistry gave its significance to that capital fact. Lavoisier did make the discovery for him-the great consummator of the movement of loping a vast system, and exempinying a eartis, of two mains, and of the first and mains, and of the most men were the conservative seekers of only particular facts. Such appears to be a righteous judgment regarding the several the three known combustibles into acids, it claims of these three investigators in this was supposed to have converted the three

have all broken their lances in trying to set-§ 1. Water is not the element of all the rival claims, to say nothing of the kindly effort of one of the relatives of Watt. of our own mingled in the controversy, investigating and adjudicating on its merits, with the skill of an advocate and the love of a friend, if not with all the impersonality of a judge. The question has likewise been handled more recently, and that with much knowledge and rare acumen, in the Life of their name-sire sent forth by the Cavendish Society. On the whole, however, while feeling that all such questions of priority are but poor things, we stand by the opinion already pronounced without misgiving, but also without much concern, for Lavoisier can spare deductions from his estate of fame, which would impair the heritage of either Cavendish or Watt.

> As for the air of the atmosphere, the new chemistry found it to be no more an elemental principle of nature than the water of the ocean, but just a mechanical mixture, for the most part, of some 20 parts of oxygen, and 80 parts of nitrogen or ozote, kept habitually moist by a varying ratio of watery vapour, whether visible or invisible. It also contains some 4 parts in 1000 of carbonic acid gas, to say nothing of those traces of ammonia, carburetted hydrogen (and what not?) more lately discovered in its allembracing substance. To the earlier Lavoisierian, then, the atmosphere comprised the three gases, hydrogen, oxygen, nitrogen, and the hardest of solid bodies, namely, carbon or the diamond,-the four organogens

On the other hand, the earth, the third very was surely mystified, in the thoughts of the old elemental quartad, is the resultant of the combinations and mixtures and juxtapositions of some seventeen metals (still to self, it seems; and certainly he would have Lavoisier), of six non-metallic bodies or made it first, but for the anticipation of Watt combustibles (three known, namely, earbon, and Cavendish: yet the grand distinction of sulphur, phosphorus; and three inferred to the French lawgiver is the circumstance that exist, namely, the muriatic, fluoric and bohe was bringing about a reformation, deve- racic radicals, as they were called), of five loping a vast system, and exemplifying a earths, of two alkalis, and of the three atmatter. Since they represent Scotland, England and France respectively, it is but naturesponding known acids; it converted the ral that a good deal should have been written metals into bases or so many sorts of earth with some acerbity on all the sides of the or alkali, and it was supposed to be the cal-

cifying principle of the regular earths and their system the notion of a kind of matter, alkalis; and, in fine, the compounds of oxy- capable of entering into chemical combinagen with other elements, whether known or tion with the indubitable kinds of matter, shrewdly inferred, were perceived to be the and yet, not only without visibility or palmost abundant and widely spread of all na-tural combinations:—so that this whole out weight, without the tendency to gravicrisis of quick development may well be tate towards the central body of the earth, called the epoch of oxygen and the balance, without the power to help the rest of the It was the pneumatic chemistry that prepar- world to draw towards and move round the ed the way for it, it was the balance that sun, in a word, without one of the actual ushered it on the scene, and oxygen is its common properties of all the known forms great result. The discovery of oxygen ren- of matter, let the mediæval scholastic or dered the balance both applicable and ne- the modern geometer call it an essential cessary, the use of the balance put oxygen property or not! Posterity will assuredly in its place within the system of nature and regard this as one of the half-truths or meof science, and they can never be put asun- taphysical mystifications at the core of the der in the memory of the chemist. A glass- Lavoisierian chemistry, as it is well known covered balance, turning on an edge of ada- to be by many now-a-days, notwithstanding mant, with the antique symbol of the mer- that our text-books in this highly positive curial calx in one scale and the modern re- science are still too full of matters of heat, presentative of mercury + oxygen in the of light, of electricity, of galvanism, of other, is that Libra of the historical Zodiac magnetism, and even of unheard-of odyles into which the sun of Chemistry rose, as or ogres, which the genius of Fact might the ascendant.

ton or the matter of fire. When a body, ance. compound or elementary, is burned, it does | § 3. Oxygen was not only the great agent lightness indeed, but possessed of no weight their sustenance, and to their decay. derable matter of heat or calorie from the tooth of time. phosphorus and especially from the oxygen, § 4. The conception of chemical union

soon as the star of Lavoisier was fairly in have been expected to have driven beyond the confines of Science for ever, after the § 2. There is no such creature as phlogis- discovery of oxygen and the use of the bal-

not give out imaginary levitative phlogis of combustions (by the extrication of its caton: it takes in real gravitative oxygen. loric on its energetic union with the ponder-Yet Lavoisier, in laying the matter of fire able combustibles), but it was also the (with its positive levity) to rest for ever, principal party to a multitude of more could not escape from its buried power over peaceable operations. The respiration of him. Black had discovered the fact of la- animals, the process of vegetation, and many tent heat, and explained his conception of less important natural phenomena, were all the phenomenon with the help of the hypo-found to depend on this constituent of the thesis of caloric or the matter of heat, a atmosphere. It was perceived to be incisubstance, not monstrously endowed with dental to the growth of organic beings, to whatever, the very ghost of poor phlogis- was true then is true still :- oxygen is the ton! Lavoisier adopted this caloric. When mainspring of a vast proportion of all those phosphorus burned in vital air with a flame movements that are constantly going on unnearly as dazzling as the sun, he knew that der the figured face and visible indications it entered with rapidity into chemical union of the terrestrial horizon. It is both the with the oxygen, and he attributed the heat builder and the destroyer of the ever-shifting of the flame to the extrication of the impon- scene around us; at once the finger and the

to say nothing of the light of the flame in received a great, though by no means a full, the present connexion. In short, the Em- accession of clearness from the Lavoisierian pedoclean matter of fire, or rather the movement. The word Affinity, standing Stahlian phlogiston, supposed to have less for the force in virtue of which the chemithan no weight, was just broken up into ca- cal combination of two or more bodies takes loric, the matter of heat, and an analogous place, was first used by Barchusen and first matter of light, both supposed to be abso-defined by Boerhaave. The very word, howlutely imponderable projectiles, of a truly ever, shows that even the latter was under material nature, and capable of fixation by the obsolete notion that it is bodies stand-certain of the ponderable forms of matter. ing in affinity with one another, that is to Founding on a mischievous and purely geo say, bodies resembling each other, that are metrical abstraction, to the effect that exthe most prone to enter into mutual union. tension is the only essential property of Mercury was fancied to amalgamate so easimatter, Black and Lavoisier admitted into ly with certain of the metals because it is

of a like nature with them. In the new new and unheard-of metals. The same eheof the most dissimilar ingredients, for example, those of oxygen and the metal. The term Affinity, therefore, began at once to be equivalent with Chemical Attraction, which also began to be understood as a force acting among the invisible particles of matter, just as gravitation exerts itself among the visible masses of creation :- a thing, the latter, which Newton had seen and said long before the dawn of this, the chemistry of But the Lavoisierians, especially Foureroy and all who have come after him, went further in this direction than they were (or are yet) warranted by the facts of the science. They inferred, and even explicitly stated, that chemical attraction or particular affinity displays itself only between the particles of different kinds of matter, for instance, between hydrogen and oxygen, but by no means between one particle and another of hydrogen or of oxygen. They defined chemical affinity, indeed, as nothing else than the attraction of cohesion mutually exerted between differing kinds of matter. The particles of a piece of brimstone hold together, in the piece, by the force of the attraction of cohesion, as it is named; and the holding together of mercury and oxygen, in the mercurial calx, was attributed to the same force acting between the two differing kinds of element, namely, quicksilver and oxygen. Without entering on the discussion of this vital point, we venture to foretell that this will ere long be considered as another error in the very heart of the Lavoisierian chemistry; and it is an error which the Daltonian movement has not yet done away with.

§ 5. The Lavoisierian definition of the elemental nature was perfect. It was the first elear conception ever attained to and uttered on the subject. This great lawgiver of Chemistry become Positive, an apt scholar in scientific scepticism and the admirer of Condillac, defined a chemical element to be nothing more (and nothing less) than a material substance not yet analyzable, not yet broken up into simpler forms; in short, a body not yet decomposed but not therefore indecomponible, to be called simple for the time being but not necessarily always to remain in the list of elements, elementary not in an absolute but only in a logical and provisional sense of the term. The metals, the earths, the alkalis, the combustibles, the three gaseous organogens, were therefore all registered as elements for the meantime. Davy decomposed the alkalis and earths,

chemistry, however, the strongest and most mist, certainly the noblest of the disciples prevalent compounds were those consisting and workmen of Lavoisier, found out the true nature of chlorine, and thereby deprived oxygen of the right to its name; for oxygen had been prematurely chronicled as the acid-gendering element, but chlorine was now discovered to be at once a simple body and an engenderer of acids just as truly as oxygen. Iodine, selenium, silicon, titanium, rhodium and many other substances, equally elementary with oxygen and the old metals, have followed in their turns, and there are now no fewer than some sixty Lavoisierian elements, while there may well be a hundred of them before the century is out. There is no probable limit, in truth, to the number of this species of elementary principle. If the chemist could but dig deeper into the surface of the world he inhabits, or could be licensed to carry his quarrying gear to the moon, or could even lay hold of the smallest of the Junonian asteroids, to say nothing that might be construed into impertinence concerning the diggings of either Jupiter or Venus, what a pile of such simple bodies he might build up! It should never be forgotten that he has hitherto done nothing but scratch the outside of this old Hertha, and that only to the depth of the thickness of this paper-leaf in comparison with a sphere of two feet in diameter. Yes, he has merely raked a little among the outermost ashes of this great globe itself, the hearth of the family of man, and his own body will soon be ashes among ashes, earth in earth, when the spirit that was in him, returned to God who gave it, may well smile at the remembrance of you dim spot which men call Earth, and at the century of elements he had gathered from all its little heights and hollows. In fact and in brief, then, there may be six hundred of such elements as ours just as well as sixty; and almost every year is actually adding a new one to the catalogue. In the meantime, it is to be understood that, from not one of these present sixty, can the hottest furnace seven times heated, the coldest freezing mixture, the strongest and steadiest galvanio pile, the most thunderous of electric batteries, or the most pungent reagent, were it even fluorine or potassium at a white heat, extract anything but itself:-gold yields gold, iron yields iron, hydrogen yields hydrogen, only gold and iron and hydrogen, to all the solicitations of the fiercest analytics yet known. 'We stand before the guarded door of nature: the strong bolts will not move: everything fails us, everything!"

Yet it is hard to think that all those sixty proving them to be the oxydes of so many creatures are truly simple or elementary.

The instinct of humanity revolts against believing that the Maker has departed from his wonted simplicity of procedure in this one part of creation, and flung such a number of unchangeable elements from his immediate hand. Many thoughtful and ingenuous men, indeed, have frankly supposed that it were more like the nature of the Deity, as shewn by his interpreted works, to pour forth the unreckonable variety of things from the bosom of one or two principles. Thales and the Greek physicists, Ghebir and the polypharmacists, Roger Bacon and the alchemists, Stahl and the phlogistians, Lavoisier himself, Humphry Davy, Prout, even Berzelius himself, that man of multitude, have all given more or less explicit expression to this native yearning of the thoughts of the heart of man towards simplicity, that is to say, towards some unity or other underlying the multiplicity of appearances, in this subterranean domain of nature. Man does not love multiplicity; he admires it; but it is unity that he loves, for it moves his imagination while it touches his heart, not only making the whole world kin, but also lessening the distance between that world and God. The next great question in chemistry then, say rather, the perpetual and the greatest question in the science, is precisely this; —What is the interior nature of those elements? From the Lavoisierian point of view, in plain earnest, that is the one question of the age. The science bids us ask, and perhaps nature is ready to answer it: but what shall be done, since no known analytical power can move one of those steadfast natures from its propriety? Let synthesis be tired, if analysis has failed: synthesis has never been tried. Be it observed, too, that it is in the highest degree probable that all the sixty present elements are equidistant from simplicity: they are all equally compound (and equally simple, for that matter), if there be any truth in the unanimous testimony of chemical analogy. Their case is exactly like that of potassa, soda, lime, baryta, strontia, and their congeners, before the discovery of potassium; that is to say, potassa once discovered to be a metallic calx or oxyde, all the rest were clearly metallic oxydes too, as experiment was not long of shewing. In the same way, if the secret of one of those silent and tantalizing elements be discovered, the secret of them all is out.4

Comte's generalization of the particulars known regarding the growth of man's idea of nature has already been referred to, and it cannot but be interesting to notice the expression of his law in the history of the theory of fire, that impressive phenomenon which continued to be the central point of chemistry until the later Lavoisierians at length put it in its proper and subordinate place. Common combustion, as brought about by energetic oxidation, will always be an important object of study; but, now that other gases are known to support combustion, now that a pair of solid bodies are easily made to extricate heat and light without the presence of any kind of atmosphere, and now that fire is understood to consist in the production of heat and light by or during any chemical action that is intense enough, the venerable process falls to be considered as an accident and not an cssence. In one word, the Lavoisierian theory of fire, thus widened by the discoveries that have flowed from it, and stripped of the adhesion of caloric, is an illustration of the third epoch of human thought upon the subjeet, according to the classification of the French positivist:-it is the plain, unsophisticated, positive statement of the facts of the case, as these present themselves to the senses and the judgment according to sense of the true chemist. The second, the metaphysicizing or fictitious stage of the theory of fire is represented by caloric, still more curiously by phlogiston, and also by the ancient element and empyrean :- abstractions of the mind transformed into things, forbidden creatures, veritable ghosts. And as for the earliest, the religious or superstitious time of knowledge or thought concerning this fiery manifestation of the powers of nature, not only is the mythological story, how Prometheus snatched the element down from a region all on fire* beyond the atmosphere and its thousand stars, an indication of the idolatrous feeling flung around a natural wonder, but the salamander or fire-spirit of the Rosicrucian mystics was a supernatural creation of the theosophic sort, almost belonging to post-mediæval Europe. Fire for the altar, strange fire, fire from heaven, and burnt-offerings are the common elements of all the antique worships of the world. Fire has also vielded some of the strongest of the imagery of the sacred books of Christianity. In the end the earth is to be burnt up, the very elements are to melt with fervent heat, the heavens

^{*} For more particular insight into the first epoch of positive chemistry, the reader is referred backwards to an article on Day in the third Number of than any later dissertation, especially if followed by this Review, and forwards to an intended criticism the study of Berthollet's Statique Chimique. of the Dalboian movement: But the perusal of Laviosier's Traité Elémentaire will do more for him routes, than the Plane.on Fire.

while the horrible nature of sin is set forth by that place where the fire is not quenched: and surely the image of everburning, yet unwasting fire is a symbol more easily turned into ridicule by the frivolous understanding than exhausted by the serious imagination.

But the true deification of Fire was that of Zoroaster and the Guebres, those worshippers of the Sun. To them the thing was Divine, the peculiar Shekinah of Jehovah, or the supreme manifestation of God among men upon the earth. The less refining multitude did assuredly, by the million and during long ages of time, look upon the sun as very god of very god; on the moon and stars as his heavenly host; and on the leven-brand, the unrestrainable fire, the culinary hearth, and the household lamp as his flaming ministers. It is difficult now-a-days to realize this devotion-in the presence of a chemical product, a combination of calorie and light, a double vibration, a pair of imponderables, or even a couple of dynamides! The fact is that Christendom has at last got into the extreme opposite point of view to all this worship of nature, and the Beautiful one has been degraded into a drudge, 'none so poor to do her reverence.' The Briton of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries actually conceives of the world as an amazingly complicated, yet exquisitely simple piece of mechanism, put together very much as a watch is made by a watchmaker, and left to go according to law, the great Creator withdrawn to some central heaven, thence beholding all its evolutions, and ready to interfere whenever the gracious purposes of his will require a present Deity. Zoroaster, on the other hand, saw nothing but god and only god in nature; he felt as though God shone upon his eye, almost without a veil, in Fire; and he bowed his head in adoration: while his people, as usual, soon confounded the idol with the divinity, the sign with the idea, and became idolaters.

What a thing Fire must have been to the primitive man the first time it flashed upon him! Say that he kept watch over his people; that at the chilliest hour of the night, just before sunrise, he noticed how a dry stick grew warm when rubbed against his club; that he rubbed them again, more stoutly still, and it became hot : at it again, with the wonder of a child and the strength of twenty men, he flung it down for it scorched his hand; yet he could not choose

are to pass away like a scroll in the flames; but try again, and it smoked; again and again, quicker and quicker, longer and longer, he pursued the wild experiment until it burst into flame, and the sun arose in the east :- What were the fire upon the brand but the spirit of the blessed sun, come down to dwell with him and his? It is surely not impossible to feel how, in the absence of science, with the presence of only an incalculably small amount of experience, in an intellect far more observative than analytical and a young soul capable of little more than wonder and love, the worship of the Sun and Fire might arise: and, once risen on a national and continental heart, it could never set until the fulness of a better time were come. Nor is Christianity herself the reconciling genius of the world, ashamed to draw upon the memory of that old faith; for she lifts up her Prince of Peace to the homage of the nations under the image of the Zoroastrian god :-

> THE SUN OF RIGHTEOUSNESS WITH HEALING IN HIS BEAMS.

> ART. III .- 1. Storia Civile della Toscana dal 1737 al 1848. Di Antonio Zobi. Tomi 1-3. 8vo. Firenze, 1850, 1851.

> 2. Gli Ultimi Rivolgimenti Italiani : Memorie Storiche. Di F. A. GUALTERIO. Vols. 1-5. Firenze, 1852.

> 3. Lo Stato Romano dall anno 1815 al 1850. Per Luigi Carlo Farini. Volumo Terzo. Firenze, 1851.

> 4. Florentine History from the earliest Authentic Records to the Accession of Ferdinand the Third, Grand Duke of Tuscany. By HENRY EDWARD NAPIER, Captain R.N. In 6 vols. London, 1847.

> 5. Italy in the Nineteenth Century. James Winteside, Q.C., M.P. Edition, 3 vols. London, 1852.

> 6. Memoirs of Scipio di Ricci, late Bishop of Pistoia and Prato, Reformer of Catholicism in Tuscany. Edited from the Original of M. D. Palter, by Thomas Edited from the Roscoe. 2 vols. London.

> 7. Casa Guidi Windows. A Poem. By ELIZABETH BARRETT BROWNING. London,

> S. Religious Liberty in Tuscany in 1851. London.

9. Apologia della Vita Politica di F. D. Guerrazzi, Scritta da lui medesimo. Un volume in 8vo. Firenze, 1851. 10. First Annual Report of the Society of

the Friends of Italy. London, 1852.

^{*} To say nothing of Dante and Milton at all in this connexion, if the reader would see how this symplet pierces and informs a Christian post, led him read the Devil's Dream of Thomas Atrd.

OUTSIDE the San Gallo gate of Florence spelled his way by aid of dictionary, into a stands the triumphal arch raised to com- handsome volume, of which, the chances are, memorate the entrance of Francis III., Duke of Lorraine, and of Maria Theresa of Austria, on the evening of the 19th January 1738, into the capital of their new dominions. That arch-a heavy imitation of the arch of Constantine, by an architect of Lorraine-stands as a great landmark in the from such "distinguished" and "standard" history of the Tuscan Dukedom. The very sculptures that deform it speak of a new dynasty in old Etruria-the double-headed eagle grasps in its claws both the sceptre and the sword. Giovanni Gastone, the last of the Medici, had been borne to his tomb in San Lorenzo, to that magnificent chapel, the burial-place of his family, where the marvellous figures of Michael Angelo-"the ghosts" of Julian and of Duke Lorenzo-" are sitting on their sepulchres." Decrepit and diseased, the worn out profligate had sunk childless to the grave, and the fairest region of Italy was freed from a race that for three centuries had been " its glory and its shame."

We do not care to dwell on that dark record which constitutes the history of the later Medici, and we have no time to describe Tuscany as it was in the days of that old priest-ridden Cosmo III., whom Addison describes so spicily in his "Travels." We wish rather to speak of Tuscany in later days, and whether fortunately or unfortu-nately, we have "no end of books" on such a subject. We have given a sample above, a subject. We have given a sample above, and we think it peculiarly approps that a history like Zobi's, so elaborate, and so thoroughly liberal, should be just now in course of publication. Captain Napier's six heavy Dutch-looking little volumes had by no means exhausted the more valuable materials of "Florentine History," and on the reign of Leopold I, they were peculiarly defective. And we thank Signor Zobi especially for his ample treatment of the great ecclesiastical questions which excited Tuscany seventy years ago, and are now in some degree exciting it again ; and for these chapters on the clergy that read like a tale of the Decameron, even in the pages of a sober historian. Mr. Whiteside's book has at least received the stamp of public approval, as it has reached a fifth edition. Few of our modern writers on Italy have makes amends for a variety of smaller

the information so liberally communicated by couriers and waiters, and commissionaires, aided by the unfailing "Murray," forms the staple. Mr. Whiteside, who very properly does just as he likes in these matters, has evidently picked up some of his details authorities, and we do not know any one who has made better use of the litter of street pamphlets. A tract of Massimo d'Azeglio, well meriting a place-a history of St. Philomena, by some abbate of marvellous credulity, or of strong faith in the eredulity of his readers-and, above all, "The True Story of Beatrice Cenci," condensed from a little nameless volume about as authentic as the "History of the Seven Champions of Christendom," as we strongly suspect Mr. Whiteside knew right wellbesides law and literature, manners and morals, and the want of both as a variety. Such a book is just what a traveller needs, neither too heavy nor too trivial or sufficiently comprehensive-

"Quidquid agunt homines nostra farrago libelli."

Signor Farini's third volume, though perhaps less interesting on the whole than the two which preceded, indicates, we think, decided progress in the art of writing history, and in truth the loose slippery secondrate newspaper style of his earlier volumes afforded considerable room for improvement. It is already known to all who take an interest in Italian matters by the translation of Mr. Gladstone—a book much better than the original. It is to be regretted that that accomplished translator did not choose instead the far more profound and interesting volumes of the Marquis Gualterio of Orvieto, unquestionably the finest work that has yet appeared on the history of Italy since 1815. It must be admitted that the task of translating would have been considerable, as the five volumes already published bring down the history only to 1847; and at this rate, ere the work be completed, there may very possibly be another revolution, and materials in abundance for a few additional volumes as a sequel. Still, were produced a work so readable; and this the documents that are appended simply passed over, the mere text of Gualterio matters which we are not at all disposed to would give a far more perfect idea of the carp at. We have had occasion to admire great Italian parties to an English reader at times the happy art with which an in- than any other work we could name: and telligent tourist whose "stay is limited," we do not yet despair of seeing some at-contrives to work up the loose materials of tempt made to "do" it into our vernacular. a few street pamplets, through which he has Meantime, in addition to sober prose, we at length a poem so vigorous and so beautiful, and calculated to take so high a place

Francis II. of Tuscany, and Francis I. of Austria.

have a distillation of Italian politics in law; learning had decayed-even painting poetry, under the attractive though some- and sculpture had degenerated; the Della what enigmatical name of "Casa Guidi Cruscan Academy alone flourished in all the Windows." We have no time to criticise insupportable pedantry of "word-catchers

that lived on syllables.

And such was the state of matters in 1765, when Pefer Ledfold, the younger son of Francis I. and of Maria Theresa, ascended the Grand-Ducal throne at the ful, and calculated to take so high a piace for its own merits, apart from the interest 1765, when Peter Leopold, the younger of Italian politics. It is, in short, the poetison of Francis I. and of Maria Theresa, cal apotheosis of Young Italy; and yet that ascended the Grand-Ducal throne at the young gentleman is pretty soundly lectured before his canonization. Our object is more sober, and less ambitious: and leaving Mrs.

Browning to watch the Arno as it shoots Infanta Maria Louisa, and Tuscany assumed with the Arno as it shoots Infanta Maria Louisa, and Tuscany assumed again the position of an independent king. Browning to watch the Arno as it shoots liminta Marin Louis, and ruscain assumed iright through the heart of Florence," we again the position of an independent kingwould occupy ourselves in tracing the political history and prospects of Tuscany, as gainer by taking any decided part in Eusuggested in these and sundry other works, ropean contests, and Leopold's first aim was too tedious to mention." They are of to establish its strict neutrality; and this special present interest, seeing that all Tuspoint being so far secured by his relations and australia. cany has been excited of late by sundry at- with Spain and Austria, his efforts were tempts to abolish her boasted legislation, directed, during the twenty-five years of his and especially the laws of the first Leopold. reign, to the internal improvement of his We shall endeavour to convey an idea, dominions, so as to make of Tuscany a in as few words as possible, of the great out model kingdom. His first great measure lines of that policy which raised Tuscany to indicated the whole course of his future so high a place among civilized nations, and legislation: a year after his accession the of those laws which for more than a century harvest having failed, and a famine threatenhave been vitally connected with the social ing the land, Leopold at once freed grain, and political wellbeing of her people. The native and foreign, from all commercial Regency that governed Tuseany in the ab- restrictions, and inaugurated that principle sence of Francis II." made no progress for of Free Trade which he afterwards made years towards the removal of the glaring the law of the State. Gian Gastone was abuses of the Medicean legislation: even still wearing out his days in Florence when Richcourt and Rucellai feared to provoke Salluct Anthony Bandini, a priest of Siena, too hastily the jealousy of the Court of presented to the ministers of the Grand-Rome by any measure that night be construed into resistance of Papal authority, and hence their policy was rather that of defence than that of aggression. The history of the Regency may be summed up in the same of the presented to the ministers of the Grand-Duke his project of Free Trade in Corn as the great remely for the misserable condensor of the Regency may be summed up in the same of the ministers did not know a few words as lower trade with the actual to the ministers of the Grand-Duke his project of Free Trade in Corn as the great remely for the misserable condensor of the Regency may be summed up in the same of the ministers of the Grand-Duke his project of Free Trade in Corn as the great remely for the misserable condensor of the ministers of the Grand-Duke his project of Free Trade in Corn as the great remely for the misserable condensor of the ministers of the Grand-Duke his project of Free Trade in Corn as the great remely for the misserable condensor of the ministers of the Grand-Duke his project of Free Trade in Corn as the great remely for the misserable condensor of the ministers of the Grand-Duke his project of Free Trade in Corn as the great remely for the misserable condensor of the ministers of the Grand-Duke his project of Free Trade in Corn as the great remely for the misserable condensor of the ministers of the Grand-Duke his project of Free Trade in Corn as the great remely for the ministers of the Grand-Duke his project of Free Trade in Corn as the great remely for the ministers of the Grand-Duke his project of Free Trade in Corn as the great remely for the ministers of the Grand-Duke his project of Free Trade in Corn as the great remely for the ministers of the Grand-Duke his project of Free Trade in Corn as the great remely for the ministers of the Grand-Duke his project of Free Trade in Corn as the great remely for the ministers of the Grand-Duke his project of Free Trade in Corn as the great remely for a few words :- a long struggle with the exactly which-but at all events they could Church, with clamorous monks and refrac- see no earthly connexion between commertory bishops, the Franzonis of their day, cial freedom and the draining of the Tuscan aided and abetted by the Papal Court in marshes. But the Sanese archdeacon was their opposition to the very appearance of persevering as an Anti-Corn-Law-Leaguer, reform; another co-ordinate struggle with and not only wrote his "Economical Disfendal nobles in the Apennines, surrounded with their bravi and banditti, such as are painted in Manzon's ronance; so ineffectual attempt on the Marenme; a few useful II; and when the first expositor of those laws and a step in attempt and attempt attempt and attempt and attempt and attempt attempt and attempt attempt and attempt and attempt attemp laws, and a step in advance towards the days was no longer living to plead them principle of Free Trade, but little real improvement on the condition of the country.

The priests were still in the ascendant; the cany, and with such results as to silence all large the contract of the co Jesuits were the inters and schoolmasters in the land of Macchiavel and Galileo; the two try of a free people that tamed the Alps universities, Pisa and Siena, languished under a rule that would have made the very ocean the lands of Holland; the Hugnenots sun stand still in obedience to the Canon of France would have settled in the Maremme after the Revocation of the Edict * Francis III., Duke of Lorraine, is known as of Nantes, had not the weak and illiberal Cosmo III. prevented them, and driven

them elsewhere with their arts and their industry; and Bandini rightly judged, though he dared not speak it plainly to a Medici, that it was not simply from natural causes, but from the effects of long misgovernment, that those wide tracts of country that had contained a large part of the population of old Etruria were now reduced to pestilential marshes. The colonists of Lorraine died in those fatal swamps; of the thousand who had been introduced in the time of the Regency, only thirty-five re-mained when Leopold began his work of amelioration, and the depopulated region had become still more dreary by being made a place of exile for political offenders. Between death and the Maremme there was but little to choose, and it required all the German perseverance of Leopold to carry on the work of reclaiming; but his new system of leasing the waste lands, and his liberal expenditure of means, produced a marvellous change, though his task was left unfinished; and it was reserved for the second Leopold to acquire still greater glory, according to Giusti's Satire, by draining "the pockets and the marshes" of Tus-

To note all the Leopoldine reforms would be to write the history of five and twenty years, during which one measure followed another with a rapidity almost unparalleled in the history of modern legislation. commerce of Tuscany revived; Leghorn especially made marvellous progress; and if the new policy was injurious to the craft of a few grasping monopolists, it tended to promote "the greatest good of the greatest number." The pernicious system of farming the revenues was abolished; ecclesiastical property (and even the Grand-Ducal patrimony) was subjected to taxation, and the revenue increased; the whole system of finance was revised; the national debt was in great part paid off; a municipal system was established; the old Medicean Consulta abolished; leases, entails, intrainural interments were disposed of in succession; and, in fine, in November 1786 was published that Criminal Code which has obtained an European celebrity. The old instruments of torture, the memorials of a bygone legislation, were burned in front of the Bargello. We have neither time nor taste for examining the merits or defects of the Leopoldine Code, as it has been since both tampered with and perverted. It had nothing corresponding to our English Habeas Corpus or Trial by Jury-its moral estimate of crime was in many points defective, and mild to a fault-the entire aboli-

more than questionable; and Leopold himself, and afterwards his son, ro-established the penalty of death, though not with any very just appreciation of the great law which should guide the legislator in a subject so momentous; but we are ready fully to accord with Forti and Galleatti, that it is "the most generous code that ever issued from the Cabinet of an absolute prince."

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But it is more to our purpose to glance at those ecclesiastical reforms which Leopold, directed chiefly by the Senator Rucellai and the Bishop of Pistoia, earried out so boldly in opposition to the Papal Court. Mr. Whiteside has suggested the propriety of republishing the life of Scipio de Ricci for the benefit of Italy-a measure the expediency of which may be fairly questioned. The value of that remarkable book-remarkable when it was first publishedlies very much in the documents which are appended, and the revelations they make of all that was polluting in the conventual life of Pistoia and Prato. It would be like opening to the public the closed chambers of the Museo Borbonico, for the sake of a lecture on moral depravity. And that life itself is one of the clearest proofs that an attempt at reforming Roman Catholicism has but slender chance of success, and that another standard must be lifted up in Italy than the yellow flag of the keys and mitre. The Pope who condemned the Synod of Pistoia was Pius VI .-"that honest Braschi who drained the pontine marshes"-and to come to later times, the few years of the Pontificate of Pins IX. might dissipate for ever the idea that Romish infallibility can deny itself and change; so that even Gioberti himself has entirely given up, in his "rinnovamento civilé," his first and favourite theory of Italian regeneration by means of a reforming Papacy. There is one stanza in the "Cassa Guidi Windows," (the twenty-sixth,) which contains more good sense, besides good poetry gratis, on the subject of reforming Poutiffs, than some volumes written of late, ex professo, on that debated question; and as long as a Pope "must hold by Popes," and "by Councils from Nicea up," or rather down, "to Trent"—as long as he must "resent each man's particular conscience," and sit "attesting with his pasto-ral ring and staff,"

"To such a picture of our Lady, hit
Off well by artist angels, though not half
As fair as Giotti would have painted it,"

tive, and mild to a fault—the entire abolition of capital punishment was a measure besides, according to the Canons, we do future Pius, Gregory or Benedict, will ever sit in the chair of Hildebrand, "with Andrea Doria's forehead." But this by the way. The life of Seipio de Ricci, very ereditably expurgated, is now before the English public, and had the editor condensed it into a single volume, the book would have lost nothing of its value. Besides, in these days of Athenian thirst for novelty, Mr. Roscoe ought to have avoided the appearance of foisting his two octavos on the public as the translation of something new, in fact, "of one of the most popular works of the day." Davvero! We were impressed with the conviction that De Rotter's "Vie de Scipion de Ricci" had been published in Brussels in 1825, and we remember glaneing over the misty volumes with that title, which bore all the appearance of having been thumbed for a quarter of a century. That old book of De Rotter is on the whole a dull and tedious narrative, and all that it contains of value to a modern reader has long since been better told elsewhere. Especially Zobi's chapters on ecclesiastical matters are worth half a dozen volumes like De Rotter's.

Yet Seipio de Ricci merited a biography of some kind. He was a Jansenist, devout and pure in morals as Arnauld or Pascal, though far beneath the intellectual measure of the great Portroyalists; to him more than to any other, Leopold was in-debted for those ecclesiastical principles which he wrought into the laws of Tuseany. We enter on this subject more at length, because Leopold II. is now undoing the work of his wiser ancestor, and because Piedmont is fighting the same battle at the present day that was fought in Tuscany in the eighteenth

century. At the period when the Medicean dynasty became extinet, (A.D. 1737,) Tuscany with a population of 890,608, had no less than 27,108 ecclesiastics, (Zobi, vol. i. p. 323,) and fully one-third of the whole country was the property of the Church. The land was of course a little monkish Paradise, just like Palermo, as Lord Shrewsbury pictured it forth the other day to the Milesian imagination of Father Fogarty. Popish ideas, however, differ on these points, and it was discovered that the monastic interpretation of certain commandments of the Decalogue was-to say the least-peculiar. Rome threw the shield of her protection over "the holy order of St Dominick," and the offending names of Prato and Pistoia, whose almost inconceivable immorality had been brought to light by Ricci; but not-

not expect that either Pius IX. or any the obnoxious convents were suppressed, and stringent laws were enacted, regulating the mode of admission in future into the monastic orders, and determining the age at which the habit or the veil could be assumed, with other regulations as to dowry, tending to dry up the resources of the recluses. The Mortmain laws of 1751, which the senator Rucellai had introduced during the regency as the first check to an increase of priestly wealth and power, were still further extended in 1769, and in twelve years the number of the friars was reduced to nearly 2000, and the convents had sunk from 321 to 213. Besides, the regular clergy, with all the conventual establishments, were subjected directly to the authority of the bishops-a measure violently resisted by Rome, for the friars are the great Papal militia for the upholding of the Papal rule throughout Catholic Christendom. bishops again were chosen by the Government, and the Pope was limited to the simple ceremony of confirming the appointment. It was a thoroughly Erastian proeeeding of course, but Rome is a great political organization rather than a Church, and claims the right of interfering, by virtue of its spiritual supremacy, in the civil administration of kingdoms professedly independent. When the Roman Catholic clergy made a violent outcry against the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill introduced by Lord John Russell, they were perfectly well aware that in every one of the Catholie kingdoms they had been subjected to laws far more stringent than that mild protest against Papal aggression.

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The Papal tribunals claimed the right of publishing bulls, acts, indulgences, and the prohibitory index, without the authority of the Government; and, above all, the bull "In Coena Domini," with all the "improve-ments" of Ghislieri, was duly read on Holy Thursday, putting forth the supreme authority of the Pope, by right divine, over the princes and subjects of every Catholic State. These claims were met by the royal right of the Exequatur, which prohibited all such publication without the authority of the eivil power. It is marvellous with what unity of purpose the Romish Church has continued for centuries to sustain the power she has usurped, and to contend inch by inch for every vestige of her dominion. The Mortmain laws had been established elsewhere, by the Dukes of Savoy-by the Princes of Este in Modena and Ferraraby the Republic of Genoa-and, above all, by Venice. Siena, the great Ghibelline city of the Middle Ages, had wisely rewithstanding the intrigues of the Holy See, stricted the acquisition of property by ec-

sympathies, had allowed the religious orders to encroach till they held "in dead hands" one-third of her possessions. But the Exequatur was embodied even in the Florentine statute of 1415, which contained provisions equivalent to the "Provisors" and "Premunire" of our English statute-book: and in the time of Cosmo I., when the decrees of the Council of Trent were published in Tuscany, they were first authorized by the Grand Duke, and confirmed by the authority of the

Florentine Senate.—(Zobi, vol. ii. p. 84.)
The readers of St. Priest may remember his singularly graphic description of the visit of the two sons of Maria Theresa-Joseph II. of Austria and Leopold of Tuscany-to the eity of the Church, on the death of the old Rezzonico .- (Fall of the Jesuits, chap. iii.) There can be little doubt of their influence on the conclave that elected Ganganelli; and, at all events, when the brief was issued that suppressed the Jesuits, (July 21st 1773,) it immediately received the Royal Exequatur in Austria and Tuscany. The Company of Jesus had been introduced into the latter State by Laynez, at the invitation of Eleanor of Toledo, wife of Cosmo I., and had succeeded in establishing their colleges in all the great towns of the Duchy. Lorenzo de Ricci, the general of the Order at the time of the suppression, was himself a Florentine, and a near relative of the reforming Bishop of Pistoia, to whom he bequeathed his silver crueifix: but the rooting out of the formidable society was a part of the plans of Leopold; their colleges were closed and their property confiscated; their "House of Exercises," in the old fortress of San Miniato, was dismantled, and their few books added to the rich collection of the Magliabecchian Library, and after 220 years they were finally driven out of Tuscany. The brief of Ganganelli is still the law of the State. Jesuits as an order have never been able to obtain admission since, though but lately it was attempted to introduce the Ladies of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, the precursors and outriders (we beg pardon of the Ladies of the Sacred Heart for such a phrase) of the Company of Loyola; and till the laws of Peter Leopold are abolished, they can never legally re-establish themselves in the land where they had signalized both their science and their devotion by the imprisonment of Galileo. The Jesuits at first resisted the Grand-Dueal order, and then had recourse to "pious fraud" in seeking to keep up their society under its new symbol of the Sacred Heart, but at last they were obliged

acted with the spirit of real patriots, and "Left their country for their country's good."

This measure was followed by the abolition of the right of sanetuary. Leopold had concluded a Concordat with Pius VI. in 1775, but finding that Rome could turn the most seemingly liberal agreement to her own advantage, he resolved in future "to have nothing to do with Concordats," but to act on his own authority. The sanctuaries were cleared accordingly of the robbers and assassins who had sought the protection of the Church to avoid the penalty of their crimes. The Foro Ecclesiastico, and other privileged courts, were still in existence, but in 1778 the tribunal of the Nunciature was abolished, and then the tribunal of the Holy Office (in 1782.) Even Republican Florence, though adhering to the great Guelphic party, had resisted the interference of the Popes with her internal administration, and it was only in 1560 that for the first time a Papal Nuneio held court within her walls. But the Inquisition—and it is well to recall it in these days of re-action-had a prescriptive right of more than 500 years; for, more than five centuries ago, there were adherents of "the pure gospel" in the fair city. The Paulicians or Paterini had a numerous party, but Dominick of Guzman had just headed an exterminating crusade against the Albigenses on the plains of Languedoc, and the dog with the blazing torch-the chosen and appropriate emblem of St. Dominiek-ere long lighted his fires in Italy. Fra Pietro of Verona, better known in the annals of his order as Pietro Martire, roused the Florentines against the unoffending Paulicians, and the result was not so much a civil war as a massacre. In the Via Guicciardini, opposite the Church of Laura Felicita, on the spot where one of these extraordinary battles was fought against the Paterini, stands a column surmounted by the statue of the terrible Dominican. The knife in his hand marks him out at once as "St. Peter Martyr," though few perhaps of our English tourists, and fewer still of the occupants of the "Via Guicciardini," have ever inquired why that statue was erected to the Grand Inquisitor. A few glaring eases of persecution gave Leopold the fitting opportunity of closing the ecclesiastical prisons and burning publicly the instruments of torture. There are, unfortunately, too many ways of making up for the loss of that Spanish enginery, but except in Rome, doomed to all that is exceptionable, the Into yield, by either secularizing themselves or quisition in the old form exists nowhere in

Leopold was so long constructing against Papal encroachment. The Siccardi laws in Piedmont, and the clerical censures on Santa Rosa, may give some idea of the value which Rome at'aches to the Foro Ecclesiastico.

The internal reforms of the Church which Ricci carried out in his own diocese, and which Leopold resolved to introduce generally, were of too short duration to produce any very marked effect on the clergy or the people. Holding the opinions of the Jansenists, or at least the four points of the Gallican Church, Ricci denied of course the letter convoking the famous synod of Pistoia (1786,) "bishop by the grace of God," bishop. The synod of Pistoia was eminentthe Grand Duke, but when Leopold assumed of an opportunity that had been allowed to the purple of the Cesars, on the death of pass, and as a protest against a return to the Emperor Joseph in 1790, the reaction old Saufedism. could no longer be controlled. The demo-Pope, the bishop weakly recanted, though,

Italy. The abolition of the Fore Ecclesias unfinished, "like the Florence churches," tico, and the subjection of the clergy to the and hence the partial success of his system. civil law in common with other members of It is true the times were unpropitions, and the State, and a few other measures of lesser the people opposed to the "berlicche berimportance, completed the defence which locche" of their philosophic ruler. His own agents at times, and we might say very generally, favoured in secret the public dis-affection. The only sincere reformer in the council of Regency, appointed on his removal to Vienna, was the senator Francesco Gianni, who in a few months was obliged to seek refuge, like Ricci, from the popular violence. Pompeo Neri, the jurist Rucellai, the auditor and authority on all ecclesiastical questions, and Augelo Tavanti, his oracle on finance, had all died before Leopold's re-moval. The Jesnit Summating, Leopold's confessor-for with strange inconsistency he Papal infallibility, and maintained the right chose a confessor from the society he had of bishops to hold synods in their own dio- suppressed-was a principal agent in the ceses. He styled himself, in his pastoral reaction, especially in all matters connected with the Church. But besides, the whole system of Leopoldine reform, admirable as omitting the usual addendum "and of the it was, and far in advance of anything that Holy See:" he treated the Limbo of infants modern Italy had yet obtained, had been as "a Pelagian fable," and Indulgences as forced despotically on an unprepared and a superstition: he advocated the use of reluctant people; and when the directing only one altar in the church, the celebration hand had ceased to guide it, it stopped at of mass in the vulgar tongue, and the un- once. The people had not risen to the mark veiling of images that were superstitiously of the legislator, and the laws had descended venerated. These reforms, and the rigid from the elevation of a philosophic despodiscipline exercised on the friars, whose con- tism, instead of springing spontaneously duct was far from being edifying, excited from the advancing civilisation of a nation, the whole country against the "heretic" Leopold had given no constitution, and had not always filled up the void made by his ly successful, but the council of Florence, abolition of the laws of his Medicean preconvoked the year following, came to quite decessors. It is true he had a constitution an opposite conclusion on the "fifty-seven in petto-a kind of Scotch Presbyterian repoints." which Leopold, with the minuteness gime for the government of the States by of a Sacristan, had submitted for discussion. municipal councils, provincial councils, and A riot was excited in Prato, in Ricci's own a general assembly meeting annually, with diocese, against the innovations, the ostensi- the Grand-Duke for moderator. But that ble object of the uproar being to protect the altar of the ciutola, or girdle of the Virgin Mary. The "riot of the Madonnas" was mover granted, and even Gianni's moment. only part of a great scheme, and the unfor-tunate bishop was obliged to seek refuge the prince. This singular memoir, written closwhere. For a time he was protected by in 1805, remained as a dreary remembrance in 1805, remained as a dreary remembrance

could no longer be controlled. The demo-lished alters were rebuilt, the images veiled unpropitious. France was beginning to again, the companies re-established, the heave to the earthquake; and Italian princes synod of Pistoia was condemned by the felt the ground beneath them trembling. For fifteen years Ferdinand was an exile, like Galileo, he did not change his mind, and after years of persecution, and even inprisonment, "the Reformer of Catholicism his day that the Freuch occupation was the
in Tuseany" died broken-hearted at his villa great epoch from which everything was reckoned-"avanti i Francesi"-"nei tempi The work of Peter Leopold thus remained dei Francesi "-" dopo i Francesi." The

French have certainly the merit of inaugu- from the Capitol, instead of the Pope from rating a new era in Italy. The new impulse the Vatican, and certainly so far the change and despotism that constituted Italian government. Fossombroni presented to Napoleon a memoir in behalf of Tuscany, such as no other estate of the Peninsula could have presented, but for a time all Italy was constrained to succumb to "les ideés Napo-léoniennes." The Freuch rule has left one or two traces on the Tuscan statute-book; but in the Restoration of 1805, though there were imperialists and liberals, the Leopoldine party prevailed, and Ferdinand III. preserved, though not in its integrity, the system of his father; and again when Leopold day—that Fossombroni whose monument, a sula with the gospel of Lamennais.

masterpiece of Bartolini, stands in Santa

But side by side with the moderate reing up in the universities, and among the more enlightened classes of the community, the growing civilisation of the country.

It would be unfair to measure the aristoof our British civilisation. must take into account the element of the Papacy from which the Reformation happily delivered us. We were ready enough to sing "Io Pean," when Mazzini gave law im, and Romagossi. VOL. XVIII.

given to education and science, the great was for the better; but the slow work of public works undertaken, the French sys- rooting out the deeply seated superstition of tem of taxation, the Code Napoleon, the a Romanized population had still to begin. suppression of convents, and the new regu- It was no great change on the mere materilation of the Church, were far in advance of alism of worship when the Bambino of the the old miserable compound of priesteraft Ara Coeli, the little miraculous wooden doctor of the Franciscans of the Capitol, made his rounds in the triumphal chariot of Leo. XII., and the devout Romans of the republic of 1849, shouted, "Viva il Bam-bino democratico!" or when Guerrazzi taught his applauding Livornesi that Christ was the highest model of a democrat. Standing between despotism on the one hand, and popular superstition or wild extravagance on the other, the Italian Liberals of the moderate party, like Count Balbo and Massimo d'Azeglio in Piedmont, or Gino Capponi in Tuscany, had no easy posi-II., "now happily reigning," as the Court tion to maintain against the two extremes; Almanac says, succeeded in 1824, he began and though we believe that their system his reign with an eulogy of his "immortal will never accomplish the moral regeneration grandfather." And, first of all, the praise of Italy, till it has reached a higher point of preserving the traditional policy of the than their party has yet aimed at, we would house of Lorraine, in the Grand-Ducal States, not on that account let loose the tide of is due to the great Tuscan statesman of the French democracy, or inundate the Penin-

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Croce among the tombs of the great Flo- formers rose the young Liberals of the unirentines; but a new liberalism was spring- versities, Guerrazzi, Salvagnoli, and Forti of Pescia, impatient of the slow and timid movements of the elders of their party. which required something more than a sys- With these were associated the like minded tem stereotyped for nearly half a century; of the other states, such as Tommaseo, Leoand among the higher ranks of the citizens pardi, and Pietro Giordani, who had sought there were men who advocated progress, the freer atmosphere of Tuscany, or had that the government might keep pace with been driven to seek it by the iron rule that prevailed elsewhere. The "Autologia"* of Florence was their "Edinburgh Review," eratic liberals of Tuscany, such as the Mar-giving utterance as boldly as it dared to the quis Gino Capponi, or Cosimo Ridolfi, with new ideas, till the government most impruour English Whigs, or with the conservative dently silenced the ablest scientific and lite-Statesmen of a country that has had its pardray journal of Italy. Besides these, Tusliament for centuries. Florence, first of all, cany had its poetic Liberalism, the great and afterwards Tuscany, had been jealous of dramas of Niccolini, and the exquisite satheir national independence; but the citi-tires of Giusti. But the man who was deszens had scarcely ever enjoyed a fair measure of civil liberty, and even Fossombroni was F. D. Guerrazzi, whose trial for high who defended the first so manfully, but very treason is now attracting so large a share of imperfectly comprehended the second. The public attention in the Peninsula. The hiswhole habits of a people cannot be new-tory of that Leghorn lawyer has been writmodelled in a day, and we do the constitu- ten in part at least by himself, and that tional party in Italy injustice when we little volume of "Memorie" addressed to test their measures by the perfection of that Mazzini in 1849, notwithstanding its ridicuslow growth of centuries which is the glory lous pomposity, we think most valuable for And then we its picture of the Italian democrat; we should

like to dwell on that curious autobiography, are to dry the tears of the Niobe of nations? tracing the gradual development of the Are these the prophets of the future? To "greater part of the family of mortal sins" the credit of Mazzini we do not hold him in the character of the hopeful youth, till he accountable for the wild excesses of his became a student of Pisa, and saw Lord party: there is a sublimity in his faith in Byron, and read his poetry, for this makes the destinies of Italy that raises him above onn great epoch in the history. The wan- the mere reverses or successes of the modering "Childe Harold" was then in Pisa- ment-a poetry, a sentimentalism that rein popular estimation a spirit of evil in fine and elevate the prophet of the "Repubhuman form on some dark and mysterious lic one and indivisible"-an earnestness and errand to the children of men-but in the devotion in his Pantheistic creed that set eyes of the wondering student, the very him far apart from the grosser materialists. Apollo of the Vatican. Byron henceforth But let the truth be freely told of all, and became "his master and his model." Ba- certainly the extremes in the Italian strugnished for a time from the university for too gle were Despotism and Priestcraft on the keen an appetite for politics, and in after one hand, with Democracy and Pantheism life closely watched by the police as a rest- on the other. less conspirator brooding dark schemes and plotting nobody knew what-dodged by the of the Tuscan Liberal, though his book progens d'armes, for the paternal government cured him such incredible popularity, that temporibus illis kept a keen look out upon Gualterio speaks of it as marking an epoch its subjects, and most kindly wished "every in the history of the revolutionary moveman quiet and peaceful with a wife and at ment. (Rivolgimenti, vol. ii. p. 52.) In least four children "-imprisoned once or fact Guerrazzi partakes more of the nature twice on mere suspicion, and liberated again of the Sicilian or the Corsican* than of the without knowing why or wherefore-and refined and gentle Tuscan. The national then banished again to Portoferraio, where character in the land of painting and of he planned his romance on the Siege of Flo- song has been softened down almost to efference. Guerrazzi, in short, had haid up "ca-minacy, and is sadly wanting in vigour and pital" to be turned to account when oppor-independence. In the Florentine, acute, tunity should offer. His romance especially polished, and graceful—true son of "la was a fierce defiance of the powers that gentile Firenze"—the heroism of the old cause he could not fight a battle," and here is his picture of his own romance,-

" I thought it charity to ply all the torments used by the ancient tyrants and by the holy office, and to invent others still more atrocious to excite the sensibility of this land fallen into misera-ble lethargy; I wounded it, and poured into the peninsula, but the tombs of Santa Croce are wounds brimstone and burning pitch; I galvanized it, and God only knows the trembling anxiety with which I saw it open its closed eyes and move its livid lips. . . . I chose the part of Prometheus and wished to animate the statue, even though the vulture shall prey upon my vitals for ever."—(Memorie, pp. 94, 95.)

A taste for the tremendous-le gout des émotions-was sure to be gratified by that patriotic romance, and even the Queen Mab could hardly match the wild profanity of those which preceded or followed. A whirlwind to move the waters of the Lake Asphaltites-a blessing or a curse from heaven, it mattered little which, if Italy should live -and if not,-

Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor!"

Such were the grand ideas of that school of Romanticism by which a new era was to be brought in. And are these the men who fession.

We do not set forth Guerrazzi as a type were in those days; he "wrote a book be- Republican has died away. He can raise a cenotaph to Dante, but "Dante sleeps afar" beside the pine trees of Ravenna, and his native city wants even the ashes of the stern old Ghibelline. That single city-the judgment is Mariotti's-has given birth to a poor defence against the brute force of the Austrian.

The "paternal Government" of LEOPOLD II., guided by Fossombroni, and afterwards by Don Neri Corsini, was occupied at first with the material improvement of the State. Infant schools, normal schools, the education of the deaf and dumb, savings banks, and the draining of the Maremme, were quite enough for a ministerial programme. Education was the mania, and it is but fair to mention Raphael Lambruschini, nephew of

Hie intus Francisci Guerratii insontes cineres Expectant postremum Dei judicium Sine pavore.

^{*} We give as an illustration the epitaph to his fa-ther's memory which Guerrazzi inscribed on the tablet under the portico of the church at Montenero:-

the old illiberal Cardinal, as foremost in the by papers clandestinely printed that the work. Reforms of law and railways came later, but for a time Tuscany was turned into a kind of large academy. A grand festa, the meeting of the scientific congress at Pisa, the inauguration of a statue to Galileo, a magnificent discourse from Rosini, and a thousand other things, and Tuscany was quiet under her mild absolutism. The affairs of Rimini disturbed the frontiers a little in 1845, but "the manifesto of Rimini" was corrected and modified at Pisi, in the rooms of Montanelli, a professor of the university, and Renzi was allowed to pass through Tuscany when flying from the sbirri of old Pope Gregory. It is true when the Grand-Duke visited Rome in 1841, Gregory XVI. extorted some kind of promise that he would repeal at least some of the Leopoldine laws; but the minister, Don Neri Corsini, refused to sign any act that would mar the work of Peter Leopold, or change the traditional policy of the Palazzo Vecchio; and the Pope, in his allocution read in the next consistory of Cardinals, made bitter reference to the disappointment of his hopes, and to the slippery Grand-Ducal faith: —" Sed celsissimus ille Dux quae nobis promisit non tenuit!" (Gualterio, ii. 71.) Such promises were considered "more honoured in the breach than the observance;" and in those days Massimo d'Azeglio printed in Florence his fearful exposure of the Papal Government. But on the death of Don Neri Corsini, in 1845, when the Paver and Baldasseroni ministry came into power, a policy of approximation to Rome and Austria began, Even in 1846, when Rome suddenly became liberal, Tuscany was retrograding, and the Government seemed to have passed into the hands of the police at the Palazzo Non-Finito. The elements of a revolution were gathering on every side, but Leopold II. was blissfully unconscious: "il n'avait rien su, rien vu, rien prévu." It was not, however, the time precisely for concentrating all power in the person of the Grand-Duke. The enlightened Liberals of Florence—the Baron Ricasoli, the Marquis Gino Capponi, Cosimo Ridolfi, the advocate Salvagnoli, and others, had the courage to warn the Government of the impossibility of turning back the spirit of an enlightened age to the theories of the later Medici. In Pisa, Montanelli, mild, dreamy, and fantastic, now Mazzinian and democratic, and again Giobertian and theocratic, changing with every new idea that roused his fancy, was exercising a paramount influence on the youth of the Uniwersity, and Guerrazzi was supreme in Leghorn. There was no liberty of association, of speech, of the press, and it was only

wants and demands of the people were made known. And these demands of the Tuscan Liberals were eminently moderate; the leaders of the movement in Florence were men of the highest education and character; the Pisan professor was of too pliant material to be much dreaded-wood perhaps for the manufacture of Mercury, but certainly not the block out of which to carve a Brutus. The Government at last gave way,* and granted Liberty of the Press, (May 1847.)

We have no intention of telling over again the old story of the Revolution. It was the same thing everywhere-the press, the civic guard, a constitution, Custoza, Novara, and the reaction. But two matters are important at present—the political career of that remarkable man whose trial in the Florence courts is now exciting an almost exclusive attention in Italy, and the claims of Tuscany generally on the gratitude and good faith of the Grand-Duke. After one or two liberal measures in 1847, the Marquis Cosimo Ridolfi became minister, and Tuscany kept pace in reform with the best of Italy. A constitution was solemnly granted in Feb. 15, 1848; then came the war and the cabinet of Gino Capponi. The Pisan students, with Montanelli at their head, had fought valiantly at Curtatone, where Montanelli had been wounded, and borne as a prisoner to the citadel of Mantua. The news of his death had been spread at home, and funeral honours decreed him, but having returned afterwards by an exchange of prisoners, his popularity was unbounded. But the Mazzinian agitation had begun, "the war of kings had ended," and Italy must henceforth trust to "the war of the people." A certain democratic orator, wonderfully gifted in his way-Padre Gavazzi may perhaps remember the name--reached Leghorn, declaimed, and was arrested; an uproar followed, and, finally, in September, the insurrection at Leghorn. To quiet the insurgent city Montanelli was appointed governor, and managed his affairs so well that in a month he had ousted the ministry, and, in company with

^{*} Gualterio has devoted a whole chapter to Mr. Cobden's visit to Italy at this time. In Tuscany, the native ground of the Free Trade principles, the Academy of the Georgofili inscribed his name on their Album, where the name of Sir Robert Peel had been inscribed before. The ministers Paver and seen inscribed before. In ministers Payer and Baldasseron took part in the public homage to the Free Trade agitator. When Cobden rose to give thanks for this honour, he certainly touched a point peculiarly suitable to the time:— We succeeded," he said, "because a great minister had comprehended the duty of the side of the side of the said o

Guerrazzi, was in the cabinet at Florence, distributed for his programme. The "Apostolic Pilgrim" of Gaeta, however, anathematized the constituent, and the poor Grand-Duke, filled with spiritual terrors, consulted the Pope on his It would be tedious to follow the persevering new position. The answer may be easily attempts of Austria to make Tuscany a mere imagined, and the Grand-Duke himself, at first of the empire, or to appeal to the long tached to the old paternal absolutism, had list of treaties that establish its indepenthe pontifical example, fled to Gaeta.

followed was a stirring one. In the Piazza would fill a volume. But especially since of the old Florentine Signory-the scene of the rival claims of Austria and Spain were so many a drama, under the Loggia of Or- adjusted by the treaties of 1765, (for we do gagna, where the priors of the Republic had not speak of the cession of Lorraine to sword in hand, holding up the head of the from Austria, has been the unvarying policy Medusa—the Circoli held their noisy meet of the younger or Italian branch of the house ing to decide on the affairs of State. They of Hapsburg-Lorraine. Leopold I. main-elected a Provisional Government, and ap-pointed Guerrazzi, Montanelli and Mazzini and when he himself was Kaiser, he adhered ministers. We dare say the seene was quite most scrupulously to his former policy. as fine as any old Guelphic or Ghibelline After the general overturn of the continental think that these modern scenes will become grander as they get older.

The triumvirate—the Republic proclaimed at Leghorn-the decisive defeat at Novara-Guerrazzi dictator, and Montanelli sent to Paris-a dispute with Mazzini on the unifireturn in the uniform of an Austrian general of Leopold II. -the reaction, imprisonments, and a trial three years after-such is the modern history opposition to the policy of a century, and to

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never liked the new ideas, and, following dence, from the Quadruple Alliance of 1718 e pontifical example, fled to Gaeta.

The ministry resigned, and the seene that the diplomacy of the Tuscan succession given way to the hired guards of the Medici, France,) the preserving of the distinct in-and where the Perseus of Cellini still stands dependence of Tuscany, and its separation triumph in the annals of Florence, but it governments, and in the re-organization of lacks the halo of antiquity to make it imposing. Caesar Augustus, in a fashionable men as Fossombroni and Don Neri Corsini Parisian costume, or Dante dressed à la to defend its ancient rights "against all mode, would be sadly reduced in our imagi-nation. We suppose, judged by the standard the 100th article of the Treaty of Vienna of our modern civilisation, even the godlike put the independence of Tuscany under the kings who fought at Troy would be about on safeguard of the great powers of Europe, a par with as many chiefs of American In. dians fighting for a handsome squaw. Had of the Imperial Cabinet on the autonomy of the thing happened in our days, it would the weaker State, and especially in 1824, on have been settled diplomatically by a charge the death of Ferdinand III., the Austrian d'affaires; even Lord Palmerston would not minister at Florence was directed to concert have thought it necessary to send round the with the heir of the Crown the terms of the Channel fleet to the mouth of the Scamander, proclamation announcing his accession, and to put an end to a quarrel so disreputable, thus, to maintain the appearance of feudal and the whole material of Homer's death-rights in the Grand-Duchy, Count Bombelles less Epic would have been condensed into a went accordingly to the Arch-Duke Leopold, column of the Times. It is a comfort to but was received instead by Fossombroni, as minister of the new sovereign. The ambassador, disconcerted by this reception, announced that he was sent to the Arch-Duke Leopold, but Fossombroni replied that he was authorized by His Imperial and Royal Highness the Grand-Duke Leopold II., to recation or fusion of Tuscany with Rome-a ceive any communication made to him as counter revolution in favour of the Grand-Duke—Guerrazzi in opposition, and at last matist was not in fact received by the heir sulkily giving in-the Grand-Duke recalled, of the Crown, and the next morning, the and Guerrazzi imprisoned-Leghorn bom- same proclamation that announced the death barded by the Austrians-the Grand-Duke's of Ferdinand, announced also the accession

Since the restoration of 1849, in direct the spirit, at least, of the general law of But there are matters of more importance Europe, as established by the Treaty of connected with this reaction than the trial of Vienna, Tuscany has been a garrison of Austrian troops. Let it be remembered former princes of his house. We have that the forcing of the constituent on a Con-sketched as fully as our space would permit stitutional Sovereign was the work of a noisy the Leopoldine system under which Tuscany minority—that the democratic ministry and had prospered for a century: but we may the dictatorship fell in less than six months allude again to its three great principles acafter their formation, and that the Grand-cording to the definition of the Tuscan Duke was recalled by the acclamation of the jurists. 1st, Laicity of the State, i.e., its people: and on what plea was that conven-independence of Papal control. 2d, Equation between the cabinets of Florence and lity of all in face of the law; and, 3d, Vienna for the occupation of Tuscany by Economic liberty. Or let us state these Austrian troops signed in the April of 1850? principles more fully, so as to convey an The Tuscan Court would perhaps have pre-adequate idea of a system that is connected ferred a restoration by force to the sponta- with the whole civil life of the people, that neous movement of the people: certainly comes home to their bosoms and business, Rome and Naples would have considered it and touches their interests every hour. The more à la mode: but when Leghorn had neutrality and distinct political indepen-yielded to the troops of Baron d'Aspre, and dence of the State: liberty of conscience: the overwhelming majority of the Tuscans civil emancipation of the Jews, and subjects desired to settle down under the constitu-tional regime, on what plea is a land pro-public trial of the accused: equality of fessedly independent still trodden down by taxation, and the abolition of municipal im-the feet of the Austrian soldiery? Is the munities: the nomination of bishops by the spirit of the treaties of 1815 to be violated, State, and the Exequatur as a defence that Austria may sit like an incubus on the Italian peninsula, and that the heir of the of the Foro Ecclesiastico, of the Inquisition, abolish the wise and tolerant laws of the abolition of entails: the regulation of con-Emperor Joseph in the Empire itself, but ventual discipline: municipal liberties, and also enable the scarlet despotism of the seven hills to remove the ancient landmarks Such is the system that in the middle of the which the legislature had set up in Italy itself nineteenth century, and in a kingdom civiagainst its exorbitant pretensions. Austria lized beyond any in Italy, is in danger of is thus consolidating her power in unfortubeing abolished that Tuscany may swarm nate Italy, and everywhere in favour of with monks and friars as in the palmy days despotism and priestcraft: and the only plea of Cosmo de Medici. that can be urged is this, that the restored governments of 1849 have become so in- intrigues are Lucchese. That little Duchy protection of the Austrian bayonets. England cannot look on carelessly, and that commercial treaty which the Cabinet of and has now furnished agents, of whose dependent. now at Florence retrieved the singularly curtailed by the abolition of the constitution; absorbed by Austria.

in danger of being overthrown, and civilized former privileges. Tuscany reduced to the model of Naples professedly a mere instalment, and yet it esand the Pontifical States. We shall not tablishes the complete freedom of the waste time in noticing the miserable in-trigues of the agents of the Papal Camerilla tions relating thereto, and in their communito induce the weak and superstitious Leo cations with the Holy See. Bishops were pold II. to undo the whole work of the left at full liberty henceforth to commit

It is right to state that the agents in these tolerable that they cannot exist without the of Lucca, incorporated with Tuscany in 1847 Vienna (if the rumor be true) is attempting character the less we say the better, to do to force on prostrate Tuscany, may yet the work of the not very scrupulous Court teach her that her own interests are concerned of Rome. The abolition of the laws emanin demanding that the Austrian troops should cipating the Jews, entire priestly control in be withdrawn from a kingdom which the the matter of education, and the free action general law of Europe has recognised as in- of the Church according to the old regime, Something has been already were the first matters proposed: and even done in this way when the able diplomatist at present the Jewish liberties have been mismanaged Mather business, but that was schools and teachers have been entirely a slight matter to the English interests that subjected to the control of the clergy by the will be involved, if Tuscany be virtually late law on education, and by the concordat of April 1851, the Church has made the Again, the whole Leopoldine legislation is first grand step towards resuming all its The Concordat was the Lent preachings and missions gener-Itravel. But let it be remembered that vereign was sworn.

and breaking them. In Italy, however, in pastry. there is a plain, ordinary, Macadamized road, We know not in what terms to describe

ally to whomsoever they pleased; and, bewhat Tuscany sought was not Democracy,
sides, the censorship of books treating ex
(we except the few now under process, and
professo of religious matters, and the autheir adherents,) but constitutional governthority of prohibiting to the faithful the ment. The Medici themselves had not reading of any book whatsoever, were com- abolished the old "Council of Two Hundmitted to the four Archbishops of Florence, red," and "Senate of Forty," which re-Pisa, Lucca, and Siena, the sixteen bishops, and their enlightened, liberal, and tolerant first Leopold, had the times been propitious, clergy. The subject of marriage belonged would have extended that representation of course to the canon law. And the fifteen to the whole State. Before the reforms of articles of this Concordat of the 25th of 1848, during a hundred and ten years, the April were agreed on and signed by Car- Austrian Grand-Dukes and the French had dinal Autonelli, and the minister Baldasse- introduced and promoted a new civilization, roni, at the very time when Piedmont, hav- and it cannot be said of the Tuscan people ing passed the Siccardi Laws, was prepar-that they are now unfit for constitutional ing to erect the very bulwarks that Tuscany government. They are educated and intel-had thrown down. The first great step then ligent, temperate and moderate: they have has already been made towards the abolition been accustomed to municipal forms, and of the whole system of Peter Leopold ; the they have a history and traditious of greatultimate aim, from which the Papal Court ness, and a name imperishable in the annals has never for one moment deviated since of Italy; and with all these claims, their the days of Pius VI., being to re-establish cities must be guarded by foreign soldiers the old mortmains, the ecclesiastical immu- who cannot speak their language, and their nities, the Inquisition, and the Jesnits! A every movement watched by spies and the comprehensive programme this for 1852! police. That system of spics and inform-To the honour even of the Baldasseroni and ers, above all, tends to corrupt and de-Laudicci ministry, be it said, that they have moralize, and by none of the Italian dynashitherto resisted these last proposals, and ties has it been plied more perseveringly the Lucchese agent of the Papacy has been than by the princes of Lorraine. Even dismissed for the time from the Cabinet; Leopold I. spent enormous sums on spics; but unless the representatives of such great it was a taste of his family, and his Auspowers as are still free interfere to protect trian mother kept spies on him; and it is the sacred rights of a whole people, or notorious that Leopold II., who keeps his another revolution shake the central seat of subjects under such infamous surveillance, continental despotism, Tuscany is now too is himself watched on behalf of Austria. feeble to defend the laws to which her so- There is no free press - no liberty of speech suspicion and distrust prevail; and cases The third point which we notice is the are but too well known in which the entire abolition of the constitution of Feb- priest has divulged the secret of the conruary 15th, 1848. It is needless now to fessional, the wife "informed" upon her appeal to the oath of the Prince, or to the husband, and the father on his child. And solemn promise given verbally by Leopold through the ever-watchful police, imprison-Il. to the Tuscan deputies at Gaeta, and ments take place, and cases are gravely afterwards repeated in the proclamation of tried on the most ridiculous pretences. We the 1st of May 1849, to preserve and to shall merely cite one such case. A confecdevelop the constitutional regime he had in- tioner of Siena had prepared in the mastituted. The great example of political terials of his "calling" a figure of Italy, and immorality had been already given by adorned it with the three national colours-Austria, too, has set aside without a fine thing for children to look at in the compunction the constitution of the 4th of cook-shop window! The confectioner was March, and, unfortunately, examples are cited before the tribunals, and "the great but too abundant; and yet we are justi gingerbread case" became famous among fied in citing the case of Tuscany as the the lawyers of Sienn. There was no law, most glaring. We exclude France, of however, on the statute-book that made a course, which as becomes an original, inde- parti-coloured cake offensive to the Grandpendent, and free-thinking nation, never con- Duke, his "crown and dignity;" and the descends to follow any stereotyped course confectioner, triumphantly acquitted, was or ecclesiastical canon for making oaths allowed henceforth to work out his politics

by which reactionary princes invariably the infatuation with which Leopold II. seems

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to be hastening on in the destruction of moral power in Italy. A system of which all that was noble in his dominions. The he was the head and chief could scarcely be trade of Leghorn has been sacrificed to a infallible. The Bible was opened and studied league with Rome, and when commerce earnestly; and the result, especially in has diminished the Government begins to Florence, has been the entire abandonment enlarge the port. The Universities of Pisa of Roman Catholicism by hundreds of the and Siena have been sacrificed also-their population. The law documents before us, chairs suppressed, that money may be saved to go no further, attest it as a notorious fact to pay the Austrians. One journal still that the principles of Protestantism, or of free protested indignantly against each van- the Bible, have spread almost in every town dalism, and was suspended, and finally sup- of Tuscany. An attempt was made to pressed. But unhappily this is not the crush this rising spirit of inquiry, but the worst. It is not our purpose here to speak very effort to prevent inquiry had, as usual, of those religious persecutions for which the effect of adding all the zest of prohibinin these late days Tuscany has been distinct to a subject that had already excited so tinguished: yet let us state the great strong an interest on its own account. The leading facts in reference to the origin at circulation of the Bible was declared illegal, least of such persecutions. The reforms of but it spread more widely than before. A Leopold I. and of Scipio de Ricci were in few Bible readers were imprisoned, and a advance of their age, and yet they were by few others banished, and the interest in-no means unproductive. The Church of creased; and now there can scarcely be less Rome was kept in check, and education than two thousand people in Florence, who of a more large and liberal kind, as it supplanted the miserable pricetly tutorship, not rule of faith. No charge has been brought only destroyed in the minds of the people against them of political partisanship, or of the absurd superstitions against which Ricci disloyalty to the sovereign; and if one thing strove in vain, but also led them on in is better established than another in conthe search for truth. And that educational nexion with this Tuscan movement in favour movement of which Raphael Lambruschini of the pure gospel, it is this, that it has was the head, could not fail to prepare the nothing to do with politics. The calm, mild, way for something more than its promo- and dignified Guiceiardini was no agitator, ters had dreamed of at the first. The Bible, as all Florence knows, yet he is an exile for the great enlightener, made its way into conscience sake. In Malta, in Piedmont, in Tuscany; and many years ago, a few the Swiss valleys, there are banished men Florentines, and among them Count Piero of Tuscany, who have been driven there for Guicciardini, forsook the Papal system for the sake of God's own word, "to taste the simple belief in the Word of God. It was savour of other people's bread." In the no question of churches or church govern-ment with these few earnest men; it was law documents before us—there are cells of not even a question of Protestantism or the "condemned," and sufferers against Popery, but simply of Bible teaching- whom no other charge has been brought "What saith the Lord?" And hence their than this, that they read and believed, or unwillingness to give any merely negative taught the Bible. And much more that character to their ereed, and their prejudice, very natural in Italy, though some we might disclose of the measures that have what unreasonable, against the name of been taken to gratify the resentment of a "Protestant." The first year of revolution priestly party, who feel that their power is was a time of feverish political excitement, departing from them. when the masses were too much occupied Pius IX. regained his throne, but lost all two years, are undermining the whole legis-

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But to one fact we would call special atwith the stirring events of the day to have tention; in these laws and measures affecting much time left for calm and sober and the Church, Tuscany is but going hand in earnest study of religious truth. But at hand with Austria. In the empire, the Jothat brief season of unbounded liberty, or sephine laws since 1781, like the Leopoldine of anarchy, the Bible spread over all Italy; laws in the weaker state, were unfavourable it was printed in Florence, and in Rome to Romish pretensions: the two sons of But after Novara the reaction came Maria Theresa pursued the same system; with its atrocities, and the voice of the but the new laws from Vienna on the 18th "Holy Father" who had blessed the banners and 23d of April 1850, abolishing the of the Italian armies, was lifted up in ana. Placet, or, in other words, annulling the thema against that very movement to Exequatur, and those other measures which which he himself had given the first impulse. have followed in quick succession for the last

lation of Joseph II. It is a singular fact the best; and to darken and deprave a tating compliment at times, for in truth she to hand. Dies irae dies illa? has been a wayward child, but Austria is Yet it is perhaps better that the constitu-"the sword of the Church." At the head tion of February has been finally and fully of the new crusade against the minds and abolished, than that it should exist only in consciences of men are the Princes of Hapsburg and Lorraine. But let not the conti- the true state of things, both as to the meanental rulers think that they can continue a sures and the men. The once popular Leosystem of government in opposition to the pold II., and his patriot oath, have become intelligence of a people, or corrupt with im- a byeword among his people, and we cannot punity the conscience of their subjects, refrain from quoting one stanza of the Those old idols of the Papacy that bigotry "Casa Guidi Windows," which perhaps, on or priestcraft is dressing up again-those the whole, the Grand Duke might consider painted Madonnas that are winking at Rimini as slightly personal. most knowingly, or working miracles at Florence, are sadly out of date. The monks and friars and meritorious mendicants, redolent of every odour but that of sanctity, have become almost an anachronism even in the south, and they might be left to die out peaceably. We are not iconoclasts in the grosser sense. We would deprecate as loudly as any the turning of Vallombrosa into a cotton factory; and as for those fat old fathers of Camaldoli, so hospitable and so fond of snuff, we would not "pull down their nests" about their ears, especially as the disciples of St. Romuald are robed in white, and even our northern metaphysics could scarcely make them out to be "the crows" of a monkish rookery. But we think, in Tuscany, the time has gone by for such things, unless the present efforts of the solved of course that party who had clung Papacy succeed in bringing back that "gross to the faded rag of a constitution as the darkness" which is their proper element. The fanaticism of the Flagellanti has not two parties are now Absolutism and Debeen revived—the Knights of Malta exist as MOCRACY;—the princes themselves have deyet but in name and tradition; and the stroyed, or are fast destroying, that great Jesuits, like witches by a "running stream," are standing on the bank, but have not the crown with the interests of the people, crossed the Arno. To force the institutions Should another revolution come, and who of the worst times of the Papacy on a com- can tell what a day may bring forth!-there paratively civilized people, against their can scarcely be a constitutional party, for, mind and conscience, is but an idle effort at with the exception of Sardinia, there are no

that Austria, the most unbending and un-nation with the idea of making them more compromising supporter of the old status peaceful and submissive to both Church and quo, that knows no progress and admits no State, is of all expedients the most mischange, should yet in the Imperial Cabinet taken. A people without the fear of God effect a revolution of her own in favor of the will not continue long to honour the king; Papacy. The heir of the Holy Roman Em- and if we mistake not the signs of the times, pire, and the occupant of the chair of Hil- there is a terrible retribution coming to those debrand, have leagued themselves together Continental rulers who have used their for a common struggle. Their interests are power in crushing the conscience of their now one, and they must stand or fall to- subjects. An infidel spirit is spreading fast gether; and their joint aim is to enslave the and far among those who cannot as rational bodies if they cannot enslave the souls of men believe the lying legends of the Church men. Austria invokes the spiritual terrors of Rome, and who do not seek guidance in which in other days Rome could use so the Word of inspiration-a daring and Godwell, and Rome entrusts the defence of her defying spirit that makes small account of tottering throne to the strong arm of the law either human or divine; and if we mis-Croat and the Slaav. France may be the take not, with this rising infidelity, both deeldest daughter, and may get a kind of hesi- spotism and Popery must soon strive hand

name. It has brought out more distinctly

"Why swear at all, thou false Duke Leopold?
What need to swear? What need to boast thy blood Taintless of Austria, and thy heart unsold Away from Florence? It was understood God made thee not too vigorous or too bold, And men had patience with thy quiet mood,
And women pity, as they saw thee pace
Their festive streets with premature grey hairs:

We turned the mild dejection of thy face
To princely meanings, took thy wrinkling cares
For ruffling hopes, and called thee weak, not base. Better to light the torches for more prayers,
And smoke the pale Madonnas at the shrine,
Being still 'Our poor Grand Duke,' 'Our good
Grand Duke,'
'Who cannot help the Austrian in his line,'

Than write an oath upon a nation's book For men to spit at with scorn's blurring brine! Who dares forgive what none can overlook?

The decree that abolished the Statuto disbanner under which they were to fight. The party who sought to harmonize the rights of

and liberal advocates of progress are thus had been granted and abused. made over to Mazzini, and the Italian rulers are doing more to increase his partisans than all the agents of his Central Committee. These reactionary sovereigns must reap the fruit of their own misdoings. If Leopold II., like Charles-Albert or Victor-Emmanuel, had maintained the free institutions he had founded, then, in the event of another attempt to overturn his throne, we believe all Tuscany-(with the single exception of Leghorn, for which we would not like to answer in any such contingency)-would have rallied round the house of Hapsburg-Lorraine : but now when the oath "written on a nation's book" has been shamelessly brokenthe pact between prince and people destroyed -the liberty of conscience outraged-the civilisation of a century threatened-however we deplore the struggle that is inevitable, we have but small respect for a nation of crouching slaves, and honour the men of stout heart and strong arm who stand up for their homes and their household gods. such men there are even in Italy. From Leopold II. little can be expected; for, even excluding his whole Florentine entourage. his Austrian relations on the one hand, and his Neapolitan on the other, and above all the influence of Rome acting on his feeble character, have placed him almost beyond the possibility of recovering the position he has lost. But there is much to give hope in the growing intelligence of Tuscany. do not speak at all of the unfortunate prisoners of the Revolution of 1848-49, who are now under trial in the courts. We cannot sympathize with the attempt then made to overthrow the constitution in favour of a mere fraction of the people. But let them be fairly tried, not by new laws nor by old, but by the laws which existed at the time, in short, by the Constitution with the fulness of its liberties. We do not think the volumes that have been written in their defence have made out a good case in their behalf; and it is humiliating to find such a man as Guerrazzi urging the plea, that while acting ostensibly as Dictator in a democracy he was privately intriguing to bring back the Sovereign! It would have been far nobler to have adhered firmly and manfully to the principle of a republic "one and indivisible," than to have elaborated such a portrait of himself as a mere shuffling intriguer. While we pity the fallen, we cannot sanction the mischievous division they created when Tuscany was advancing towards full constitutional liberty; or the occasion they furnished, and the plea they gave, to a reac place among our noted exiles. Farther

constitutions. The intelligent, enlightened, tionary party to annul those liberties which

We know not how far the influence of England might yet make itself felt in the affairs of Italy, but the firm remonstrances of a great power, and some appearance of determination to uphold those treaties with which British interests are connected, might prevent more evils than we yet dream of. We have an accomplished and liberal diplomatist at Florence, but he must abide by the instructions of his Government, and Lord Malmesbury, at least, nceds the spur of public opinion. atrocities of Messina were checked by our ships of war in the Mediterranean, no doubt much to the annoyance of certain " allied and friendly" powers ;-but as long as Italy remains in its present condition, we are untrue to our own interest and our own character, if we are not in opposition to all retrograde measures. Our ships of war hovering about the coast of Italy are "a terror to evil doers" in the lower part of the Peninsula, and especially to the Court of Rome, that would urge on the subject States to any measure of reaction in favour of the Papacy-

"Gensinimica mihi Tyrrhenum navigat æquor."

ART. IV .- 1. Corneille et son Temps ; Etude Littéraire. Par M. Guizot. Paris : Didier. 1852.

(Corneille and His Times. By M. GUIZOT. London: Bentley. 1852.

2. Shakspeare et son Temps ; Etude Litté-Par M. Guizor. Paris : Didier. raire. 1852.

(Shakspeare and His Times. By M. GUIZOT. London: Bentley. 1852.)

ONE looks at these volumes with mingled feelings of pleasure and pity. As the elegant productions of an able and scholarly mind they could not but be welcome at any time; yet in the fact of their appearance at present there is enough to awaken sad thoughts. A few years ago the author had no leisure for such things: the cares of a nation were upon him, and his hands were deep in civil intrigues and distractions. blast of French impatience, or, as some believe, of something stronger and better, blew the system with which he was associated to pieces; and for a while he had his

changes have permitted him to return to in poetical matters, particularly as regards France; but these changes have carried the drama. France still farther from the situation to We must confess that we have found which his policy belongs, and it is difficult both the volumes less interesting than we

rated a review of the state of the dramatic the nerves and the humanities. furnishing M. Guizot's confession of faith most agitating to the people, there is, we

to foresee that any turn of affairs will bring the country again into a state in which he shall be as prominent in the national politics ing" in literature seems to us to be much as he was. In these circumstances, M. needed at the present time. We would Guizot, with a resigned spirit of industry lay it down as a canon that no book can be which does him honour, has betaken him-good that is not (in its kind, and in relation self once more to the literary pursuits of to those who are intellectually competent his youth. All the world must be glad of to its matter) interesting. This might seem it. There are differences of opinion as to a truism, were it not practically denied the political merits of M. Guizot; there is every day by the timidity of our critical no difference of opinion as to his literary judgments. There are many books which talent. He ought to be a favourite author pass as good ones, and are praised, as deep, everywhere, and particularly with English solid, and what not, notwithstanding that men. More solid, accurate, and austere they are, nay, in some cases, possibly just than most of his countrymen, yet highly because they are, transcendently uninter-gifted with that spirit of scientific generality, lesting. If the style is dull; if there are that tendency to express truths in compre-no gleams of light, no sallets, no brisk al-hensive forms, for which the French are re-lusions; if the matter does not stand out markable, and of which the English, as above the surface in clear shape and relief, some think, have too little, he is precisely but only peeps forth here and there, sugthe man to exercise a beneficial influence gesting something amorphous underneath—over English readers at the same time that then, forsooth, the book is a deep one, and he pleases them. Of all his works known the author is a man of heavy metal! Peoto us, his History of Civilization in France ple ought to have courage to resist this deserves the highest praise in this respect. fashion, and never praise a book that does It is a book to be read and read again, not not interest them. No one is entitled to only as a compendium of rich matter re-lative to the progress of Europe in general, True, on the other hand, one is not entitled and of France in particular, during the to dispraise a book simply because it does middle ages, but also as an admirable spe- not interest him. But to the right kind of cimen of the scientific mode of treating his-reader no good book is dull; and, the right If M. Guizot gives us more such kind of reader being supposed,—that is, a books now, we shall not regret that he has reader intellectually competent to the in-ceased to be an active politician. The works before us are republications, then, if a book is dull, it is not a good one. with a few changes and additions, of essays We maintain that this canon will sweep the published long ago. The pieces which whole range of interesting books from form the volume on Corneille were pub- Kant to Pickwick, and fail in no one case. lished as early as 1813, when the author Let it then be made absolute. Let it be was only twenty-six years of age. They con- insisted on that every book shall be intersist of an essay on the state of poetry in esting, shall have as much of the merit of France before Corneille; an essay on the literary fascination as the conditions of its life and works of Corneille; and sketches, subject will permit. For, after all, it will prepared by the late Madame Guizot, but be found that this very quality of interest, revised by her husband, of three of Cor-so far from being attainable only at the neille's contemporaries, Chapelain, Rotrou, expense of what is intrinsic, actually inand Scarron. The volume on Shakspearc creases in proportion as the claims of the consists of an essay on the life and works intrinsic are attended to; and that, of any of Shakspeare, published in 1821, and his- two books on a given subject, the one which torical and critical notices of sixteen of satisfies most strictly the deepest conditions Shakspeare's plays; with which is incorpo- of the subject, will also touch most keenly art in France in 1830, written by M. le in the "thrilling" interest of novelists such due de Broglie on the occasion of the re- as Eugene Sue, depending as that does in presentation on the French stage of Alfred part on the reckless audacity with which, de Vigny's translation of Othello. The in their coarse fashion, they tear in among two volumes together may be considered as the topics of greatest social import and the

believe, a lesson for higher literature, could ten, our estimate of them must be farther it only be expounded and seen into. On enhanced. But, tried by the standard of M. the other hand, such a work as that con-Guizot's reputation, and the capabilities of taining Niebuhr's investigations into early the subjects, they are somewhat below the Roman history, of extraordinary merit as these are, would, we believe, have been all the better, even in its own order, if it had been more readable.

In hardly any class of books are there such easy elements of interest for cultivated readers as in the delightful and increasing class to which the works under notice belong. It would be difficult for stupidity itself to make a literary biography totally uninteresting. There are always, in such a case, anecdotes, extracts, readers, whose knowledge of the life and and scraps of miscellaneous information, writings of the French tragic poet is necesand which serve to amuse. Interest of this countrymen. from any writer, and especially from any sian celebrities of the days of Richelieu, French writer, that should have undertaken given in this volume, will accordingly be to prepare a work, either on Corneille and very agreeable to such readers among us as have fairly been anticipated.

remember the time at which they were writ- new. In the essay on the life and writings

mark. Our complaint against them is, that they are not so interesting as they might have been; by which, according to our definition of the word interesting, we mean that they are not the best specimens of M. Guizot's

great and peculiar powers.

The volumes certainly contain a great deal of information, pleasant in itself, and collected with considerable pains from authentic sources. That on Corneille, in particular, will, in this respect, be interesting to English which it costs little trouble to put together, sarily more limited than that of his admiring The mélange of facts, ancekind, therefore, one might have expected dotes, quotations, and sketches of old Parihis times, or on Shakspeare and his times, are fond of literary history and literary It would have been difficult for any writer, gossip. Even here, however, owing perhaps in such a case, not to have resuscitated some to M. Guizot's comparative deficiency in that of the humours of the courts of Richelieu light esprit for which Frenchmen of much less and King James. But, when a writer of ability are remarkable, and which enables M. Guizot's powers undertook to furnish them to eatch up the humours of a period, the world with two such literary mono and tell them with case and point, there is graphs, it was natural to expect a still higher more dulness than might have been expectorder of interest. In addition to anecdote, ed. Much of the information is presented extract, antique reminiscence, and sketches rather in the form to which we used to be of the society of Paris and London in accustomed in such dry books as Wharton's the seventeenth century, one might have History of Poetry, than in the form which looked for profound criticism, accurate por the better art of Macaulay, Scott, and other traiture of individuals, original combina- historians of antique literature has now made tions and interpretations of facts, and fine common. The essay on Poetry in France displays of historic insight. After such a before Corneille, is indeed full of a kind of writer had "done" Corneille and his times interest which Wharton never reaches; but in a volume for the market, one might this arises from the critical skill with which have expected that that portion of the li- the development of the poetic style in terary history of France would thenceforth France is traced through its successive rebe seen as a defined circle of clear light in presentatives, De Lorris, De Meun, Marot, the distance of the French past, with all Ronsard, and Malherbe, to its maturity in the chief figures of the time distinctly mov- Corneille, rather than from any special liveing in it, and Corneille most distinct in liness in matter and anecdote. Madame the midst. And though as much could Guizot's portion of the volume is, in this hardly have been demanded from his treat respect, better than her husband's; her ment of the English subject, Shakspeare sketch of the poor cripple Scarron and his being a phenomenon which it does not seem household is, in particular, very touching to be given to Frenchmen to understand, and graceful. So also, curiously enough, the yet, that his picture would have conveyed most lively part of the volume on Shakto his countrymen some vivid idea of the speare is the review of the French stage, traits of the "great Williams," as Dumas and of the performance of Othello before a calls our Swan, and some deep appreciation French andience, contributed by M. de of English poetry in general, is what might Broglie. The remainder of the volume will, indeed, have the same fortunate advantage, These expectations, as we have said, are as regards French readers, that the volume not fully answered. The books are, indeed, on Corneille has, as regards English readers decidedly superior, as books go; and, if we |-its information will be for the most part of Shakspeare, for example, the French to the religion of Shakspeare's father is reader will find accumulated for him all the familiar to every one; but the episode of try have got tired, together with many facts handwriting, as that would be of some imrelating to the English Theatre of the days portance in connexion with another controof Elizabeth; while, in the appended criticisms on Shakspeare's plays, there are adnot seem to be aware of. Altogether the mirable summaries of the original tales from story is worth its weight in gold, and biograhe took them. All this must be interesting household of the old alderman of Stratford, to Frenchmen, who are not so Shakspearemad as we, and whom more meagre materials than any writer now dare bring to us ascertained, William being "the third or about our idol will satify. What kind of fourth," and the first boy! There must have about our idol will satify. What kind of facts M. Guizot relates to his countrymen about the bard of Avon may be judged from the following specimens:-

" In 1586 he (Shakspeare's father) was superseded in his functions as alderman, which he had already for a long time ceased to discharge. Other causes besides poverty may have contri-buted to his removal. It has been said that Shakspeare was a Catholic: it appears at least certain that such was the creed of his father; for, in 1770, a slater, in repairing the roof of the house in which Shakspeare was born, found, between the timber work and the tiles, a manuscript, placed there doubtless at a time of persecution, and containing a profession of the catholic faith, in fourteen articles, all commencing with these words, 'I, John Shakspeare.' "-

Shakspeare et son Temps, p. 21.

"Shakspeare was not fifteen years old when he was taken away from school to aid his impoverished father in his business. It must have been then that, according to the tradition of Aubrey, William exercised the bloody functions connected with the trade of a butcher. This supposition is now revolting to the commentators of the poet; but a circumstance related by Aubrey hardly permits of doubt on the point, and reveals, at the same time, this young imagination even then incapable of submitting to vile employments without attaching to them some idea, some sentiment, ennobling them. 'When he killed a calf,' Aubrey was told by the country people of the neighbourhood, 'he would do it in a high style, and make a speech,' ('11 le faisait avec pompe et prononcait un discours.') Who does not see the tragic poet inspired by the speciacle of death, were it but that of an animal, and seeking to render it imposing or pathetic? Who does not figure to himself the scholar of thirteen or fourteen years, his head full of his first literary acquirements, his mind struck, perhaps, by some theatrical representation, elevating, in a poetic transport, the animal he was about to strike, to the dignity of a victim, or, perhaps, even of a tyrant."-Ibid. pp. 22, 23.

ties) we do not know. The controversy as Stratford, lo! I kill a calf;" and sometimes

common stories of the poet's deer-stealing, the slater is new to us. We wonder if the horse-holding, &c., of which we in this coun- manuscript was in old Mr. Shakspeare's own versy, the existence of which M. Guizot does which the poet borrowed his plots, with phers are fools not to have made more use references to the probable books from which of it. Fancy the glimpse it gives into the the father of "nine, ten, or perhaps even eleven children," as M. Guizot has somehow been stuff in an old fellow, (more wit than courage though,) who, when a storm of persecution was blowing, fell upon the notable device of writing out his profession of faith, or getting it written out for him, and then poking it into a hole in the roof of the house for posterity to find-thus at once proteeting his skin, saving his conscience, and enjoying a joke. The story, you see, is the most likely in the world. And then so like his son, too! Did not Shakspeare the younger do exactly the same thing? Did he not also take the precaution of depositing his real profession of faith in the roof of a house, so that posterity might discover it in due time; and has not a slater been and gone the other day to the hiding-hole, and found out that Shakspeare was an Atheist?

The story of the calf, too, what a new turn M. Guizot has given to it! The story in Aubrey is, that he, gleaning information from among the country people about Stratford, some thirty or forty years after Shakspeare's death, heard that, when the poet was a boy (i.e., some eighty years before) he used to assist his father in his trade as a butcher, and that when he killed a calf he did not do it like anybody else, but with a flourish and an oration. To a dull English imagination, this story, taking it for true, is rather humorous than otherwise. One sees the young poet, with his knife in his right hand, and his left on the neek of a calf, not proceeding in a stolid butcherly way to kill the animal without sharing the pleasure with any one else, but turning first to the boys and girls gathered round him in the backyard, and, with that gift of fluency which he always possessed, improving the occasion with a speech. speech, we fancy, might pretty frequently run thus: "Here is a calf; cutlets are necessary; I'll kill the calf-I'll kill him." What our Colliers and our Halliwells will This would be when he felt the full flurry of say to the first of these stories (Guizot in the moment; but sometimes he might be this volume gives no references to authori- more staid and theatrical-" Ye boys of

pathos might predominate, and there would stances as a man and a Parisian of the be an allusion to the feelings of the calf's seventeenth century, which, though it could mother. So we fancy the incident, always not have been prepared without the aid of supposing that it ever happened. But the his writings, might have been derived in the imagination of M. Guizot is more reverent, main from external records. We do not In his picture of the incident one sees no assert, either, that no description is given of such vulgar boy as Stratford, but a whiterobed young flamen with upturned eyes, per- lume fails in conveying what may pass for a forming solemnly an act of sacrifice, or a juvenile Brutus enacting in thought the part only say that M. Guizot has not sufficiently of a stern tyrannicide. This, we take it, is made this a point to be accomplished, and French imagination, imagination à la mode that he has not succeeded in painting Cor-Francaise.

Our readers will pardon us for taking note, rather too distinctly as it may seem, of these trifles. We do not think them trifles. There is too strong a tendency among our pose, were not more defective in the one biographers to catch up any stories, probable or not, that may come in their way as they seek for matter for their volumes; and though we have learnt, we trust, to keep this habit in check, and to treat tradition more rigorously in our biographics of Shakspeare, from this side of the water, against the cur-Shakspeariana in France. If Guizot offends in this respect, what are we to expect from other Frenchmen who may write about the of the two cases mentioned, there is a deeper reason for special notice. In the curious sentimental transmutation to which Aubrey's cific delineation. Better, perhaps, that he story—a story with which we have no other should leave the face and figure of the great quarrel than that it wants authentication-is treated when it passes into Guizot's mind, we see traces of a radical defect of view which appears and reappears throughout the whole volume. The same difference that there is between the English and the French picture of Aubrey's legendary incident, the same difference is there between the English and the French appreciation of the poetry of Shakspeare. This will become evident as we proceed.

Passing, however, from the minutiæ to the more general impressions of the works bereason for a want of interest in them proportionate to the claims of their splendid suband sustained attempt to portray the characthe first volume had aimed at, it should sure-

Corneille under this aspect, or that the voreal likeness of its principal subject; we neille in this volume with the same distinctness, for example, with which, in his Civilization in France, he has painted the portrait of Charlemagne. Materials, we should supcase than in the other; it even seems that it would be far casier to add a distinct and authentic likeness of Corneille to the portrait gallery of eminent Frenchmen, than a similar portrait of Charlemagne. What was wanting was only the conviction that it ought there is no safeguard, unless it be in ridicule to be done, and resolution and patient art to do it. In the case of Shakspeare the omisrency for a long time to come of such loose sion, while it is more obvious, is also more excusable. If his own countrymen cannot agree upon the portrait of the poet, if there are as many ways of describing him even in "great Williams?" Besides, in the second English as there are English biographers of him, it was not to be expected that a foreign biographer would venture on any very speunknown as hypothetical as he found them. And yet we think, with all allowance, that M. Guizot might have done a little more in this respect than he has attempted. has ever looked at a cast or an engraving of the Stratford bust, with its full and mobile, yet small-featured face, so thoroughly the face of a literary man rather than a man of action; who has ever read Ben Jonson's gossip about Shakspeare and his contemporaries with Drummond of Hawthornden; nay, who has ever critically read Shakspeare's own poems, and especially his minor fore us, we have to remark as an additional poems, without forming an image of the poet and his ways which he knows must be so far authentic? Besides, it is impossible to write jects, the absence of any sufficiently vigorous about any man without having some image of him and his circumstances, true or false, ters of the men described. Whatever clse before the mind's eye; and, true or false, this image will appear in the mere tenor of ly have aimed at depositing in the mind of the narrative, whether it is expressly set the reader a distinct and finished portrait of forth or not. It is not, therefore, that there the man Corneille. We do not speak here is no indication in the present volume of the of that precise and claborate account of the impression entertained by M. Guizot repeculiarities of his genius which was to be specting the character and personal environderived from a critical investigation into his ment of Shakspeare; it is that M. Guizot writings, but of that more popular delinea- has taken no pains to make this impression tion of his physiognomy, habits, and circum distinct and vivid to himself or his readers, ble to gather it, is poor and unreal.

That our readers may judge for themselves of the truth of these remarks, we shall quote the passages in which the nearest approach is made to a specific delineation of the two men.

courtiers, and the critics of his time .- " At this juncture in his history, when Corneille is about to enter personally into the lists in opposition to such powerful enemies, it is necessary that not been accustomed to attach to the humble we should obtain a complete idea of his character and position, in order to be able rightly to judge both of the necessity for making concessions, and of the courage requisite for resistupon the Cardinal, whom, in a letter to Seu-dequired public importance, and thenceforward depression shocked Voltaire; but it was not at I in his works he pays proper respect to himself; all at variance with the customs of Corneille's with them was connected not only the honour time. At a period when gentlemen of the high-of his glory, but also the dignity of his characteristic hentered the service of others more rich iter; he would deem himself degraded if he did than themselves; when money was the natural not acknowledge their merit with all the frankprice paid for all services, and wealth a sort of ness and boldness of a champion entrusted with suzerainty which collected around itself vassals their defence, or if he consented to abdicate the ready to pay it a kind of homage that was con- rank in which they had placed him. sidered perfectly legitimate, we need not be sur-prised that a burgess of Rouen felt no shame in first rank in which I am placed by many com-considering himself a domestic, or, if you prefer petent persons, I have not descended lower it, a subject of an all-powerful minister, whose liberality was his mainstay, and in whose favour even while defending himself so proudly, Corhis hopes were centred. . . . We shall meet neille did not depart from the ordinary ideas with many actions and words, in the life of Cor- and habits of his conduct, or those which conneille, utterly at variance with our ideas and cerned him as a man and not as a poet. habits. We shall pass with surprise from his evidently believed in two very distinct kinds of tragedies to his dedicatory epistles; and we honour, which it appeared to him all the more shall blush to see the same hand-

La main qui crayonna L'ame du grand Pompée et l'esprit de Cinna,-

stretched forth, if we may be allowed the expression, to solicit liberalities which it did not always obtain. . . Let us first look at Corneille in his social relations. Destitute of all that distinguishes a man from his equals, he seems to be irrevocably doomed to pass unnoticed in the crowd. His appearance is common, his conversation dull, his language incorrect, his timidity awkward, his judgment uncertain, and his experience perfectly childish. If he finds himself brought into contact, either by necessity or chance, with persons whom birth or fortune has placed above him, he does not rightly appreciate the position which he occuit. But [M. Guizot here quotes La glance cast into the affairs of the poet proves Bruyère] 'let him elevate himself by composi- also that he began to carry into the details of tion, and he is not inferior to Augusta, I'om. His life, that regularity and order which are ne-

and that the impression, so far as it is possi- pey, Nicomedes, or Heraclius. He is then a ble to gather it, is poor and unreal. king, and a great king; he is a politician—nay more, he is a philosopher.' He has passed into a new sphere; a new horizon has opened before him; he has escaped from the trammels of a position which bound down his imagination to the interests of a fortune far inferior to his faculties; he can now appreciate all the duties Corneille in his relations with Riche'ieu, the important existence, a lofty destiny, and the possibility and expectation of glory; and with all the force of deep inward conviction, he has laid upon his heroes obligations which he had social existence of l'ierre Corneille.

There is, however, one point on which he is raised by this existence above the vulgar herd his works issued from the obscurity in which Corneille was immediately dependent his life was spent. By his literary renown he ridiculous to confound together, as he made no use at all of one of them. The same man who, in the Cid, had dilated so loftily upon the duties imposed by honour upon brave men, did not think it necessary to fulfil those duties himself; and, looking at his physical courage as entirely unconcerned in the question, he thus replied to Scudery's rhodomontades: 'There is no necessity for knowing how much nobler or more valiant you may be than myself, in order to judge how far superior the Cid is to the Amant L.béral. I am not a fighting man; so, in that respect, you have nothing to fear.' So strong was his conviction that the honour of Corneille did not depend upon physical courage."-Cornelle and his Times, pp. 173-181.

Shakspeare in London, and at Stratford .-"Externally, however, his existence seems to pies in respect to them, but thinks only of the have pursued a tranquil course. His name is one connexion—of protector and protected— not mixed up with any literary quarrel; and, which subsists between him and them. Of all but for the malicious allusions of the envious their different titles to consideration he regards Ben Jonson, hardly a criticism would associate only the claims which they may possibly have itself with the culogiums which mark its superto his gratitude, and thus he will place a Mon-riority. All the records of the time exhibit to tauron on a level with, if not above, Richelieu us Shakspeare placed at last as he had the right and Mazarin. It is always possible to determine to pretend to, sought after for the charm of his by the nature of the homage which Cornelle character, as much as for the pleasure of his pays, the amount of the reward he received for wit, and the admiration due to his genius. A cessary for respectability. He is seen purchas, which he had brought from it, induced him ing in succession in his native district a house to hasten the moment of renouncing labours and different pieces of land, of which he formed at last a property sufficient to ensure an easy life. The profits which he derived from the theatre in his capacity as author and actor, have been valued at two hundred pounds sterling a year, a considerable sum for that time; and if the favours of Lord Southampton were added to the economy of the poet, we may infer at least that he did not employ them ill. Like Molière, Shakspeare, if we except his intimacy with Lord Southampton, sought above all his habitual relations among the men of letters, whose social condition he had probably contri-buted to raise. The Mermand Club, founded by Sir Walter Raleigh, and where Shakspearc. Ben Jonson, Beaumont, Fletcher, &c , used to meet, was long celebrated for the wit-combats between Ben Jonson and Shakspeare, a frivolous amusement, in which the vivacity of the latter gave him an immense advantage over the labo-rious slowness of his rival. The examples that are quoted are hardly worth the trouble of collecting. Few bons mots can have a career of Who would not think two centuries. that a life thus become honourable and pleasant would long keep Shakspeare in the midst of social circles suitable to the requirements of his wit, and in the theatre of his glory ? Yet, in 1613 or 1614 at the latest, three or four years cannot discern that there was any displeasure towards him either on the part of the king to whom he owed this new favour, or on the part of the public whom he had just presented with Othello and the Tempest, Shakspeare quitted London and the theatre to go to live at Stratford, in his house of New Place, and in the middle of his fields. Did he begin to feel the want of family life? If so, he might have brought his wife and children to London. Nothing indicates that he had been much put about by this separation. During his stay in London he made, it is said, frequent journeys to Stratford; but he is accused of finding even on the road distractions of the same kind as had consoled him at least for the absence of his wife.

If the Sonnets of Shakspeare were to be regarded as an expression of his most habitual and cherished feelings, one would be astonished at never finding there a single word relative to his home or his children, even the son he had lost at the age of twelve. Yet Shakspeare cannot have been ignorant of paternal affection; he who in Macheth has painted, &c., could not have looked at his own children without feeling the tenderness of a father's heart. But Shakspeare, as his character presents itself to us, was a man to find, for a long period, in the distrac-tions of society that which could hold, in his thoughts and life, the place he was capable of giving to the affections. However this may be, it is more difficult to fix on the causes which determined his departure from London than to perceive those which may have prolonged his stay there. Perhaps some infirmities had come to warn him of the necessity of repose: perhaps tive place a style of life so different from that that while M. Guizot suggests the ungainli-

which had no longer for their recompense the pleasures of youth. . . . New pleasures could not be wanting to Shakspeare in his retreat. A natural tendency to enjoy all things rendered equally fit for the happiness of a quiet life him whom it had drawn from the vicissitudes of a life of agitation. The first mulberry tree introduced into the neighbourhood of Stratford, and planted by the hands of Shakspeare in a corner of his garden at New Place, attested for more than a century the gentle simplicity of the occupations that filled up his days. An easy competence, the esteem and friendship of his neighbours, all seemed to promise that which erowns so well a brilliant life-a tranquil and honoured old age-when, on the 23d of April 1616, the very day on which he attained his fifty-second year, death removed him from this condition of calm and comfort, whose happy leisure he would perhaps have not always given up to repose alone."—Shok-speare et son Temps, pp. 123-127.

From writers of less ability than M. Guizot this might be accepted as very good character-drawing. What is actually said both of Corneille and of Shakspeare, is probably in the right direction; and, with the after having obtained from James 1. the directive exception of a certain tinge of the false in tion of the Blackfriars Theatre, and though one the estimate of Shakspeare, arising from one or two minute inaccuracies as to facts and dates which we could point out in the paragraphs quoted, there is perhaps nothing that would require to be positively altered or But the delineation in both instruck out. stances is too light, conventional, and irresolute. Both Corneille and Shakspeare, we venture to say, had good decided faces of their own, not in the least like each other, and which, when once seen, impressed themselves so that there could be no difficulty in remembering or recognising them afterwards. Now, though we will not say that, if we had met Corneille coming out of Richelieu's door in Paris, or seen Shakspeare standing by the mulberry tree in the garden at New Place, we should not have had a suspicion, from M. Guizot's descriptions, that the ungainly shopkeeper-looking man with the manuscript in his hand, was Corneille, and the mild elderly gentleman, Shakspeare; we are not sure how much in this case would have depended on our prior knowledge that the door was Richelieu's, and the garden, the garden of New Place, Stratford. Had we met the mild gentleman at Richelieu's door, we might have supposed him to be Corneille; and had we seen the ungainly shopkeeperlooking man going up the gravel-walk at New Place, reading a manuscript, we might have supposed him to be Shakspeare readalso the very natural desire to show in his nating one of his plays. And the reason is,

when he says that "people could rarely hear better. him without getting tired, unless when he spoke through the mouths of others!" There severe a test to apply to publications put himself must have met with in his researches, as the chances of their application, and it is as, for example, the trait of excessive fluency with the opinions that we have do to. in speech, certified by Ben Jonson, or by Sonnets, but he shews no adequate sense of the individual or in the epoch. their biographic value.

that M. Guizot's highest talent does not lie generally and make clear in particular cases

ness in the one case, and the mildness in the in character-painting. He excels ordinary other, (supposing that these are the real writers here as in other things; but this is characteristics,) he does not do so firmly and not his most notable point of superiority, impressively, like a painter sure that he is Naturally more at home in the region either painting from the life. How much more of research or of abstract thought, he has painting from the life. How much more graphic respecting Corneille are the contemporary allusions which M. Guizot's want of the concrete, that artist's power of divining art has obliged him to add in footnotes, instead of involving them in the text—as, for example, the saying of Fontenelle, "M. Beckgrounds of cunningly-imagined circum-Corneille was rather large and full of body, and very simple and common in appearance;" sees; nor has he attempted in the present or the declarations of Vignoul Marville, "the first time I saw him I took him for a shopkeeper," and "his conversation was so dall that it became burdensome, even if it lasted only a short time;" which last is good humouredly confirmed by Corneille himself, historical works, few men could have done when he says that "people could rarely hear better.

is the germ, indeed, of a very fine apprecia-forth as mere "literary studies" by a man tion in the view which M. Guizot gives of who has done so much work besides, and Corneille as at one moment the poet nerved one of them, too, put forth at so early a even morally up to the pitch of his own period of his literary life. Setting aside, glowing intellectual conceptions, making however, the fact that the earlier of these kings and heroes stalk across the stage, and studies is the better and more finished of filling their hearts with all kingly resolves the two, we cannot admit that the test in and their mouths with all kingly speeches, question is too severe to be applied to literary and then the next moment dropping plump studies, of which such a man as M. Guizot down, amid the circumstances and needs of is the author, and such men as Corneille and his own individual life, into an awkward Shakspeare the subjects. We would apply timid creature, respecting every body, and the same test, if necessary, to any of Masaying what any body that had money caulay's essays, which are still less pretend-wanted him to say, so long, always, as they ing in form. But, leaving this matter to be did not again rouse the lion in him by at-decided according to taste, we shall insist tacks on his literary reputation. But even no more upon the merits or demerits of the this is only suggested, and the reader has to books, considered with reference to their work out the view for himself. As regards success as biographies, but shall turn to the Shakspeare, there is even a greater want of examination of them, in what may after all decidedness in seizing the indisputable be their more intentional character, as treacharacteristics. If that general mildness and tises of literary criticism. Here, at all tolerance of spirit is suggested, which all the events, it will be admitted, they are to be biographers seem to be agreed upon, there tried by the highest standard; for in whatis no qualification of this by the addition of ever shape a critic puts forth his opinions, those traits which are infallibly indicated by whether in a folio or in a pamphlet, the contemporary allusions which M. Guizot opinions themselves are as long and broad

There are two styles or methods of literary the incorporation of those deeper hints of criticism at present in practice. There is, intense spiritual significance which are to be first, that style or method of criticism which derived as authentically from the poet's own views literary works not so much in themderived as authentically from the poets own prices are the serious and in relation to humanity either in writings. M. Guizot makes reference to the serious as in relation to humanity either in constitution in the spoot. According to this view of criticism, the business of a A comparison of these "studies" of M. eritie is to regard a poem or other work of Guizot with the similar writings of Macaulay, literary art as an illustration, expression, or, or any other of our most celebrated bio- if we may so speak, secretion of the whole graphic essayists, will illustrate what we mental state of the contemporary period. have been saying, and will make it manifest What he has to do, therefore, is to establish

with Biography and History. But how apply the method to the so-called "objective" have been describing. Meanwhile, there- with the Greek mind, or had been exhibited VOL. XVIII.

this reciprocal relation; to show of any fore, we must still fall back, in a great given book, on the one hand, how it is a measure, upon that other kind of criticism development of the foreknown genius of which is consecrated by the practice of all the man, or, on the other hand, reversing the ages, and which consists in viewing the proprocess, how the man may be inferred and ductions of literature, not in their relation construed out of it. Literary criticism, so either to the personal history of their anthors, understood, allies itself, it will at once be or to the peculiarities of the social progress at seen, with biography and history. Books the time when they were written, but simply are stript of that prestige which would as exercises in a special art, which has or exempt them from the common lot and the may have its own principles and rules. It common measure of human things, and was Wordsworth, we think, who maintained authorship is brought down into co-equality that this should be the only kind of criticism, and competition with all the thousand other and that it was not proper, in investigating modes of human activity. As battles are the works of a poct, to make any reference the warrior's tribute to civilisation, and signs to the man. Except as a precaution against of the social tendencies at work in the time, the mere impertinence of contemporary so books are the good or bad deeds of the author towards the race, and the symptoms of the social condition out of which they times, we have no respect for this maxim, spring. One might fairly ask in this view, and even think it likely to do harm. Still, though without much hope of an answer, precisely as there may be a criticism of bat-which is deeper in point of significance, or tles, apart altogether from considerations of higher in point of merit-a sonnet or a their social meaning, as mere exercises in an skirmish, a treatise or a victory, a Waterloo art whose principles are fixed or may be or an In Memoriam? Now we are great fixed, so there may be a criticism of books admirers of this theory and this art of literary apart from all consideration of their bio-eriticism. We think that it proceeds at once graphical or historical significance. A tragedy on a nobler view of literature and a more may be viewed as a tragedy; it may be profound philosophy of human nature; and gone over in detail, and its beauties or its we believe that the finest feats of modern blemishes detected and explained; the plot, refiteism are to be traced to its growing prevalence. True, it brings us into contact may be all tried according to certain principles with great difficulties. In the case of a ciples which regulate, or are supposed to Dante, a Byron, a Burns, or any others of regulate, this species of composition; if the so-called "subjective" poets, who write there are deviations from these principles out almost professedly their own feelings and still the effect is fine, the reasons for this and experience, the method spontaneously may be assigned, and the assumed principles forces itself into view; and hence in these shewn accordingly to be so far modifiable; cases criticism has always gone hand in hand the tragedy may be compared with previous works of the same kind, and its special merits or defects, as a whole, may be thus class of writers, whose productions are, to more clearly brought out-and all this may all appearance, not revelations of self, but be done without any retrospective allusion merely shapes and phantasies in ideal mat- to the character and circumstances of the ter? How, for example, deduce a Cid or a author, notwithstanding that it is well under-Cinna from the personal existence of a Cor-stood all the while that the tragedy could neille; or how refer the noble sentiments of not have been what it is, had not the author those heroes who dared all for honour, to been precisely such and such a man, situated their spring in the soul of a man who would precisely in such and such circumstances. have made any apology in the world for any Only Shakspeare could have written King act of his life rather than face a pistol? Or, Lear; and yet, once written and published, to take a still more curious example, which King Lear is an existence by itself which would fall strictly under the same head, how may walk loose about the world, and be identify the grandeur of the Novum Organum studied by men as one of many similar with the life of Lord Chancellor Bacon? things belonging to a common denomination, Was he, as the poet says, the meanest of without ever referring to its parentage. The rnankind, and, if so, could he be the wisest, best collection of principles in this kind of and can his Organum be a great book? criticism, particularly as regards the Drama, These are problems which we have as yet no is perhaps that contained in the Poetics of calculus to solve, and yet which necessarily Aristotle. A masterly analysis of the laws arise out of that view of criticism which we

in Greek examples, this treatise has come invent him, it would be said: Such a man he

In the works before us we have a mixture of both kinds of criticism. The writings of the great French and those of the great English dramatist are studied in connexion with their lives and with the social peculiarities and tendencies of their times; and yet there are independent criticisms of these writings as separate and individual exercises in the dramatic art. As might have been expected from a writer so full of the historic spirit as M. Guizot, the volume abounds, in particular, in lucid and ingenious remarks on the intimate affinities between history and literature. Perhaps the finest specimen of the author's powers in this respect is that furnished by the newly written preface to the "Corneille," which consists of a critical appreciation of the influence exercised over the spirit of recent French literature by the three great literary powers that represented the French intellect during the Empire of Napoleon-the Journal des Débats, Chateaubriand, and Madame de Stael. must content ourselves, however, with quoting from the body of the volume one remark on a more general topic. It is evidently a remark to which M. Guizot attaches great value, for he has repeated it in the "Shakspeare." It comes very suitably after what we have been saying :-

Complexity of the Causes which determine the Character of Modern Literature.- "Conjectures founded upon the natural progress of the human mind fail when we have to account for the course pursued by the literature of modern times. Among a people whose character is formed in a simple manner, and whose civilisation is the re-sult of the free and harmonious development of the human mind, the question of the origin of literature, although somewhat complicated in itself, is not very difficult of solution: the answer must be sought for and will be found in the spontaneous expansion of our nature. Poetry, the first outburst of a budding imagination in the midst of a world that is new to it, then finds in all surrounding objects themes for its songs, and derives from the simplest sights a host of sensations previously unknown. . . The Greeks took delight in song; and Homer sang,—he sang the victories of his fellow-countrymen, their quarrels and reconciliations, their games and festivals, their business and their pleasures. On the shield of Achilles are displayed flocks, harvests, and vintages; conjugal affection gives tenderness to the farewells of Andromache; Priam is a father weeping over the loss of his son; and Achilles utters the laments of friendship over the body of Patroclus. Thus the most natural feelings and the simplest interests were what inspired the muse of the prince of poets. . . If

down to us with all the weight that antique must have been—an exemplification of that authority can give it as a permanent rule in which could not fail to be produced by the development of the happiest faculties among a people at liberty to display them all, and among whom nothing had occurred to distort their character, to disturb their harmony, or to divert their course. . . Such could not be the case with regard to modern nations. When they established themselves on the ruins of a world that had already grown old, they were ignorant and incapable of comprehending those institutions from which their coarse manners were about to receive some forms equally rude and more incoherent. A divine religion, coming down into the midst of nations at once enlightened and corrupted by a long term of existence; a sublime morality, based on the precepts of the Gospel, too perfect for the manners of those who are about to receive it, and yet sufficiently positive to exact their obedience; towns and palaces, which had been conquered, and were inhabited by savages incompetent to appreciate the skill which had erected them; luxury for which they had acquired a taste, and to which they became habituated, before they had learned its use; enjoyments, distinctions, and titles which had been invented by the vanity of an effeminate world, and which were paraded by barbarian vanity rather in imitation than from necessity-all these facts could not fail to strike these new peoples as being one of those strange and confused spectacles at which ignorant spectators cannot even manifest sufficient astonishment, because they do not perceive its hidden springs and secret workings; all these causes necessarily led to that confusedness of ideas, to those fantastic and incomplete associations of thought, of which modern litterateurs, in their early essays, and even in their masterpieces, present traces which, though varying in distinctness, are everywhere visible. this complication of causes in the manners of the Middle Ages, this singular mixture of natural barbarism and acquired civilisation, of antiquated notions and modern ideas, which renders it very difficult to explain the course pursued by the various literatures that issued from these times."-Corneille and his Times, pp. 2-8.

This remark, the full force of which will at once reveal itself to the intelligent reader, forms a very fit introduction to volumes which have it for their purpose to appreciate the genius and influence of two men so preeminently instrumental in determining and stimulating, the one for France and the other for England, the vast literary movement of modern times, the offspring of that Germanic chaos. Corneille is the admitted father of French tragedy, and one of the earliest of the really classic authors in any department of French literature. His influence on the subsequent form and direction of that literature has been very great as to degree, and very marked as to kind. Had he not lived it is very probable that French literature would have now presented a some-Homer had disappeared, and it were possible to what different assemblage of characteristic

qualities. Corneille's is therefore a really had been done or was being done in this national literary name, deservedly ranked department, and more especially for French

Corneille. this part of his task in many respects beautifully. He first prepares the field for the Let us hear how M. Guizot characterizes advent of Corneille, by showing how the the genius and "mission" of Corneille. French taste in poetry, and the resources of French verse, as originally exhibited in the regenerated our drama, or rather, if he exercised Roman de Rose and other obsolete product that creative action which liberated our drama tions of the chivalry period, had been mo- from its primitive chaos, it was because he introdified and tested by a series of minor court-duced into his writings truth, which was then poets, the principal of whom were Marot, Ronsard, and Malherbe. He shows how energy, that imposing majesty, those sublime the drama, popular in its origin in France, as in all other countries, had become, towards the close of the systemth senture the wards the close of the sixteenth century, the of the poet, without preserving, after him, any most hopeful and characteristic portion of an dominant influence over dramatic art. Tragedy

by Frenchmen along with those of Rabelais, comedy, by such writers as Jodelle, Gar-Molière, Racine, Lafontaine, Bossuet, Rous-nier, Mariet, Rotrou, and Hardy. Into this seau, and Voltaire, all of whom have im-field he introduces Corneille. Born at Roupressed in succession the stamp of their own en in 1606, and brought up for the profesintellectual features on the mind of the sion of the bar, the future tragic poet made French people. A similar place, as regards his first dramatic essays in comedy. He English literature, belongs to Shakspeare, had written various pieces of this kind, True, in having produced a Chaucer, England has a right to go farther back than France of success, and which struck the critics of the can for the source and commencement of day by a certain strength of sense, and loher strictly great literature. True, also, gical firmness of style, then unknown to Shakspeare, by the vast dimension and the the stage, when accident, and reflection on towering height of his genius, transcends his own powers, turned his attention to trathe order of mere national poets. If he is gedy. His first attempt in this style was to be defined as related by special affinities the Médée, a kind of paraphrase from Seto any particular portion of the human race neca, in some portions of which, according at all, he ought to be defined rather as the to Voltaire, Corneille clearly flashed forth at all, he ought to be defined rather as the to voltare, corneine clearly inside form poet of the Teutonic nations as a whole, in all his superiority, and which at last than as the poet exclusively of England. drew from the contemporary English poet Even within England his position as a na-Waller this high compliment, that "though tional poet differs wholly from that of Corneille in France. What Homer was to the alone could think." But Corneille's first the could think." But Corneille's first the could think." But Corneille's first than the could think. Greeks, and what Dante is to the Italians—
master-piece was the Cid, published in this, rather than what Corneille is to the 1636. This piece established his reputation French, is Shakspeare to Englishmen. He as the first poet of the day in France. It is the one of all, rather than one among There was, indeed, a storm of criticism in many. Yet Shakspeare has his more speprivate circles: and Richelieu, who at that cial historical relations too; and, if in the time was unfriendly to Corneille, did his order of power and duration of influence he best to have him crushed by the adverse stands apart, yet, in the order of successive opinion of the academy; but the popular action, he forms one of a list including such other names as Chaucer, Spenser, Milton, ton remained unshaken. The Cid was ra-Pope, Wordsworth, and Byron. If it fell pidly followed up by other pieces, some of to Corneille in France to do much towards which were even superior, and almost all of converting the general literary movement of which were triumphs,—Les Horaces, Cinna, modern times, so far as it affected France, Polyeucte, Pompée, Le Menteur, Rodogune, into that which we now recognise as the Heraclius, Théodore, Andromède, Don Sanche French form of literature, it fell to Shak-d'Arragon, Nicomède, and Pertharite. The speare in a still higher degree to perform last, indeed, was a failure, from which the same service for the mind of England. poet did not recover himself in any of his They were both, if not the founders of, at least great dynastic powers in, their respective literatures.

A word or two first on the genius of Posterity, however, seeing the three poets M. Guizot has accomplished at an equal distance, is able now to do jus-

" If Corneille accomplished the revolution which infant literature. He indicates how much might be beautiful otherwise than as Corneille conceived it, and Corneille has remained great without preventing other great men from taking a place beside him. But tragedy could gain life only by repairing to that fountain of truth which Corneille was the first to discover. Before his appearance, every day seemed to remove the public and the poets farther from it; and every day buried the treasures of the human heart more deeply beneath the fantastic inventions of false wit and a disordered imagination. Corneille was the first to reveal these treasures to dramatic art, and to teach it how to use them. On this ground he is rightfully regarded as the father, and the

t is impossible to imagine what Corneille's genius would have become, and to define either the extraordinary beauties which it might have unfolded, or the flights of which it might have been guilty, if he had boldly abandoned himself to his own guidance. As regarded his own personal knowledge, Corneille was in almost the same position as Shakspeare and Calderon; but his age and country were more civilized than theirs, and criticism availed itself, for the instruction of the poet, of all the sequirements of his age and country. Corneille feared and braved criticism, and provoked it by his defiance; he would allow none of its censures, but he did all would now most the causes.

He could to avoid them. Taking warning by a first attack, he no longer ventured to hazard, for fear of Seudery, all that France would probably have applauded. Incapable of yielding to his adversaries, and angry at being obliged to combat them, he withdrew from the path on which he was likely to meet them; and though this perhaps involuntary prudence saved him from some dangerous quicksands, it undoubtedly deprived him of some precious discoveries. The success of the Cid did not efface, in his mind, the censure of the Academy. In that drama he had allowed himself to depict, with irresistable truth, the transports of passion; but when he found Chimene's love so severely condemned, Corneille, doubtless alarmed at what he might find in the weakness of the heart, looked in future only to its strength : he sought for the resisting element in man, and not for the yielding, and thus became acquainted with only the half of man. And as admiration is the feeling chiefly excited by heroic resistance, it was to admiration that the dramatic genius of Corneille principally addressed itself. . . .

Corneille principally addressed itself.
[Here follows a disquisition in which M, Gnizot contends, against the opinion of Boileau and Voltaire, that admiration does hold a legitimate place among the tragic passions, and is as suitable for dramatic effect as pity, terror, and the like. He believes, however, that Corneille has overdone it, and is too monotonously sublime.]

More conflicts of passion, and a little more weakness, would have rendered Corneille's heroes more constantly true and dramatic; even their virtue, which may often be regarded as the principal personage of the piece, would have interested us more, if, though equally able to conquer, it had been attacked by more potent foces, and had visibly incurred greater dangers. All the vigour of his noble genius was requisite to discover a sufficient source of interest in those singular characters which he alone cou'd create and

conceived it, and Corneille has remained great our uncertainty and curiosity by their very inwithout preventing other great men from taking flexibility, which, as it is announced at the outset, a place beside him. But tragedy could gain life does not permit them to yield to the slightest only by repairing to that fountain of truth which weakness, and multiplies successively around Corneille was the first to discover. Before his them embarrassments which ceaselessly necessiappearance, every day seemed to remove the publisher of the properties of the properties

In order to attain to this invincible power, which will make all around It bend to its influence, a man must absolutely have separated himself from all that otherwise enters into the composition of human nature; he must have completely ceased to think of all that, in real life, occurs to alter the forms of that ideal grandeur of which the imagination can conceive no possibility except when, isolating it, so to speak, from all other affections, it forgets that which renders its realization so difficult and so infrequent. The imagination of Corneille had no difficulty in lending itself to this isolation; the loftiness of his inventions was sustained by his inexperience in the common affairs of life; as he introduced into his own ordinary actions none of those ideas which he employed in the creation of his heroes, so in the conception of his heroes he employed none of the ideas of which he made use in ordinary life. He did not place Corneille himself in their position: the observation of nature did not occupy his attention: a happy inspiration frequently led him to divine it; but his unassisted imagination, gathering together outlines of a far more simple character, composed for him a sort of abstract model of a single quality, a being without parts, if I may be allowed the expres sion, eapable of being set in motion by a single impulse, and of proceeding in a single direction.

. . . To the same cause also must be attri-buted the variableness of Corneille's maxims, though they are always expressed with the most absolute confidence: and in this way we must explain how it is that his morality is sometimes so severe and sometimes to lax-that he sometimes enunciates principles of the sternest republieanism, and sometimes of the most servile obedience. The fact is, that whether Corneille be contemplating the republican or the subject of a king—the hero or the politician—he abandons himself without reserve to the system, the position, or the character which he is describing, and enrefully avoids all reference to general ideas that might come into conflict with the particular ideas which he is desirous of bringing upon the stage, and which vary according to the personages of the drama. This unreserved adoption of a special principle, changing with the circumstances of the piece, gained Corneille eredit for great skill in representing the local colour and genius of different peoples and states; whilst this merit was denied to Raeine, whose descriptions, being of a more general nature, seem too familiar to our eyes to belong, by any possibility, to other times than our own. Racine's heroes were recognised at once, and elaimed as Frenchmen; but the singular physiognomy of Corneille's heroes enabled them to pass ensily for Greeks or Romans. . . .

quer, it had been attacked by more potent foes, and had visibly incurred greater dangers. All the of his genius. Astonishment has been expressed vigour of his noble genius was requisite to dissant this; but there would have been more room cover a sufficient source of interest in those sinterest for astonishment had it been otherwise, and had gular characters which he alone could create and his style not remained faithful, both in good and sustain; he alone has succeeded in awakening! evil fortune, to the character of his thoughts.

Writing was never anything to him but the exprise set of external circumstances. Samuel pression of his ideas; and his contemporaries Johnson was best in conversation, with neille,' says Segrais, ' was not conscious of the paid attention not to harmony but only to feel-And Chapelain informs us, that 'Corneille, who has written such noble poetry, was unacquainted with the art of versification, and it was purely nature that acted in him.' An artistic style, which, at the time when Corneille appeared, constituted almost the whole merit of a fashionable poet, had very little indeed to do with the merit of a dramatic author. Corneille introduced style into the drama by introducing thoughts; he said simply what he meant, and he therefore spoke nobly, for what he had to say was high and noble. We must not, therefore, expect to find in Corneille that poetical expression which is intended to increase the impression produced by an object, by connecting with it accessory ideas which the object would not have suggested of itself. All necessary circumstances, and these alone, he brings before our eyes, because he has seen them; he could not fail to see them in the position in which he was placed, and into that position he transfers us. This is true poetry."— Corneille and his Times, pp. 203-259.

This is truly superior criticism. It shows what masterly things may be said by a man hackneyed subject. If anything is still cause it could only present itself with much were to be sung in a London drawing room, posed, therefore, not only to take note of the with all his penchant for the villa and the peculiarities of Corneille among French potts, but also to involve in his criticisms ascend to a good height for the topics he are the birds to be a considerable to the peculiarities of Corneille among French potts, but also to involve in his criticisms. the peculiarities of French poetry itself.

of Corneille, in the aspect in which it is and discursiveness of imagination might likely to impress an English critic, we should very well be consistent with his special exsay that it is the genius of poetic declama- cellence in the attitude of a declaimer. The tion. We mean no disparagement by this only necessary limit was that what he did epithet; we mean very high praise. Every imagine should be imagined in that way in man has his forte. Every man has some at-which a fine declamatory effect should easily titude, set, position, or prescribed aim and purpose of his faculties, in accordance with in which he poet has, with so much of real which they work best. The faculties may poetic vigour and variety, produced such exist in all varieties of proportions, and may show themselves in all manner of in-dependent ways; but the man deals his best ward bourgeois as he was in private life, stroke, and shoots his clearest lightnings, stalks the stage in his poetry, with the ma-when the faculties assume the prescribed jesty of a Talma; there is kingly magnifi-

attest that carefulness of style was of no avail in Burke and Reynolds listening, and Bozzy effects which were entirely due to the grandeur leaning behind his chair to receive the spare knocks; Joachim Murat was best at the beauty of his versification, and while writing he head of a charge of horse, when the scabbards jingled as the men dashed on, and the sun gleamed on a sea of sabres. And so also with the poet; except that in his case life does not furnish the actual, but the mind itself provides an ideal, set of circumstances. The poet Moore, for example, did his best when he wrote for those situations of life in which a light gaiety or a sentimental melancholy is sought after as a social luxury; his songs were written to be sung in well-lighted modern rooms, as one of the artificial accompaniments of a festive occasion. Horace was most sagacious when he saw himself in the company of Maccenas and a few other such cronies of the right Epicurean sort, strolling over the fallen leaves in the walks about a country villa, or reclining al fresco over filberts and Falernian. In the heart of Homer, we should suppose, the poctic glow was at its height, when he rehearsed in low and solitary recitative the strain he was to conduct as chief of the bards at some royal hall close to the murmurs of the Ægean. of real thought in connexion with the most And so on with other poets, although it may not always be so easy to describe the chawanted to complete the delineation of Cor- racteristic group of ideal associations. Now neille up to that degree of distinctness and Corneille, as it appears to us, wrote best individuality which might be necessary for when he fancied those situations the proper the sake of the English reader, who may not houtcome of which was a measured flow of know the poet from his own writings, it is fine declamation. This, let it be observed, partly because this additional something does not necessarily limit within any very must have seemed too familiar to a French narrow range the field of his poetic observacritic to be worth expressing, and partly be- tion. Precisely as Moore though his songs force to one standing clear of the associa- could bring their subjects from the East or was to bring back for the edification of him-Were we to define in one word the genius self and his guests-so in Corneille, breadth attitude, and are provided with the appro-cence in his look and step, and every thought

and word is to correspond. His plays are question of the inherent poetical capacities well says, with the most perfect distinctness of vision; the man and the juneture of eircumstances atood before him insulated from all that was irrelevant or unnecessary; the feeling appropriate to the imagined moment rushed up in his soul, clear, single, and strong; and, when he gave vent to this feeling, it was in words so terse, so direct, and delivered with such weight, and even epigram, right on the intelligence, amid all their riot of passion, that Demosthenes himself could not have spoken better. M. Guizot well describes the peculiarity of Corneille's style as that of "energetic concision." We could quote example after example through many pages, but let a few suffice. What poet has furnished lines which a good actor could deliver with more electric effect, or of which an orator could more finely avail himself in his moments of highest inspiration, than such lines as these :-

- "Un moment donne su sort des visages divers ; Et, dans ce grand bonheur, je crains un grand revers."
- "A qui venge son père il n'est rien impossible Ton bras est invaincu, mais non pas invincible."
- "Les hommes valeureux le sont du premier coup."
- " Vouz parlez en soldut ; je dois agir en roi."
- "Un grand destin commence, un grand destin s'achève."
- "Non, je ne pleure point, Madame, mais je meurs."
- "Un véritable amant ne connoît point d'amis,"
- "Qui n'appréhende rien présume trop de soi."
- "Il est beau de mourir maître de l'univers ; Mais la plus belle mort souille notre memo Quand nous avons vu vivre et croître notre gloire."

"Je veux mettre d'accord l'amour et la nature, Etra père et mari dans cotte conjuncture. Selgneur, voulez-vous bien vous fier à moi, Ne soyez l'un ni l'autre. Et que dois-je être ?

Reprenez hautement ce noble caractère ; Un véritable roi n'est ni mari ni père, Il regarde son trône et rien de plus. Régnez !"

If the reader wants longer specimens, let him turn over the plays for himself, not forgetting to look again at such well-known passages as the famous imprecation of Camille on Rome in the Horaces, and the grand soliloquy of Augustus, when he discovers the conspiracy against him in Cinna. There are no passages of poetical declamation in any language superior to those; and they are but two out of hundreds.

Were we desirous to follow out this passing remark as to the special respect in which Corneille impresses an Euglishman, into a farther appreciation involving the degree to which truth and greatness in poetry can be attained under such a condition of genius as

full of noble speeches. As he fancied his of a people which has furnished such a poet hero or situation, he did this, as M. Guizot as its highest or nearly so, we should be able to do so best by going through all that Guizot says respecting Shakspeare, and then shewing that what he says respecting him is determined very much by those associations with the word Poetry, which naturally cling to a critic who is a country man of Corneille. We have room, however, but for a very slight notice of Guizot's estimate of Shakspeare; and, therefore, any reflex bearing which our remarks on that estimate may have on French Poetry in general, or on Corneille in particular, must be left for inference.

> On the whole, England has no reason to complain of the manner in which M. Guizot has spoken of her intellectual idol. He has praised Shakspeare to the skies. The intellect, the imagination, the fancy, the wit, the humour of the English poet are all lauded again and again, in language confessing its own weakness in regard to so superb an object for critical description. The epithets great, prodigious, immense, and the like, are heaped upon the dead, till, by their very plenty, they become rubbish. And if, doing all this in honour of the Teutonic poet, M. Guizot, as a Frenchman, should just stop short of the admission that he is to be regarded as the most magnificent thing, in the way of intellect, that the world has ever seen, can we wonder at it? Even if he believed it, it would be too much to expect that he should have deliberately expressed the belief; unless, indeed, he could have appended to the volume an historical dissertation to prove that the Shakspeares of Warwickshire came originally from the neighbourhood of Paris.

> But, while thus vying with Englishmen in doing justice to the magnificence of dimension and the exquisite quality of Shakspeare's genius, M. Guizot does take leave to part with us at certain points in this race of laudation, and to administer, as correctives of our idolatrous worship, certain distinct and unhesitating criticisms on the contour of the idol, and on our taste in admiring him. In other words, M. Guizot points out certain serious faults in Shakspeare as an artist. The faults are various, and they are described many times; but they seem to be summed up pretty completely in the following passage:

Substance and Form .- " It is in the substance that Shakspeare excels, it is in the form that he fails. (Cest par le fond que Shakspeare excelle, et par la forme qu'il pèche.) He discerns and brings admirably into view the instincts, the that just indicated, and involving also the passions, ideas-indeed all the inner life of man;

naturalness—(recherché, étrange, excessif, de-pourcu de messure et de naturel.) And the Eng-may affirm that in France comedy, in an imperpour to the mesure et de natures. And the long-lish language is singularly propitious to the defects, as well as to the beauties of Shak-speare. It is rich, energetic, passionate, abundant, striking; it readily admits the lofty flights and even the wild excesses of the poetic ima-gination; but it does not possess that elegant sobriety, that severe and delicate precision, that moderation in expression, and harmony in imagery, which constitute the peculiar merit of the French language; so that when Shaks-place among the English. The asylum of peare passes from England into France, if he is German manners as well as of German libertranslated with scrupulous fidelity, his defects become more apparent, and more offensive, irregular but natural course of the civilisation beneath his new dress, than they were in his native form; and if, on the other hand, it is attempted to adapt his language, even in the slightest degree, to the genius of our tongue, he is inevitably robbed of a great part of his wealth, force, and originality."—Shakspeare and his Times, Preface, pp. iv. v.

Confusion of Tragedy and Comedy .- " The Greeks, whose mind and civilisation followed so regular a course in their development, did not combine the two kinds of composition, and the distinction which separates them in nature these two styles, but must be separated into was maintained without effort in art. Tragedy the fantastic and the real, the romance and and Comedy shared man and the world between the world. The first class contains most of his them, each taking a different domain in the comedies; the second comprehends all his traregion of realities, and coming by turns to offer gedies-immense and living stages upon which to the serious or mirthful consideration of a all things are represented, as it were, in their people who invariably insisted on simplicity and harmony, the poetic effects which their skill could derive from the materials placed in their hands. . . In our modern world all things have borne another character. Order, regularity, natural and casy development seem to have been banished from it. Immense interests, admirable ideas, sublime sentiments have been thrown, as it were, pell-mell with brutal passions, coarse necessities, and vulgar habits. The incoherent assemblage of all that human nature and destiny contain of that which is great and little, noble and trivial, serious and puerile, strong and wretched—this is what man and society have been in our Europe. In such a state of mind and things, how was it possible for a clear distinction and simple classification of styles and arts to be effected? How could Tragedy and Comedy have presented and formed themselves isolatedly in literature. when, in reality, they were incessantly in contact, entwined in the same facts, and intermingled in the same actions so thoroughly that speare, no one has illustrated it by more it was sometimes difficult to discern the moment numerous and beautiful examples. But we of passage from one to the other ? Was it proposed to bring upon the stage the habitual play the comic element is purely arbitrary; it occurrences of ordinary life? Taste was as is, in some sort appended to the tragic, while easily satisfied as manners. Those religious there is no intimate relation between the one performances which were the origin of the and the other, no common aim, no alliance to European theatre, had not escaped this admix be ratified by the deep experiences of the soul. ture. The first Mysteries brought simultaneously upon the stage the emotions of religious a genuine melodramatic simpleton, who only terror and tenderness and the buffooneries of appears that he may serve as a butt to lago, to vulgar comicality: and thus in the very be beduped and befooled by him: you can do

he is the most profound and dramatic of moral-ists; but he makes his personages speak a contracted that alliance which was inevitably language which is often fastidious, strange, forced upon them by the general condition of may affirm that in France comedy, in an imper-fect, but distinct form, was created before ragedy. At a later period, the rigorous separation of classes, the absence of popular institutions, the regular action of the supreme power, &c., disposed the popular mind to maintain that strict distinction between the two styles which was ordained by the classical authorities who held undisputed sway over our ties, England pursued without obstacle the which such elements could not fail to engender. It retained their disorder as well as their energy; and until the middle of the seventeenth century, its literature, as well as its institutions, was the sincere expression of these qualities. When the English drama attempted to reproduce the poetic image of the world, tragedy and comedy were not separated. . . . It is utterly futile to attempt to base any classification of Shakspeare's works on the distinction between the comic and the tragic elements; they cannot possibly be divided into solid form, and in the place which they occu-pied in a stormy and complicated state of . [M. Guizot then goes on to civilisation. . illustrate this theory of the dramatic art, and to plead for its toleration by the votaries of the stricter classic, on account of the splendid effects with which genius has consecrated it; he appears decidedly to think, however, that, in the blending of the tragic and the comic so broadly in the same play, Shakspeare has often committed offences against reason and taste under any theory, and hence he adopts as his own what follows, which is from the Essay attributed to the Duc de Broglie.] mixture of comedy and tragedy is not, or certainly ought not to be a purely arbitrary thing. Never should the contrast be allowed, unless under the condition, that the dominant impression, which is chiefly to be regarded, should be developed and not destroyed, should not be lost sight of, but rendered more lasting and pro-found. No one knew this better than Shak-But we confess we cannot find them in Othello.

so: what Roderigo does might be done quite as! well by any one else; no one, lago excepted, would know or care for his absence. Let Brabantio, the firm and prudent senator, full of ability and self-possession, dignified and respected, be true to his proper character; let him not be transformed, during two whole scenes, merely to suit the whim of the author, into a Geroute or a Sganarelle. Let Cassio fall into disgrace with his general from some more worthy motive than that supplied by taking a glass of wine at an unseasonable time. Lastly, erase entirely the part of the clown, a part so false that the French imitator, though he has in general adhered most conscientiously to the original, did not think himself bound to preserve it."—Shakspeare and his Times, pp. 78-98; and pp. 316-318.

Shakspeare's chief fault.—"One misfortune happened to Shakspeare: though he was always lavish of his wealth, he was not always able to distribute it either opportunely or skil-fully. This was frequently the misfortune of Corneille a'so. Ideas accumulated about Corneille, as about Shakspeare, confusedly and tumultuously, and neither of them had the courage to treat his own mind with prudent severity. They forgot the position of the character they were describing, in order to indulge in the thoughts which it awakened in the soul of the poet. In Shakspeare especially, this excessive indulgence in his own ideas and feelings sometimes arrests and interrupts the emotions awakened in the breast of the spectator, in a manner which is fatal to dramatic effect. It is not merely, as in Corneille, the ingenious loquacity of a rather talkative mind, but it is the restless and fantastic reverie (l'inquiète et bizarre réve-rie) of a mind astonished at its own discoveries, not knowing how to reproduce the whole impression which it has received from them, and heaping ideas, images, and expressions, one upon another, in order to awaken in us feelings similar to those by which it is itself oppressed.

Hence arose the true and great fault of Shakspeare, the only one that originated in himself, and which is sometimes perceptible even in his finest conceptions; and that is, a deceptive appearance of laborious research, (recherche pleme d'effort.) which is occasioned, on the contrary, by the absence of labour. Accustomed, by the taste of his age, frequently to connect ideas and expressions by their most distant relations, he contracted the habit of that learned subtlety which perceives and assimilates everything, and leaves no point of resemblance unnoticed; and this fault has more than once marred the gaiety of his comedies, as well as destroyed the pathos of his tragedies. If meditation had taught Shakspeare to fall back upon himself, to contemplate his own strength, and to concentrate it by skilful management, he would soon have rejected the abuse which he has made of it, and would have speedily become conscious that neither his heroes nor his spectators could follow him in that prodigious movement of ideas, feelings, and intentions which, on every occasion and under the slightest pretext, arose and obtruded them-

selves upon his own thought."—Shakspeare and his Times, pp. 113-116.

Now, as Thomas Aquinas has ingeniously remarked, all men are fallible. Shakspeare, we dare say, had his faults like other men, and could have written sometimes better if he had tried harder, had a French education, studied Boileau, or been quite free from head-We are not going to defend all his torturato passages, every witticism of his clowns, or his errors in geography and chronology. He may, as some of his advocates hold, have had deep meanings even in his errata, though we cannot make that the subjeet of affidavit. But "great barbarian," 'Attila-Shakspeare,"-this notion of our bard, whether in the old and unmodified shape in which Voltaire disseminated it, or in the new and more elevated, and altogether more mild and reverential sense in which the foregoing passages suggest it, we will not for a moment endure. And, in fact, to confess the truth, we would rather not have Shakspeare spoken against at all. As the old parishioner of Ettrick said to the Unitarian lecturer, who, after attacking the theology of his former pastor, began to attack his character,—" Haud aff Tammas Boston, Sir; haud aff Tammas Boston."

After all, it is a question of races. This attempt to indicate the evidences of a supposed tinge of barbarism in the genius of Shakspeare; these assertions that the prodigious strength and abundance of mind shewn in his works, as regards substance, are accompanied by rudeness and defect as regards form; these objections to his mode of mingling the tragic and the comic, and proposals to improve his plays by omitting the Roderigos, making the Brabantios more stately, and sweeping out all the clowns; these complaints against him for an intellectual incontinence which is constantly giving people more than they want, and pouring out volumes of thought, analogy, and occult allusion, if but a pane of glass breaks: -all this, we say, is nothing more than the inevitable display of what a Frenchman, as such, feels, when he contemplates the highest example of Teutonic art. No man can jump off his own shadow; and M. Gnizot, as a Frenchman, is not related so truly as we are to the Pan-Teutonic poet. Yes, that is the name for Shakspeare! Germans, Danes, and Swedes, as well as Englishmen, accept him precisely as he is, admitting only those defects, incapable of being classed, which attach to all human performances. lt is the Frenchman alone, or the man of French training, that can receive from Shakspeare that impression of dissatisfaction or

offended taste which arises from the sight of two Literatures, and this difference of spirit any one who desires to see this verified and pieces of poetic creation that have illustrated illustrated compare Guizot's criticisms on each. First came the Greek, easting his Shakspeare with those of the German Ula different, and, we think, far deeper order, the reader will find exactly that kind of phi-losophical justification of Shakspeare's sup-quisite of the poet, existed in the highest posed faults, and especially of his confusion conceivable degree; but if we inquire more of the comic and the tragic, which, according to the view we now present, a German could best give. There he will find the eternal theory of Clowns, and the reason why there should be a clown present even when murder is in the wind, and a kingdom is about to erack; there he will find Roderigo's charter of existence fully made out, and a profound explanation given why, on a priori grounds, Cassio got drunk. Placing himself in each play at what he conceives to be the central point, the critic accepts all that issued from the poet's mind in its moment of creative energy, as belonging necessarily to that moment, and necessarily coherent throughout; and then makes it his business to do what the poet perhaps could not have done for himself, consciously dissect the separate parts, and shew their seientific relation to the whole, And thus everything in Shakspeare is reduced back to its source in the real feelings of a Teutonic mind in the act of contemplating

We back the heavy Ulrici against the lighter and more lucid Guizot, We will indicate, in conclusion, our reason for doing It is a reason, we think, which will elevate the Teutonic adhesion to Shakspeare over the Gallie criticism of him, by shewing Spain, whose greatest man of letters was that, though the former as well as the latter Cervantes, expended what was left of her, may connect itself with prejudice of race, it after the deduction of his genius, in dramas can yet, if need be, exhibit a higher sane bearing marks of her Latin lineage. The tion in fact and science. If what we shall French, whose claim to be a more imaginasay should seem to revive the memory of tive people than the cold and mercantile the old and tiresome controversy between English is founded on an incorrigible mishelp that.

in the widest sense, only two Literatures; which are, in fact, also, (if we omit one Eastern Literature of immense and peculiar that the rest of the world will call him significance,) the only great Literatures that great. The man of greatest creative genius, have been in the world. These are—the in the true sense, that France has produced, Southern or Græco-Latin Literature, of is neither Corneille nor Racine, but that which we here account the modern Italian, wild compound of filth and flashing insight the French, and the Spanish as separate, the Northern or Teutonic Literature, of which the English, the German, and the Scandinavian Literatures are branches, ing that there was a new spirit at work in There is a difference of spirit heteron these modern Evengen Literature. This spirit There is a difference of spirit between these modern European Literature. This spirit

deviations from a supposed principle. Let is best seen by a comparison of the masterpoetic eye over the appearances of life and rici. In Ulrici, besides general criticism of nature. In him the imagination, that faculty or that use of the faculties which in all lanparticularly as to the manner or style in which this imagination of the Greek worked, we shall find that it delighted above all in setting forth images of concrete things in clear shape and outline, with the least possible efflux, while doing so, of the matter secreted in the mind itself during the intellectual act. The grandest examples of this are the poems of Homer, Æschylus, and Sophocles; the comparative dissatisfaction of the critics with the third tragic poet, Euripides, arising in a great degree from the fact that he was not so purely a Greek in this respect. From the Greeks the literary sovereignty passed on to the Romans; who, with feebler powers of genuine imagination, produced, in Virgil and others, new masters in the same essential style. Even the revolution of the ancient world by the Christian theology, and the addition of a considerable leaven of the Teutonic element to the society of the southern and central nations of Europe, did not overcome the classic method of art where it had taken possession. In Dante, mediæval Italy produced a man greater in force of imagination than any ancient Roman, and whose imagination yet worked in the true southern manner, the clear and rigorous definition of the concrete. Classicism and Romanticism, we cannot take as to what imagination is, have exhibited their deficiency in creative genius in Europe, then, seems to us to have had, the fact that, with so many intellectual mag-

is seen most purely, however, in its native | the other by its greater accordance with the and original home, the Literature of the Teutonic nations. Since the Greek, the Teuton was the first man who came upon the world so situated that he could take absolutely his own way in thinking of it. As unlike the Greek as the clear skies and vineyards of the warmer are unlike the seamists and forests of the colder latitudes. this Adam of the north gazed on life and nature, in the full faith of his rich and complex instincts, unawed by Homer, and untaught by Aristotle. Out of the activity of this new power applied to the same everlasting materials has sprung the Literature of the Teutonic nations, of which Shakspeare is the acknowledged prince. Slowly evolved by its own efforts, and even largely affected by the influence of the classic upon it during its evolution, this Literature has still maintained its indigenous character, and has exhibited that character most of all in its specimens of poetic art. And in what does this character consist? It consists in more of melancholy, more of humour, more of mysticism, more of reverent forthgoing upon the minutiæ and smaller pulsations as well as upon the massive objects and larger processes of nature and life; and above all, if indeed this does not include all, in more of the reflective, inquisitive, and discursive spirit at all times and occasions-more of the tendency to pour out, in the act of imagining a thing, all the purely intellectual secretion of the moment, so as, by this very suffusion of self upon the outward, to complicate the relation between nature and man. This is that very spirit of recherche to which Guizot objects in Shakspeare. Shakspeare could not reach forth his hand to touch a mental object before him but the whole intervening space of atmosphere fell down in flakes of thought. He reached the object, nevertheless; and the imaginative act was none the less real, none the less natural and artist-like, for the rich intellectual precipitation which accompanied it. It was no tinge of barbarism, therefore, in Shakspeare that led him to that confusion of the comic and tragie, and that excess and waste of intellectualism, for which he has been called in question. It was but his greatness as a practitioner in the Tentonie form of art-a form different from the older form, but as legitimate. Nay, and that this Teutonic form of art is now to be regarded as the superior, ought, we think, to be clear from the fact, that it is the later; from the fact, that it appreciates and recognises, and can even practise the other, while the other objects to and cannot practise it; from the fact, that it has already so far superseded

spirit and circumstances of modern humanity; and from the fact, that the race to whom it is native, being masters of the greatest portion of the Earth physically, would have the right of appointing, even if they could not supply, the Earth's intelleetual king.

ART. V .- 1. A History of the Hebrew Monarchy. By FRANCIS W. NEWMAN. Lon-

don, Chapman, 1847.

2. The Creed of Christendom: its Foundation and Superstructure. By WILLIAM RATHBONE GREG. London, Chapman,

- 3. A Lecture on the Historic Evidence of the Authorship and Transmission of the Books of the New Testament. By S. P. TREGELLES, LL.D. London, Bagster, 1852.
- 4. The Restoration of Belief. Parts I. and II. Cambridge, Macmillan, 1852.
- 5. Der Christliche Glaube. Von Dr. FRIED-RICH SCHLEIERMACHER. 2 Bände. Berlin,
- 6. Geschicte der Pflanzung und Leitung der Christlichen Kirche durch die Apostel. Von Dr. August Neander. 2ter Band. Hamburg, Perthes, 1833.

7. System der Christlichen Lehre, Von Dr. CARL IMMANUEL NITZSCH. 5te Auflage. Bonn, 1844.

8. Das Leben Jesu Christi. Von Dr. Av-GUST NEANDER. 4te Auflage. Hamburg,

- 9. Deutsche Zeitschrift für Christliche Wissenchaft und Christliches Leben. Nos. 16. 17, 18, 42, 43, 44,—1850. Die Inspira-tions-Lehre. Von Dr. A. Tholuuk. No. 50,—1850. Die Schule von Genf. Eine Berichtigung. Von Prof. Dr. Merle Berichtigung. D'AUBIGNE. No. 21,-1851. Ueber Inspiration Eine Entgegnung. Von. Dr. RUDOLF STIER. Berlin, Wiegandt und
- La Critique et La Foi. Deux Lettres. Par Edmond Scherer. Paris, Dueloux, 1850.
- The Doctrine of Plenary Inspiration;
 and the Errors of M. Scherer of Geneva. By Count Agenor De Gasparin. Translated by the Rev. J. MONTGOMERY, A.M. Edinburgh, Johnstone and Hunter, 1852.
- Die Reden des Herrn Jesu. Von Ru-DOLF STIER. 1ter Band. 2te Auflage. Barmen, 1852. 2 te-6te Band. 1844-48. 1te Auflage.

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14. Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit. By S. T. COLERIDGE.

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of the New College, London. HARRIS, D.D. Walford, 1851.

19. The Elements of the Gospel Harmony.

Macmillan, 1851.

20. Theopneustie: ou Inspiration Plenière des Saintes Ecritures. Par L. GAUSSEN. 2me Edition. Paris, Delay, 1842.

THE orthodoxy of our fathers, amid many fast to three propositions on the subject admitted principles of judgment that must of our Sacred Books; First, That they embody a Divine Revelation; Secondly, That they exhaust that Revelation; and, One of the new phases of the controversy

absolute purity.

To these three propositions—as unimour every-day Bible, beginning with Genesis and ending with Revelation, as the genuine and infallible Word of God. It in confessions of faith respecting the Bible, is a cheap and easy thing to defend this belief, on the ground of mere tradition, and to repel every sceptical questioning of revelation, every insinuation against the integrity of the canon of Scripture, every suspicion of the infallible accuracy of our Biblical records, as in itself profane and blasphenous. Such a homage to the infalli-question is, we must say, not of the nignest, bility of the Bible would itself require a as is indicated by his confounding in the first personal inspiration to redeem it from presumption and wilful blindness, An admissible protest in behalf of the Bible implies Mr. Greg in this article, though these were formerly something like extensive and close inquiry; considered in this Journal in connexion with different question. (See North British Review, No.

13. Theologische Studien und Kritiken. Das hausted every argument, tested every fact, Wesen des Christenthums und die Mystik, and weighed every difficulty in connexion Hamburg, with a body of documents so voluminous and so enveloped in the dust of controversy, nothing less goes to such a confession of London, Pickering, faith than the honest conviction, gathered from the study of all sides of the question, 15. The Philosophy of Religion. By J. D. that the long venerated doctrine of the in-Morell, A.M. London, Longman, 1849. fallibility of the Bible has not been ap-16. Inspiration in Conflict with Recent preciably weakened at any point by all the Forms of Philosophy and Scepticism. A freedom of recent speculation, or the re-Lecture by John Eadle, D.D. 2d Edi- sults of modern historical and critical investigation. It is our present purpose, with-17. The Authority and Inspiration of the out entering into an abstract and independ-Holy Scriptures. A Lecture by the Rev. R. S. Candlish, D.D. London, Nisbet, to examine the claims and pretensions of some leading theories, both British and Con-18. A Lecture on the Inspiration of the tinental; and to indicate, not in the way of Holy Scriptures, delivered at the Opening chronological development, but of moral By J. grouping, the different bearings of the prin-London, Jackson and cipal views that have lately occupied and disturbed not only our own country, but likewise Germany, Switzerland, and By Brooke Foss Westcott, Fellow of France. Such a bird's eye view, however Trinity College, Cambridge. Cambridge, hastily executed, may perhaps throw some light on the position and prospects of Christianity at the present day, and shew, on the one hand, how certain the infallibility of the Bible is, as a matter of historical evidence, and more especially how, on the other hand, recent departures from it end in inconminor diversities and modifications, held sistencies with themselves, and with those

Thirdly, That they contain it in a form of respecting Inspiration is, that it has ceased to be a controversy among the orthodox. Till our own days those opposed to Chrispaired by all recent attacks, and as alike tianity as a supernatural revelation dissuperior to the menace of foes and the inde- claimed the use of such words as Inspiration cisive apologies of friends-we give in our in their nomenclature, and denounced the cordial adhesion, and count it no shame, whole idea which they embody, as mystical but a signal felicity and honour, with the and superstitious. Latterly, however, it evidence which lies before us, to hold up has become quite the fashion, as all the our every-day Bible, beginning with Gene-world knows, for the successors of the scep-It in confessions of faith respecting the Bible, which include the doctrine of its inspiration, and almost to outbid the orthodox in their eulogies upon the divine afflatus by which it was produced. The school of Parker, Newman, and Greg, afford the most singular examples of this innovation.* Mr. Greg, whose critical accuracy on such a question is, we must say, not of the highest,

^{*} We introduce the works of Mr. Newman and

page of his "Creed of Christendom," the According to this view, the Bible is the hightaken advantage of the ambiguity of lan- possibility of the race made real." guage to give it currency in its rigid dogmatic We will not be uncandid enough to charge form. What, then, is the true inspiration of the adherents of this, which may be called natural. It is co-extensive with the faith- of Priestley and Channing, we may be exful use of man's natural powers. Now, cused for making some passing observations this inspiration is limited to no sect, age, or upon it, though, strictly speaking, it is not so nation. It is wide as the world, and communas God. It is not given to a few men of the fact. We shall confine ourselves to in the infancy of the world to monopolize an expression of complaint as to the style inspiration, and bar God out of the soul."

(P. 236.) This liberal theory, it is apparent, identifies inspiration with elevated genius, and regards the Bible as nothing more than the fruit of the religious organization of its complaint that these writers profess to weigh writers. The connexion of God with such and canvass at all the alleged evidence of inspiration of the Bible is moreover the same revelation, as a supernatural system embodied with his originating influence in all products in writings, as if the evidence offered were of mental greatness. "When it is his will," Mr. Greg seems to say, "that mankind have made up their minds that no argument should make some great step forward, can establish any miracle or supernatural should achieve some pregnant discovery, he communication. These advocates of an incalls into being some cerebral organization spiration which Hobbes and Bolingbroke should make some great step forward, of more than ordinary magnitude and power, as that of David, Isaiah, Plato, Shakspeare, Bacon, Newton, Luther, Pascal, which gives birth to new ideas and grander conceptions ing a designation which has been of late so lightly of the truths vital to humanity." (P. 226.) spoken of.

plenary with its ancient opposite the verbal est product of man's natural religious facul-inspiration of the Scriptures, stoutly con-ties operating with peculiar advantage in the tends that the un orthodox use of inspiral most favourable periods of Old Testament tion is as correct as the other, and that the history, and more especially in the person of theologians have perverted the word from Jesus of Nazareth, who, partly by native its original application in order to baptize endowment, and partly by happy selection their own dogma; nay more, that having had from pre-existing materials, over topped all the inspiration of the Bible conceded in the religionists before and since, and even beone sense, they have, too often dishonestly, came, as Mr. Parker has expressed it, "the

the Bible which these writers have rescued the theory of NATURAL INSPIRATION, with out of the hands of Jewish Rabbis and intentional abuse of language, or with a too Christian Schoolmen, and restored to its great readiness to blunt the edge of popular ancient simplicity? According to Mr. Greg, prejudice, by conceding to the Scriptures "it is that elevation of all the spiritual fa- an inspiration in words which is denied in culties by the action of God upon the reality. Mr. Greg especially is absolved heart, which is shared by all devout minds, from any such charge, as, however inconsistthough in different degrees, and which is ent it may seem with the passage in his consistent with infinite error." (P. 22.) work already referred to, he applies the Or, as he elsewhere expresses it, "Every word inspiration to this natural power of great and good man possesses some portion genius somewhat reluctantly, and seems of God's truth to proclaim to the world and willing to leave both the name and thing in to fructify in his own bosom. In a true and the ancient sense to less intrepid thinkers simple, but not the orthodox sense, we be- than himself. Only, as this theory has of lieve all the pure, wise, and mighty in soul, late made considerable noise by its virtual to be inspired, and to be inspired for the coincidence with the speculations or ejaculainstruction, advancement, and elevation of tions of Mr. Carlyle—as it nearly takes up mankind." (P. 235.) He also quotes Mr. the ground on which almost all German remankind." (P. 235.) He also quotes Mr. the ground on which almost all German ra-Parker with approbation, who in his usual tionalists, from Paulus to Strauss, are at one rhetorical style thus writes, "Inspiration is |- and as it seems to have absorbed the thethe consequence of a faithful use of our ology of the Unitarian community in this faculties. Each man is its subject; God country, if not in America, to the denial of its source; truth its only test. Men may anything special and positive in the mission call it miraculous, but nothing is more of Jesus, according to the antiquated views in which the arguments of the orthodox* in favour of positive revelation are got rid of, and of wonder at the results which are brought out by the new system.

> It may be made a preliminary matter of admissible, while at the same time they would have scouted as visionary, have adopt-

^{*} We use the term "orthodox" purely for the sake of distinction; and can intend no arrogance by adopt-

ed apparently a doctrine of the abstract im- piety and elevated fanaticism to gild the possibility of a miraculous revelation from darkness, which the writers we have named would Testament of its theocracy, it is easy to exhave shrunk as rash and unphilosophical. Wherever Mr. Newman alights on a miracle, it is forthwith, as in itself incredible, justification of the entire system. It is the resolved into a myth, and Mr. Greg has expended pages of logic to prove, what certainly is not self-evident, that the faculty to comprehend a revelation implies the faculty, sooner or later, to make it; and hence, that a discovery truly supernatural is absolutely impossible. (Pp. 230-233.) To us, it seems hardly necessary to illustrate the fallacy, not to say absurdity of this doctrine. Were a person to predict the return of Sir John Franklin's ships upon a certain day of next year, and to follow up the prediction by an account of the form of government in France and the name of the chief governor in 1872, would Mr. Greg maintain that the power to comprehend the latter prediction implied the power to make it, and that the power to believe it, after the first was verified, brought it within the range of discoverable truths. Be the evidence of supernatural revelation in the Bible sufficient or insufficient, it is surely not fair to make a profession of candour in weighing it, and to lament the hard necessity of rejecting it on account of its imperfections, when the very gate of evidence is barred by such preconceptions. Instead of leading us through a long blind alley of critical objections to the divinity of the Pentateuch and the Gospels, it would be better to write up at once -" No thoroughfare." Whole treatises, like De Wette's Introduction and Strauss' Leben Jesu would then be superseded by a few strokes of natural metaphysics; or, if criticism were at all superadded, the grave deduction which must be made in all moral questions from the arguments of the reasoner, who is thus bound to find for only one side, would be at once apparent and

Another ground of complaint is, that the internal evidence of the Bible for its own inspiration in the orthodox sense, is not only suppressed, but turned the other way, by an obstinate misreading of its contents. Denying, setting aside, and even sneering at everything preternatural in the Old Testament, Mr. Newman, in his "History of the Hebrew Monarchy," still attempts to construct the facts, after all their high and glorious motives have been withdrawn. Nothing is left for him, rejecting the entire Mosaic groundwork of the Jewish system, but to write down the succeeding history as a succession of feuds, massacres, and impostures, with only occasional gleams of natural first those of Germany, arbitrarily wrest and

Having disenchanted the Old pose its narratives to the critical scalpingknife. The living voice of God was the grand same with the history of Christians still. It is either sublime or it is ridiculous. an exact parallel to Mr. Newman's "history" of the Old Testament kings and prophets would be found in a biography of a great spirit, such as Luther or Whitefield, in which every superhuman influence was denied, and the remaining phenomena set down to the account of vanity, obstinacy, and selfwill, with a sufficient admixture of eccentric benevolence and enthusiasm to give the por-Mr. Greg, trait some faint resemblance. too, removing the miraculous foundation of the New Testament system, necessarily stumbles at a thousand points in the life of our Saviour and his disciples, abolishes altogether the grand coherent features in the image of "God manifest in the flesh," stigmatizes as bigotry and arrogance the decisive and imperial style which must belong to a divine communication, explains the gift of tongues as madness, and the selfsacrificing and world-renouncing spirit of the primitive Church as due only to a frenzied expectation of the end of all things; and in short, having reduced the doctrine of Jesus to the elements of natural religion, and himself to the most gifted of mere human teachers, is compelled to search among the baser tendencies of human nature to account for that appearance of inflation, pomposity, and convulsive excitement, amid which Christianity was ushered into the world.

But the most serious ground of complaint of all is to be found in the unauthorized and arbitrary manner in which these advocates of natural inspiration set aside the positive external evidence of the Bible, that they may at once bring it down to their own standard. The very strength of the orthodox doctrine lies in the proof that the Old Testament, and later records, were contemporaneous or immediately subsequent to the events which they chronicle. The reception of the books is thus a guarantce for the facts, miraculous as they are, and these miraculous facts in turn accredit the professed inspiration of the writers. This, so far from being a circle, as has been sometimes inconsiderately represented, is a strong chain of linked demonstration, which no efforts of Naturalism can ever break asunder. Hence, with instinctive recoil from the neighbourhood of the supernatural, the whole company of rationalist critics, among whom are

torture every sacred writing out of its place, Mr. Newman and Mr. Greg are catechumens, and separate it by an interval from its submaking the event repel the history, and futed.* attract the prophecy of itself. The result tellect with the Pentateuch, the Isaian prophecies, and the gospels, utterly discordant in everything but the πρωτον ψευδος of the question of purely literary criticism, would not have been tolerated. As it is, in a the brazen serpent-and many others, which no rationalism ventures to assign to so late an origin as the supposititious date in quesprofane history, and the voice of the monuments of Egypt, to say nothing of the beautiful continuity of the grave and majestic narrative itself, all go for nothing with critics strata, and coolly dissect the story of Joseph Germany are by their own shewing not incapable and his brethren into incongruous portions, elumnily pieced together by a recent artist. Lucke's "Reminiscences," that he repaid these In this school of historical criticism, both taunts with kindness.

ject, so adjusting it anew, that the super- "science" of its masters, and adopting their natural inference shall be impossible; by a negative conclusions and paradoxes, as if curious law not sufficiently adverted to, they never had been contradicted or re-

Mr. Newman, for example, regards it as is those singular dislocations, transpositions, demonstrated that the Pentateuch first reand shiftings of the sacred books from their ceived a collective existence in the reign of ancient moorings by whole centuries, in Josiah, and that the book of Deuteronomy regard to which no German critic is at one having been then forged by Hilkiah the with his brother, but all agree that no book priest, to uphold Levitical influence, and as must be landed beneath the shadow of a a coup $d'\ell tat$ against the "high places" and miracle, or at a distance from the fulfilment their adherents, was palmed on the young of any prophecy. This play of German in- king as the autograph of Moses discovered in

* To one at all read in German criticism, its best contradiction is furnished by itself. As an example of that "concordia discors" which annuls itself, we system, forms a melancholy chapter in the may quote the terms in which Ewald, the "magnus aberrations of human learning, and on a Apollo" of Mr. Newman, speaks of De Wette, the admired of Mr. Theodore Parker and Mr. Greg. In his epilogue to his work on the Poetical Books of the Old Testament, Ewald, after a high eulogium on country where every scholar is tempted to his own Commentary on the Psalms, thus delivers fight his way by paradoxes, where extrava-ing ant scepticism alternates with blind creductive. How has De Wetle received this work lity as almost a part of the national charac-ter, where the sense of the supernatural has (or rather had) to a mournful extent died replete with crudity and vanity, and the views at out, and the public mind is untrained by any rigid institutional discipline in the examination of evidence, such tendencies have the become opidemic to deny every scriptural grading the screen with the state of the proposed to its reputed author, and to push every document from its traditional seat. A few supposed traces of a later style—a A few supposed traces of a later style—a A find in increal procedure, which is a mere comhandful of anachronisms easily explicable pound of superficial scepticism and pretended accuments of the proposed traces of a later style—a first procedure, which is a mere comhandful of anachronisms easily explicable pound of superficial scepticism and pretended accuments. on the supposition of a revisal—the very 1806, (for to real worth and fruitfulness it has never prophecies themselves which it contains, had any great claim,) how does he not perceive that have been eagerly laid hold of to thrust down the Pentateuch to the last ages of the laws the same purpose, it is charged on De Wette that his method is the true cause of the description. of the Jews, enhanced by their scrupulous cline and fall of "science" in interpretation; that care of their sacred books, and their critical he "stands stock-still in the midst of that confusion skill, too, as shewn in the rejection of the old Testament Apocrypha—the accordant testimony of the most ancient memorials, such as the passover—the stones of Gilgal—is such as the passover—the passover—the passover—the passover—the passover—the passover—the passover—the passover—the passov views, though often very confused, and even his Introduction to the Old Testament is a completely un-satisfactory book." This is wound up by the declaration of Ewald, that though he had been pretion—the independent existence of the Sa vailed on to look for an hour or two into the last maritan Pentateuch—the corroborations of edition of De Wette's Commentary on the Psalms only by the solicitation of a friend, he could prove only by the solicitation of a friend, ne could proceed every charge by a superfluity of evidence. Squabbles like these, making every abatement for temper, are worthy of consideration in some quarters. list of fundamental diversities among the masters of narrative itself, all go for nothing with critical seines; might be indefinitely enlarged. It like Do Wette, who can cut up the history seems that the chium theologicum is not limited by of the deluge into separate and ill-adjusted the circle of orthodoxy; and that the magnates of

the temple. The intrinsic credibility of this, original or a translation. The same singular origin, any competent judge of the melting pathos and sublime moral tone of Deuteronomy (for which, however, Mr. Newman has a singular contempt) may pronounce upon. Mr. Newman reasons that if Deuteronomy had existed the people could not so grievously have disobeyed its precepts, an argument of the same kind as that which would prove the non-existence of our British Statutes from the mass of national crime, or make out that our Protestant Bible was forged at the time of the Reformation, because so much existed till then in the teeth of its prohibitions. It is also contended that the young king's ignorance of the book proved its non-existence; but it is not stated in the record that he was absolutely ignorant of it, and his profound emotion on the discovery may be reasonably explained by the presence of a document so venerable and awful. We cannot enter, however, into details of that of Middleton, or as if Mr. Greg's certithis kind. Enough may be found in the ficate to Dr. Middleton might be disputed. and similar fair and learned replies to Gerwere we willing to reason on his own principles-that whatever is not mentioned where it might be expected, is not known to have any existence.

Mr. Greg fully coincides with the masterly arguments of his precursor in regard to the Old Testament, and while lamenting that so great and distressing a work should have been laid upon him, he is yet prepared, relying on the impregnable seience of De Wette and Strauss, to unsettle the "creed of christendom," respecting the authenticity and inspiration of the gospels. We are compelled loudly to protest against every step of his argumentation, and, looking to the tokens of haste and deficient consideration too frequently visible in a work of so grave a nature, sincercly hope that such a style of criticism may long remain an exotic on English soil. The Gospel of Matthew, though supported by unbroken tradition from the end of the first century, and read, according to undeniable evidence, from the beginning, as one of four gospels, in all Christian assemblies, is denied to be his, chiefly on the ground (internal evidence whether it was written in Greek or Hebrew;

paralogism appears in discrediting the two other synoptical gospels, because we cannot trace them to their sources, or explain their relation to each other; as if a compiler collecting many accounts of eye-witnesses were necessarily less accurate than these eve-witnesses, and that even though his narratives in turn were vouched for and pushed into currency by their exertions, as was certainly the case with the Gospels of Mark and Luke. Doubt is cast on the testimony of Papias to the Gospel of Mark, as the work of the companion of Peter, (p. 84,) because, as is the wonted cry, Papias was a man of weak mind, and because, as Dr. Middleton tells us, Irenaeus makes Papias a disciple of John the Apostle, whereas Eusebius styles him a disciple of John the Presbyter; as if it required strong mind to vouch for a literary work, as Mr. Greg, for example, does for works of Hengstenberg and Havernick, not because two other people happened, in writ-to mention others, to dissipate this and kindred theories. Of these works, however, of the publication of his book, whether it was London or Manchester. The most inman and British assaults on the Pentateuch, excusable, however, of Mr. Greg's criticisms we should infer Mr. Newman to be ignorant, on the genuineness of the gospels, is on that of John. There is not a single external argument to invalidate this time-hallowed authorship. The observation of Olshausen is strictly true, that the Gospel of John is the best attested book in the whole world. Manuscripts, ancient versions, fathers, heretics like Valentinus, unbelievers like Celsus, pleno ore attest it. Bretschneider was about the first, thirty years ago, to assail its genuineness on internal grounds in his "Proba-bilia de evangelii et epistolarum Joannis apostoli indole et origine." The weight of counter evidence compelled him, much to his honour, speedily to retract his position; and it were to have been wished that Strauss who took up the forlorn hope thus deserted, but who was obliged too to abandon it, though to the manifest destruction of his favorite mythical theory, had remained stedfast in his conversion for once, if not to reason, at least to forbearance. Even De Wette, strongly tempted as he was by constitutional temperament to yield to the arguments of Strauss, a temperament which led him to sacrifice everything which had once been bitten by any rabid tooth of scepapart) of the subordinate difference as to ticism, was constrained to stand on the defensive, and to affirm "that the recognition as if the consent of the Church to receive a of the Johannine origin of this gospel, even gospel as his, and to read it under that cha- after the most violent attacks of recent racter, did not make it perfectly indifferent times, will ever remain the current belief in respect of its testimony in what language of the Church."* In these circumstances, it was written, or whether we have the * Kurze Erklärung des Evangeliums Johannis, p. 8.

the procedure of Mr. Greg is instructive, ought to end (though no critical Greek Tesevangelists are alleged to have dishonoured religions and revolutionized the world, vansingular comments upon the evangelic nar- darkness. ratives of the resurrection. He appears to believes, because the Gospel of Mark, which we may be pardoned some expression of

He sets down the arguments of Bretschnei- tament makes it end) with the 8th verse of der as almost decisive, being probably igno- the 16th chapter, has asserted no more, and rant of his retractation, and then balancing the narratives disagree on all other points. against each other the sole authorities of De The excited imaginations of the Apostles, Wette and Strauss, (of whom, in regard to ready to receive anything so joyful, (though this gospel, he freely speaks as the "best Mr. Greg elsewhere contends that the Sacritics," "the most eminent critics," to the viour had not given them the least hint he exclusion of all others,) he coolly adds, should rise again,) "mistook some passing "where such men doubt, assuredly it is not individual for their crucified Lord, and from for us to dogmatize." Then finding the such an origin multiplied rumours of his Gospel of John different from what he ima- reappearance rose and spread," (p. 217.) gined it should have been, or ought to have Mr. Greg does not definitively adopt this been, and indulging in various other censures opinion; but he regards it with no disfavour, of the writer, he comes to the conclusion, and it seems to be the best that he can prothat "if it was the work of an apostle at all, pose. This shows at least that the orthodox it was of an apostle who had only caught a have not the monopoly of faith; and that small fragment of his Master's mantle," those who regard this view with favour have (p. 145.), "if it were the production of the little reason to apologize for the disciples, as Apostle John, it was written at a time when "not men of critical, inquiring, or doubting either from defect of memory, redundancy minds," (p. 218.) We thought that there of imagination, or laxity in his notions of an had been a Thomas among them, and that historian's duty, he allowed himself to take they were all slow to believe. We thought strange liberties with fact," (p. 210.) Thus that there had been a whole legion of unbe-Mr. Greg has two strings to his bow. Either lievers in Jerusalem where the resurrection way the gospel must be discredited. If its was immediately preached, and preached so genuineness cannot be overthrown, its autho. as to imply a charge of murder, ready to rity must be written down, because it does put the figment down by unmasking the not suit his own ideas of apostolic wisdom. Young man in white, or exposing the Sa-But it is not our question at present, how viour's dead body. We thought that, upon the gospels, and this among them, may be the testimony of Paul, which Mr. Greg himvindicated in respect to their contents, self cannot reject, there were 500 persons, Neither is it needful to ask why Mr. Greg many of them still living, who saw the Sashould on this subject, as in several other viour at one time. All this goes for nothing, places, openly contradict himself, by assign- unless some original document, containing ing the first epistle to John, and asserting it the written testimony, it is now said of two, as highly probable that the gospel and epis- now of four, and now of at least six wittle had the same origin. If the genuineness nesses, is handed down from age to age, of the gospels remains untouched, no license attesting a personal vision; though it might, of censure, founded on their contents, can one would think, appear, that the testimony ever prevail against them. The only real of John in the 20th chapter of his gospel, sonable inference, in such circumstances, which includes other ten, and the manifold must be that men are against the gospels, other testimonies, are virtually not less prebecause the gospels are against their favour- sent to us than if we heard them with our ite opinions. We shall therefore pass over own ears. And thus with the most relentthe muster roll of discrepancies, incoher-less rigour in testing history and the most ences, blunders, fictions, and even forgeries, charitable laxity in constructing hypotheses, (Mr. Greg absolves the synoptists from the resurrection of Jesus, the watchword of "want of honesty" only "in the great masternly sincere and intensely practical men, jority of instances," (p. 137,) and speaks of the fact which, proclaimed in broad-day the fourth gospel as "throughout an unserulight with trumpet clearness and vindicated pulous and most inexact paraphrase of against all comers at the expense of the Christ's teaching,"—(p. 157,) with which the dearest life's-blood, overturned two mighty themselves and disgraced their Master. Nor ishes away into a white mist, an apparition shall we be tempted to discuss Mr. Greg's of the dawn which must now sink back into

Having thus freely expressed our dissatisbelieve no more than that a young man faction with the grounds on which this appeared in white, who pointed out to the "eritical" school dismisses and casts aside women the Saviour's empty tomb. This he the old supernaturalist views of inspiration,

mark the culminating point of the religious instincts and faculties of our race-might expect to be treated with something of the kneeling veneration with which the worshippers of Homer, Plato, Raphael, and Handel approach their masterpieces. It is with a grievous surprise that we encounter in this class of writings an unaccountable want of respect towards these highest pro-ducts of "the religious consciousness," and even a frequent sarcastic stroke, as if their authors could not forget the old grudge they had borne against them when they did battle on the orthodox side. They seem to have known the Bible so much as a foe in its supernatural form, that when it is converted to Naturalism they can hardly treat it as a friend. Mr. Newman's book is a grand corrective of Old Testament prejudices, bigotries, and religious illusions-such an account of Jewish men and things, as a Carthaginian might have written of the Roman heroes of the second Punic war. It is a reopening of the issue between David and the heathen chiefs, the kings of Judah and the kings of Israel, Hezekiah and Sennacherib, with the fixed result of reversing every verdiet of the Jewish books, and bringing off the culprits not guilty.* It is a general jail-delivery of Old Testament criminals such as Jeroboam, Ahab, Ahaz; and even Jezebel, Athaliah, and Manasseh come in for redeeming words and charitable sympathies. Such a seeking out of the neglected and remembering of the forgotten, such a eircumnavigation of philanthropy has not been known for many a day. The exaltation of the one side is naturally followed by the depression of the other. The prophets are the troublers of Israel, the authors by their stupidity, if not their villany, of every great crime and massacre, and of the rupture of the kingdoms. The true, or reputedly true, are much on a level with the false, for some, like Elisha, are movers of rebellion, and others, like Jeremiah, "play into the hands of the public enemy," (p. 352,) while all alike, if not charlatans, are enthusiasts, consecrating their own fancies by a "thus saith the Lord;" and as for the priests and Levites, like every other elerical body, their aim is power and pelf, to attain which they do not scruple to hood-wink tender-hearted kings by inventing oracles and forging books in the name of Moses. Every eulogy has

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astonishment at the style in which they de- some reservation; every compliment some velop their own. The highest utterances of sting in its tail. Of David we are told, God in man-such products of genius as that all the "brilliancy alike of his chivalry and of his piety is sullied, and cold minds suspect his religious raptures of hypocrisy," (p. 112.) The prophets, from Joel to Isaiah, are only lauded at the expense of their successors. Isaiah's usual strain is "grandiloquent," and of his confessedly splendid prophecy against Sennacherib, it is condescendingly remarked, that "we still read it with interest and admiration," (pp. 278, 300.) Still, "his natural note" was "harsh," and up to his "swan-song" the oracle respecting Egypt, "when his bosom expanded to embrace Gentile enemies," he had "the contracted heart of a mere Jew, (p. 308.) And this is the nation-these its noblest spirits-these the masterpieces of its literature, towards which Mr. Newman, resuming the attitude of worship in the pero-ration of his book, tells us that "Judea was the well-spring of religious wisdom to a world besotted by frivolous or impure fancies"-that as "to the Greeks it was given to develop beauty and science-to the Romans jurisprudence and municipal rule, so to the Jews it was given to develop the holiness of God, and his sympathy towards his ehosen servants," and that while the prophets "groaned over the monstrous fictions which imposed on the nations under the name of religion, they announced that out of Zion should go forth the law and the word of Jehovah," (p. 370.) Whence then Mr. Newman's systematic and even ludierous depreeiation in detail of this Jewish inspiration? Judea was the well-spring of religious wisdom: yet Jewish judgments of almost everything need to be reversed. They developed the holiness of God and his sympathy with his chosen servants: but this holiness they dishonoured by odious immorali-ties, and their idea that they were God's chosen servants was mere bigotry and delusion. The prophets groaned over the fictions which imposed on the nations; yet from Samuel downward, who pretended a divine commission for the anointing of Saul, which in his heart he disliked, they too often lied and forged oracles to impose upon their Does Mr. Newman not see the intellectual obliquity of this procedure? Does he not see that while dilating on and exaggerating discrepancies in the books of Kings and Chronicles, his own book is a stu-pendous contradiction? The ribaldry of Paine itself is a relief, logically speaking, compared with this combination of kissing and smiting under the fifth rib. Nor will the English mind endure to have the record of mingled delusion and knavery, wrong-

^{*} The same must be said of the Hebrew estimate of Samuel versus Saul, which Mr. Newman would reverse if the facts bearing against Samuel were not arbitrarily set aside.

headedness and cruelty, which Mr. New sound to have formed a part of his teaching, man's reading of Jewish history exhibits, And yet, though "the wisest, purest, noblest decorated with the frontispiece of a temple, being that ever clothed thought in the poor and the blazonry of inspiration.

Similar criticisms are made by Mr. Greg upon the persons and books of the New Testament, wherein, conjointly or severally, some kind of inspiration is notwithstanding allowed by him to reside. The style in which the evangelists are handled we have already remarked. The apostles fare no better. They had "angry contentions" among themselves, (p. 164.) They were the dupes of the prevailing delusion that the Holy Spirit was at work in the gift of tongues, and on this ground, enlarged the strictly Jewish limits within which their master had confined them "in a singular and inconclusive manner," (p. 178.) Peter had no better foundation than a dream, which was the result of hunger, for giving to Christianity a cosmopolitan character, (p. 169.) Paul taught "confused and contradictory notions on the subject of marriage;" and "there is much in the tone of his doctrinal writings which we believe and feel to be at variance, or at least little in harmony with the views and spirit of Jesus," (pp. 183, 190.) John, in his first epistle, "abounds in denunciations, all too redolent of the temper of the apostle who wished to call down fire from heaven on an unbelieving village," (p. 154.) James alone, whose epistle (marvellous to relate) Mr. Greg willingly receives as genuine, "is one who had drank in the spirit and appreciated the lessons of the meek, practical, and spiritual Jesus," (p. 185.) But why speak of these and similar criticisms on the disciples, when the critic permits himself to adopt the style he applies to the Master? There is much veneration, indeed, professed, and we do not dispute that it is honestly felt. Such an error in logic we will readily tolerate as leaves in any man a reverence for Jesus out of which something higher and better may yet grow. But, in a matter of logical critieism, we must deal with Mr. Greg's statements as we find them, and look to their inevitable tendencies. At one time no words are too strong for his admiration of the greatness and wisdom of Jesus, and he sets down to the misrepresentations of the evangelists all those doctrines ascribed to him, which form the "peculiar, startling, perplexing, revolting, and contradictory doctrines of modern orthodoxy, -doctrines which unsophisticated men feel to be horrible and monstrous," (p. 152): such as the necessity of faith to salvation, the sinfulness

And yet, though "the wisest, purest, noblest being that ever clothed thought in the poor language of humanity," (p. 228,) his doctrines were not "so new, so profound, so perfect, so distinctive," as not to be essentially contained in the Old Testament. He "appears to have held erroneous views respecting demoniacal possession, the interpretation of Scripture, his own Messiahship,* his second coming, and the approaching end of the world," (p. 230.) "He neither directed nor contemplated the spread of his gospel beyond the pale of the Jewish nation," (p. 168.) Even his moral system, though "unimprovable and unsurpassable," and "fitted to make earth a paradise," (p. 244,) has some such "radical defect, or incompleteness, or inapplicability in our day and country, that any one who strictly regu-lates his conduct by its teaching (putting aside the mere letter) is immediately led into acts which the world unanimously regards as indicative of an unsound or unbalanced mind," (p. 246.) And then, on some essential points, Christianity, even as Christ left it, is unquestionably a stumblingblock to the wise and reflective of all ages. Thus the doetrine that prayer is answered, as Christ taught it, is "obviously irreconcilable with all that reason and revelation teach us of the divine nature," (p. 248.) The Christian idea of forgiveness which Christ shared, "is unmeaning or blasphemous as applied to Jehovah," (p. 264.) because the forgiveness of sins in any other sense than the abandonment of them is impossible; and to crown all, so far as the evidence goes, "the views of Christ respecting the future world were less in advance of those current in his age and country than his views upon any other topic," and "perhaps even fall short of those attained by some pious Pagaus of an earlier date," (p. 280.) Strange blunders and shortcomings these for "the most exalted religious genius whom God ever sent upon the earth-in himself an embodied revelation" (!) (p. 233) Was it worth while to sift the gospels clear of all "Orthodoxy" and "Calvinism" by so laborious a process, to leave so much chaff still among the wheat? The doctrines of the

evangelists all those doctrines ascribed to him, which form the "peculiar, startling, perplexing, revolting, and contradictory doctrines of modern orthodoxy,—doctrines which unsophisticated men feel to be horrible and monstrous," (p. 152): such as the necessity of faith to salvation, the sinfulness of unbelief, the Deity of Jesus, and the Atonement. These are too obviously un-

New Testament are destroyed by its own in any monstrosity short of the miracle of moral teaching like a temple burnt down by a revelation, or to disallow the heavenly a coal from its own altar, and then the hapless coal itself is blown out. A Caesarean and is higher than our ways and thoughts. operation, fatal to the parent life, is per-

Upon the whole, this singular tone of apparent reverence and ultimate depreciation reader back into the bosom of the martyralike treat the greatest names in Judaism grave, and indomitable earnestness in wit-and Christianity, is to us a matter of unfail nessing to the gospel facts, and the Person ing wonder; and the singularity and self of Christ as the centre of them, and urging contradiction might even be regarded as giving a mythical character to their entire advancement, which not only carried through productions. We have met, however, with these truths in mortal battle, but gave to an one-fact which, so far as it goes, deserves to be mentioned, as proving such phenomena mort altogether unknown to history. Mr. cast on honest infidelity a ray of heavenly Walpole, in his Travels among the Anasyrii light such as had never before fallen upon it, in Mount Lebanon, informs us of a man who lad its source in "a congeries of exaggera-came suddenly upon a company of that itons, and in a mindless conspiracy, hatched strange people in the midst of the rites of by chance, nursed by imposture, and winged their contents of the rites of the footiers "(a.140.) The Second Text. their mysterious worship. They had dressed by fanaticism," (p. 110.) The Second Tract, up a wooden figure into an image of Providence, and this they were assiduously engaged in flogging. The parallel is complete, tles, making good such a cohesion between shewing what deviations from nature may the natural and supernatural element in arise without absolute miracle. Here too is them that, on the denial of the latter, the the wooden image baptized with the name apostolic character becomes "a jumble of of a divinity, and the prevailing rite of inconsistencies, to which no semblance of worship is flagellation.

This theory of inspiration then may be (p. 219.)
It to fall by its own weight; and we have We pass over then to the ranks of the rate treatise of Davidson lately noticed in sense.

Here, too, rank the ingenious, learned, formed on the gospels, to extract from them the genuine Christianity, and then the miserable infant perishes by the hard this series is a masterly re-exhibition of the argument from the success of Christianity with which Mr. Newman and Mr. Greg Church, laying open the spring of its calm, productions. We have met, however, with these truths in mortal battle, but gave to all moral or of immoral unity can be given,"

left to fall by its own weight; and we have We pass over then to the ranks of the little doubt that soon the field will be swept SUPERNATURALISTS, by whom alone, in proelear of its ruins, and the ancient land-mark priety of speech, theories of "inspiration" re-crected between those who regard the can be entertained, and shall endeavour to Bible as the mere product of imposture and signalize some of the more noted and infanaticism, on the one hand, and those who fluential theorists of recent times. We need regard it as containing a supernatural revela- not take the trouble of collecting their testion from God, on the other. Such an issue timonies to what they hold in commonis likely to be hastened by some of the that Christianity is a supernatural revelation works at the head of this Article. The —that that revelation is contained in the historical argument for the books of the Bible, and that there rests upon the Bible in New Testament is very clearly and effective consequence an authority sui generis, and I put by Dr. Tregelles, who re-exhibits the such as belongs to no other book in the materials of honest old Lardner and of Paley, world. But it immediately strikes us, that with the freshness and authority proper to through this large, and we trust, (notwithous whose life has been devoted, and not in standing all outeries to the contrary,) invain, to the prosecution of original researches, creasing class, there runs one great line of with the view to a critical edition of the New division which parts them off into adherents Testament. This tract and the more clabo of the Bible in a more lax or in a more strict The most superficial glance disthis Journal, amply show how irrefragable, covers two theories more or less opposed to as mere historic documents, tried by all the one another—in much it may be in appear-ordinary tests of genuineness and authen—ance, but in not a little also in reality—ticity, the sacred books are, and will estab forming what may be called the theory of lish as a necessary corollary their super-partial and the theory of plenary inspiration. natural character, in the case it is to be Under these two rubries, accordingly, we shall hoped of all who are not prepared to believe bring the remainder of our critical review.

side of partial inspiration which this century has produced are Schleiermacher and Coleridge. The one has acted upon German theology, the other on British and American; and a curious parallel might be drawn between them in respect of more questions than this of inspiration. Our limits require us, however, to restrict ourselves to this one point; and we prefer to begin with Schleiermacher, both as the earlier, and as having carried out his views to more bold and therefore more easily apprehensible results.

Though Schleiermacher was not fond of the name of supernaturalist, and sought by sundry devices of a dialectical kind to break the shock which the admission of a miraculous interference gave to his philosophy, nothing is more clear than that all the good which he effected in Germany was by the restoration of Christianity to its supernaturalist elevation, and by insisting that it is a manifestation of divine truth and grace, infinitely raised above all reasoning, morality, and other pre existing resources of the world. He did not look, however, on this divine quality as originally communicated in the Bible, but in the Person of Christ. which was to him the grand centre of devout regard, and focus of influence on the spiritual destinies of men. Christ was the word of God, the living word, imparting, so to speak, a magnetic property to those who came in contact with him, more especially his apostles, thus revolutionizing the world by their living example, and not merely by certain articles of faith transmitted to them in a dogmatic shape, and then engrossed in a written document, to be held out to the intellectual reception of mankind. With him Christ is first, the Church second, the Bible last. The Bible is the product of faith, pre-supposes faith to its comprehension, and is in no other sense the work of the Holy Spirit than all succeeding Christian literature, save and except that its separate parts were written by those who, standing nearest the divine Saviour, drank most into his Spirit, and reflected the universal Christian sentiment in relation to Jesus in its highest purity. This normal value of the Bible is not affected by differences of opinion respecting the canon, or the origin of the sacred books themselves. There is enough of unity and certainty in the main to make the rejection of certain Timothy) a matter of little moment to parts would be thankful for so much; and Christian faith. There is a sufficient reflection of the divine presence of Christ in the

The two most influential reasoners on the books themselves to satisfy all the necessities of the Christian consciousness, though some of the gospels may have been compiled from fragments, amid the ordinary liabilities of history to error, and though the epistles were sent forth with no more distinctive aid and guard against defect than lay in the apostolic training and experience of their authors. Hence not only in the critical settlement of the canon and text of Scripture, but also in its interpretation, a large place is to be assigned to Christian consciousness, as the living continuous principle from which the Bible originally proceeded; and in the settlement of the true and divine by this organ, that writing has most authority which bears most directly on Christ and his work, so that the contents of the New Testament have a graduated scale of importance, and the Old Testament has no normal dignity whatever.*

Serviceable as these views were when first propounded, and great as was the stride which they evinced beyond the Kantian estimate of the Bible as a mere legendary vehicle of morality, it will be seen at once, that they allow to the Scriptures a partial and scanty measure of inspiration. have here the source of a very current formula in Germany, that "God's word is in the Bible; but that the Bible is not God's Schleiermacher to some extent veiled the imperfections of his own scheme. partly by the admirable eloquence and feryour with which he descanted on what was true in it, e. q., that Christ is the fountainhead of a glorious change in the spiritual life of mankind, and that personal communion with him is necessary to exalt the word above a dead letter; and partly by an ingenious accommodation of his style to Church-formulas of greater rigour and fulness. Yet his theory will not stand the test of anything like that keen examination with which he loved to abate what he regarded as the exaggerations of orthodoxy.

We think it may be admitted that the presumption is against a theory which receives revelation but denies inspiration and infallibility. We are far, however, from wishing to rest much (in point of argument we desire to rest nothing) as has sometimes been done, on mere a priori likelihoods and anticipations in regard to so mysterious and sublime a work of God as the giving of a writings (Schleiermacher not only himself revelation to mankind. Could it be proved rejected some of the so-called Deutero that revelation extended no farther than canonical books, but the First Epistle of Schleiermacher has contended, we for our

^{*} Glaubenslehre, vol. ii. pp. 477-509. (1st edition.)

though with a Bible in our hands, much of adverting to the Messianic prophecies of which was uncertainly divine, and not a little of which was unquestionably uncanonical. we should still have struggled on our way beneath the broken rays that came from the eternal word, hoping at last to reach the goal of so trying a pilgrimage, and to find the explanation of error and defect in the Bible, as we found the explanation of the like staggering phenomena in God's world and in God's Church. Still, a reasonable man will hardly deny that with the idea of a supernatural revelation we more naturally connect that of a permanent document, which fully partakes of the qualities of that revelution, and secures it for all ages; and as there is a clear and indisputable miracle at any rate, it seems, so far as can be judged, more suitable and worthy of God to make that miraele complete, and to deposit its results not in a written production, which errs so greatly both by excess and defect, but in a Bible as immaculate as its great subject. Schleiermacher boldly confronts the difficulty of believing in an immaculate Christ. Is it not like an inconsequence to cast away the fruits of this infallibility or let them fall to

the ground? A still greater difficulty is the total inefficiency of the principle according to which we are to separate, in the actual Bible, the valid and ultimate word of God from its admitted imperfections. "Christian consciousness," we are told, is to distinguish, even in the writings of admittedly apostolic men, between what is divine and what bears the mark of human infirmity. And this consciousness is to recognise as sacred whatever treats directly of the person and work of Christ, and to allow a gradually increasing admixture of error in all that lies be-We say nothing of the soundness of this rule. What we insist on is its total inutility. It is utterly impossible to separate the person of Christ from the whole New Testament theory of creation and providence. Do passages which speak of his preexistent state and universal natural rule claim our faith or not? Are the discoveries respecting the future life sufficiently connected with his person and work to be absolutely reliable? Where is the boundary between the little and the great in the biographies of the evangelists? Are we with Schleiermacher to regard the alleged doctrine of Jesus respecting demoniacs, as one of the narrator's mistakes, touching, as it did, no vital point; or, rather with Neander, as a true report, since the subject was mixed up with the whole of Christ's work

the Old Testament, to which Schleiermacher leaves a kind of shadowy dignity amid the dethronement of all besides. As it is confessedly a matter of disputation with him what portions of the Old Testament are to be ranked in this class, we have here a continued problem whether or not any part of the Old Testament can be clearly made out to be the word of God at all; and the reverence which is felt for it on this theory, must to some extent resemble that of the Mussulman for the piece of waste paper, on which he refuses to tread lest it should contain a part of the Koran; or if this be thought extreme, the language must hold which was applied to the Samaritan idea of the Old Testament, "Ye worship ye know not what.'

But by far the most formidable and indeed utterly insuperable objection to this theory of partial inspiration, is its contrariety to the distinct, emphatic, and universal utterance of the Bible respecting itself. This is, after all, the turning-point of the argument. Uncertain as this doctrine makes the boundary of canonical Scripture, and also how much of the canon is infallible, there is enough of unchallengeable Scripture (we here speak of it as a mere historical document) left over by this theory to overthrow itself from the foundations. The principle that authority in teaching belongs to the companions of Christ, as the result merely of his life-long action on their minds, is opposed by the whole history of the prejudices and errors of the apostles, down to the time of Christ's death. It is also incompatible with the history of Paul, whose authority Schleiermacher admits, but lamely enough attempts to harmonize with his view. If we do not tear the whole gospel record asunder, and do violence to the inductive principles by which all history should be studied, it was not the mere presence of Christ, but the operation of the Holy Ghost, that led the apostles into all truth; and though that truth was connected with Himself, much of it had not during his life-time dawned on their minds, for he had many things to say which they could not then bear, and which they were yet to teach the world. His own motto was-" I have given unto them the words which thou gavest me;" and though his glorious divine example had also its influence, this is not to be disjoined from that doctrine of which he spoke as coming from God, and that truth which was able to make free. It was not then merely as prolonging Christ's utterof deliverance from sin and evil? Such ances that the apostles had authority. The questions are endless. But we cannot help spirit of Christ was in them a fountain of

independent inspiration; so that inspiration showing of Christ himself, his own inspiradeed thus translated by Paul, (in a sense no other place but that of devout submishow different from the recognition of any co-ordinate vote of Christian consciousness!) word or writing as revealed doctrine. The be spiritual, let him acknowledge that the things which I write are the commandments of the Lord." If epistolary inspiration was thus guaranteed to such a degree, that even an augel from heaven preaching another gospel was declared accursed, not less surely a voice in assenting to or rejecting it, for was the infallibility of the apostles secured, this is merely to say that the apostles preas writers of the gospel-history, by the promise that all things should be brought to inspiration-commonplaces which are rather their remembrance which Christ had said, words which, on Schleiermacher's theory of versal inward light, to which the sources of a natural reminiscence of divine communications, have absolutely no meaning. Thus

The effect of Schleiermacher's views of the whole basis of apostolic authority is inspiration is to this day abundantly appashifted away from the point where Schleiermacher placed it, to another where it ranks with that of Christ himself, and where, dissociated from a divine nature, or even preeminent endowments, it is placed on the same footing of a heavenly mission on which Christ himself put it: "As thou hast sent me into the world, even so I have sent them into the world." This co-ordination not only to the apostles, but goes back to thally to resist the advances of that more Moses and the prophets. No limitation of strict supernaturalism which from various authentic Scripture can get rid of Christ's appeal to the authority of Moses, as testifying of Him, or his frequent quotations from ceeded Schleiermacher in their concessions the Old Testament, as a divine book. The to the older orthodoxy, and to a great ex-repeated recognition of Moses as a prophet tent have returned to those results in regard preceminently like Christ, cannot be im-pugned; and Schleiermacher himself has the apostolic Scripture which in the first reacknowledged that Second Epistle to Timothy, and employed it to impeach the first, in which it is affirmed by Paul with reference to the Old Testament, that "all Seripture is given by inspiration of God."* Many more express passages and general princi-ples from the New Testament might be adduced to corroborate those already cited. But these are sufficient to prove (leaving for tion. Almost no exception occurs to us as the present Schleiermacher's unsettlement taken by them to any apostolic statement of the canon to the historical evidence which re-establishes it) that inspiration was world, which they represent the apostles not so bound and restricted to the life of (we think on very unsatisfactory grounds)

• The other interpretation of these words is considered afterwards.

was not, as Schleiermacher contends, an in- tion found its work in developing truths and communicable property of Jesus, but shared doctrines which pre-existed by inspiration by the apostles. The apostolic claim put at in the Old Testament, and was transmitted the head of the epistles, is thus tantamount to the apostles with such clearness and auto the direct utterance of Christ, as it is in- thority as to leave Christian consciousness sion to whatever came from apostles in "If any man among you think himself to true place of Christian consciousness is thus, to take words for once out of the mouth of Strauss, expressed by the precept, "Taceat mulier in ecclesia;" and no claim can be set up for it, on the ground that as the Church preceded the Bible, it ought to have ceded their writings, and their piety their an insecure foundation for a doctrine of uni-

rent, not only in the less advanced school that have kept true to his traditions, and waged in his name violent opposition against the orthodox, but likewise in the more enlarged and independent thinkers, such as Nitzsch, Julius Müller, Twesten, and Tho-luck, who with Neander at their head, and shortly before his death, united more openly than they had ever previously done under extends by the testimony of Christ himself the banner of Schleiermacher's memory, virinfluences was gaining ground in Germany. These eminent men, indeed, have far exto the canon and the supreme authority of vival of faith in Germany were regarded as extreme. With the exception, perhaps, of the Book of Revelation and the Second Epistle of Peter, they do not express much hesitation as to the right of any part of the New Testament to its place, and they yield to the Epistles all the reverence which is possible on the highest theory of inspirabut that of the approaching end of the Christ as to exist elsewhere only in gleams as unanimously leading their converts to exand shadows, requiring "Christian consciousness" to detect it; but that by the doctrine given by Neander in the second volume of his "History of the Planting of

more rigid theory of inspiration can quarrel | treatise is in many respects unsatisfactory with his exhibition of multiplicity in unity in the views of Paul, Peter, James and John, but will rather admire the profound Christian wisdom and truth with which points of apparent opposition are adjusted and harmonized. A similar change is very clearly reflected in Nitzsch's "System of Christian Doctrine." He admits that the absence of Christ was compensated by the presence of the Paraclete, and that revelation was thus transmitted in its original purity; that no one can receive the Word of God save through the apostolic writings; that appeal to any other authority, such as inward light, independently of these writings, is mere fanaticism; that the Church has not given the Scriptures any claim to authority, but receives all its own authority from them; and that the Church is based on the Scriptures-in other words, on the belief, that the same power of God to which we owe the revelation made in apostolic preaching, has been exerted to give us in the Scripture a unique, distinct, and perfect conveyance of that revelation. Nay, Dr. Nitzsch goes so far as to maintain, that the Church, even in Christ's own day, rested on written revelation, seeing that both He and his apostles appealed to the Old Testament; and that thus, to use his own words, there never was "an absolute interregnum of oral teaching."* It is obvious how widely these representations tend to depart from the ground of Schleiermacher, and to approach to the theology of the Reformation; yet in the same treatise there is a tendency both to elevate Christ's inspiration above that of the apostles, and by consequence to depress the latter nearer to the level of the ordinary working of the Spirit in the Church, which clearly betrays the influence of the school; just as if, in order to exalt the Saviour, it were necessary to make Him an absolute starting-point in the history of true religion, and in comparison of his direct utterances to depreciate all his indirect revelations both before and after his Incarnation.

The views of inspiration which lie at the basis of Neander's "Life of Jesus Christ" endure less satisfactorily a logical examination than those of almost any other work of this great and influential theological party. There is much both of depth and beauty in his construction of the evangelical history as a whole; and it did not need his acuteness and learning to expose at a thousand points the utter preposterousness of the mythical theory. Yet the result of his

as a full reflection of biblical data, and even as an application of his own principles in his earlier work. He contemplates the gospels throughout as purely historical composition, partaking of no other inspiration than that radiated from their subject. He acknowledges in them no inconsiderable number of positive errors-for example, that Matthew puts a false sense upon the " sign of Jonas," and that John erroneously applied the words "destroy this temple," to the Saviour's resurrection. He concedes the point, that they have (especially John) sometimes put their own words into the mouth of Jesus. or (especially the synoptical evangelists) mixed up discourses altogether different, and out of their proper connexion. He extends their fallibility to arbitrary lengthsas, for example, that John might be mistaken in supposing that Judas was guilty of peculation; or Mark, in ascribing the death of the Baptist to the revenge of Herodias, and not as Josephus, to Herod's fear of insurrection. And he will allow nothing in their narrative for which he cannot find a guarantee in their natural capacities and opportunities of knowledge, maintaining that the disciples were too much agitated at the time of their Master's apprehension to give a perfectly accurate account of it, and that we have no evidence that the veil of the temple was rent at the erucifixion, unless it may be that some converted priests afterwards furnished the information. and similar statements appear to us serious blemishes in an otherwise admirable performance, which must militate against its acceptance in this country as a final reply to the work of Strauss. It is indeed a far harder task to believe, with those who reject the supernatural character of Christianity, that the whole life of Jesus is a superstructure of fiction, raised upon the slenderest basis of commonplace reality, than with the German Church historian, that a divine life was left to be reflected in a series of stained and broken mirrors. Only as the one procedure must be protested against as gigantic error, the other may be dissented from as mutilated truth, and that all the more that it is not consistent with itself. What room is left, on this principle of historical fallibility, for the promised and admitted influence of the Holy Spirit? In Neander's pages the synoptical evangelists are throughout represented as following a system of one-sided, partial, and defective compilation-as unlike as possible to the style of men from whom the early Church, to say nothing of inspired critics still in the midst of it, expected, according to their

These principles are, for brevity's sake, compendized from the fifth German edition, §§ 37-42.

Master's promise, and received their high-the sturdy energy and growing influence of

Zeitschrift" for 1850.

est narratives of the highest of all transactions, which lay at the foundation of Christiers, kirchenzeitung." Though greatly tianity; and even John is thrown entirely crippled by the lamented death of its upon the resources of his memory for his founder this organ has taken a high place, upon the resources of his memory for his founder this organ has taken a high place, copious and often intricate reports of our and has called forth many valuable essays; Saviour's discourses, without having put to his credit a single help like that of Paul, which is credit a single help like that of Paul, which is credit a single help like that of Paul, which is last of the widest of the larger during that which kind of popularity. In this periodical Dr. Tholuck was called upon almost immediately to discuss the doctrine of inspiration; and his four papers, from April to principle to the larger apparent discrepancies between the gospels, as, for example, of this article. The two first are historical, and are intended to prove that the doctrine principle to the larger apparent discrepancies between the gospels, as, for example,
respecting the seat of our Lord's ministry,
and the seene of his appearances after the
order to be suppearance of parables in
the other gospels, and their absence in John
—our Lord's residence in Nazareth or Beth
—lehem—the resurrection of Lazarus, the
agony in the garden, and many others, while
the lesser discrepancies are abandoned as
irreconcilable. The principle of repetition
is admitted in the case of the Saviour's anoniting, and even suggested in that of the
entry into Jerusalem, while in the face of
the most rejid theory of inspiration ever broachentry into Jerusalem, while in the face of
the most positive testimony it is denied in
that of the iniracle of the loaves. The
principle of accommodation in our Saviour's
the most positive testimony is discarded,
and yet he is made to quote in the temple
the 10th Psalm, as one in which David in
spirit calls the Messiah Lord; though Neander thinks it probable that David did not
worst that psalm, and that the unknown
writer of it, whatever the ultimate view of
essent to the server to the Messiah Lord the server to the profession before the 17th century. But he
essential the description of this article. The two first are instended to prove that the decretion of this article. The two first are instended to prove that the decretion of this rich and in the learn of the server to some, though not to a serious extent in
the other presence of the Saviour's and character that Dr. Tholuck has been
most rigid theory of inspiration ever broached—that Dr. Tholuck has been
most rigid theory of inspiration ever broached—that prevalent in the 17th century,
server of the server the server the server the server the server the server the server.

He for this article and the head of the providence of the server the server.

He for this article and the head of the providence of the server the server.

He for this article and the head of the providence of the providence of the providence o writer of it, whatever the ultimate view of confession before the 17th century. But he the Spirit, had no reference to the Messiah totally fails in what ought to have been the Spirit, had no reference to the Messian totally fails in what ought to have been whatever. How much incoherences like the great object of his review—to find, in these tend to impair the compact and logical form of the work in which they appear, mencement of the rationalizing period that is felt both in Germany and in this country; began with Grotius and Leelere and conand if Neander complains, as he does in his timed throughout the 18th century, such and if Nonder complains, as he does it his timed introgenous the four centry, many preface, that his theology suffers from the plain admissions of error in the Bible as principle, "τὰ ἐν μεσφ ἀμφοτέρωθεν should serve for a breastwork to modern κτεινέται," it must, with all deference, be German evangelism. The utmost that Dr. replied, that his own armoury supplies the javelins to both the opposite sides by which his juste milieu is attacked. Without animadverting upon otherworks ever, admitted to have held the strictest of adherents of this theory we shall confine theory of inspiration, that he could not on ourselves to the last, and by much the most historical principles harmonize the gospel interesting of them all—one which may be accounts of Christ's last paschal journey; and regarded as a kind of confession of faith from a statement of Chrysostom, who otherwise this camp of partial inspiration. We refer to the essay of Dr. Tholnek in the "Deutsche writers were only apparent, that Paul in his Zeitschrift! for 1850. This publication speech before Agrippa was left to some was started in the beginning of 1850, a few extent to mingle the workings of his own months before Neander's death, and at his mind with the supplies of grace—a stateinstance, in conjunction with Nitzsch and ment perfectly consistent with the infal-Muller, as a weekly organ of the theology libility of Scripture. The only one of the and Church politics of the middle school, schoolmen who roundly charges any of the which needed some such counterpoise against sacred writers with error is Abelard, whose

authority, however, on a theological questiers of fact;" and he charges the scrupution, is of the lowest. The rash expressions lously orthodox with using such elaborate of Luther must be admitted, balanced, how- and forced devices to remove these, that ever, by the strongest assertions elsewhere, at last Scripture in their hands has come to that Scripture was immaculate. But the resemble a garment covered with innumerother Reformers, and especially Calvin, are able pieces of patchwork, rather than a quoted with injustice on the same side, for seamless coat. Dr. Tholuck knows well what they say amounts to this, (what every harmonist has repeated,) that there were ponents of Christianity have often spied a chronological and other difficulties, which rent where there was none; but still thinks they could not perfectly remove. Calixtus, to whom Dr. Tholuck traces the origin of the laxer theory which at length prevailed in the Lutheran Church, in express terms admits the entire truth of the biblical records; as did Baxter, Doddridge, and other English divines, both of the Church and among Dissenters, whose names are singularly enough introduced with those of Socious and the Arminians, as all conspiring to prove that the theory of infallibility has always been in the minority. Dr. Tholuck, then, who cannot be supposed to have brought forward the least effective witnesses, seems to us to have completely failed in establishing for his theory, anything at all approaching to an influential errors in the Septuagint are made the basis standing-ground in the general tradition of of reasoning.* We do not enter into the Christian doctrine.

Dr. Tholuck's other two papers are occupied more with the exegetical and dogmatical aspects of the question; and though they evince, perhaps, the nearest approach which is possible from this side to what we must still call the orthodox* theory, they are far enough from obviating the objections we have already advanced to the views of its earlier representatives. Tholuck undertakes in this part of his work to do three things-to test the strict inspiration theory by the structure of Scriptureto adduce biblical testimony for the laxer theory-and to turn aside the Scripture testimony unjustly alleged for the other view. This is certainly a fair and honest programme. We cannot pronounce that it instituti non sunt, sibi liberius indulgent. has been carried into execution.

In considering the structure of Scripture, Dr. Tholuek acts hardly by his antagonists, among others Gaussen, whose theory we shall afterwards notice, in descanting on the peculiarities of style and the evidences of mental individuality in the sacred writers, for this has never been more eloquently illustrated than by Gaussen himself, and is the gist of the argument, when he asserts, are "numerous proofs of inaccuracy in mat- proof of mental fertility worthy of admira-

enough, and frankly confesses, that the ophimself bound to concede that in not a few places the rent exists. We cannot within our limits follow him into detail: but having examined his proof-texts, and knowing something of what has been written regarding them, we take the liberty to adhere to our old opinion, that the same arguments by which Dr. Tholuek in his elaborate and valuable reply to Strauss, obviates his attack on the larger inconsistencies (socalled) of Scripture, avail also to the elimination of his own minor difficulties. Dr. Tholnek, beginning with misquotations of the Old Testament, according to the Septuagint version, thinks he has found three such in the Epistle to the Hebrews, where philological and other discussions connected with this question. In opposition even to the high authority of Dr. Tholuck, we regard all these citations as legitimate grounds of argument, the variations from the Hebrew being unessential to the proof, and agree with Calvin in his note on the last, though Dr. Tholuck inaccurately represents him as admitting a misapplication of this and the second of his examples:—" Neque enim in verbis recitandis adeo religiosi fuerunt, modo ne Scriptura in suum commodum falso abuterentur. Semper hoc spectandum est quorsum citent testimonia, nam in scopo ipso diligenter cavent no Scripturam trahant in alienum sensum; sed tam in verbis, quam in aliis, quae presentis

Such inaccuracies of discourse, next alleged by Dr. Tholuck, as the different versions of the sermon on the Mount, by Matthew and Luke, we set aside by adhering to the old explanation of a double discourse, though there seems no contradiction between different reports of the same speech, if neither reporter professes to give the whole, nor in its absolutely identical connexion. may be regarded as now universally ad- The same principle applies to different apmitted. It is more to the purpose, and this is the gist of the argument, when he asserts, blind leading the blind, or of a tree being that in the Old and New Testament there known by its fruits, for surely this is a

^{*} The passages are chaps. ii. 6, 12, 13; x. 5; xii.

tion: and it is rather curious by the way, the validity of Dr. Tholuck's procedure, that Strauss argues against that repetition as the nark of an empty head, a departure moving discords—he at last stops and from which Dr. Tholuck thinks fital to the says, "here is unquestionable error." We

accuracy of a discourse.

Inaccuracies of fact Dr. Tholuck admits to be much exaggerated, and on the supposition that the sacred writers did not adhere to the order of time, unjustly charged upon them. He appeals, however, to some undoubted lapses of memory, as where Abiathar is put for Abimelech, (Mark ii. 26,) Jeremiah for Zechariah, (Matt. xxiii. 9-10,) carr Barachias for Jehoiada, (Matt. xxiii. 35, and tail. where Paul makes 23,000 fall (1 Cor. x. 8) instead of 24,400. We must confess that we see nothing more forced in the explanations of these difficulties by the harmonists, than in Dr. Tholuck's own essays of the like kind, e.g., the taxing under Cyrenius, or the double calling of the Apostles. It was in the days of Abiathar that the incident in David's life happened. Jehoiada might be the grandfather of Zacharias and Barachias his father: * Jeremiah may have crept in by a corruption of the text, and Paul may have given the number that fell approximately, there being more than 23,000 and less than We do not, however, by any 24,000. means hold it to be necessary to justify an honest belief in the infallibility of the Bible, that every such example as Dr. Tholuck has adduced should be summarily and convincingly explained. We freely acknowledge the difficulties in some cases which, notwithstanding all efforts of this kind, still exist. In books so extensive, so ancient, so liable to error in transcription, especially in the case of resembling names and numbers, the marvel to us is not that so many real difficulties exist, but so few, and that so many reasonable suppositions can be made in almost every case to effect harmony-suppositions precisely of the same kind which advocates of partial inspiration employ against those who reject supernatural revelation altogether, and which critics devoid of all Christian prejudices, apply to the chronology of Herodotus and Berosus, or the narratives of Tacitus and Josephus. The infallibility of the Bible rests on its own inductive evidence, and this evidence is not abolished by such discrepancies, though the number already fairly eliminated by honest criticism is continually re-inforcing it, as is also the marvellous verification, by all antiquarian research and progress, of the minute accuracy of Scripture where it once was questioned. We must deny, therefore,

should rather leave these outstanding difficulties as problems for criticism and motives to fresh investigation, not shutting our minds to honest scruples, nor forcing others to swallow our premature solutions, but neither also refusing the strong historical testimony of Scripture to its own infallibility, nor doing it the injustice of shrinking from carrying through that infallibility in de-

In examining these allegations of Scripture respecting itself, Dr. Tholnck betrays ths weakest part of his own system. The locus classicus, "All Scripture is given by inspiration of God," &c., he translates, as might be expected, "every writing that is inspired is also profitable:" and affirms that it was the design of Paul to give to Timothy a criterion of true and false Scripture, viz., the power of the former to make the man of God perfect. We do not assent to Dr. Tholuck's translation on philological grounds; but much less on logical, for it is not unnatural to make Paul write to Timothy in an age when every body was agreed about the Old Testament canon, as Schleiermacher might have lectured to his class, when setting up the inward criterion; and does not the same result after all come out as on the other principle of translation, for the reference to "the Holy Scriptures" in the preceding verse proves that Paul in speaking of any Scripture as inspired spoke of all, and meant to ascribe to all the same Dr. Tholuek next runs salutary effects. sicco pede over the weighty statement, Rom. xv. 4, "Whatsoever things were written aforetime were written for our learning. that we through patience and comfort of the Scriptures might have hope," on the ground that much of the Old Testament does not excite hope but terror; as if the Apostle meant to enumerate all the kinds of learning derivable from the Old Testament, or as if hope in God's faithfulness were not increased by examples of punishment as well as reward. We can least of all commend, however, his treatment of our Saviour's words, (John x. 35,) "The Scripture cannot be broken," which he does not hesitate to regard as accommodation to Jewish notions of the rigid accuracy of the Old Testament, even as the argument from the use of the word "gods" (Ps. lxxxii. 6) is nothing more than an argumentum ad hominem, We are sorry to see any part of the accommodation-theory, long dead and buried, even by "critical science," thus revisit the

^{*} Even De Wette and Strauss are almost satisfied with some explanations of this difficult text.

glimpses of the moon; more sorry still | those who lay hold of them. Dr. Tholuck, that it should re-appear under the auspices for what reason we cannot tell, has concludof one who has done so much to give its ed his Essay without giving his promised quietus to the rationalism of Gabler and account of these disclaimers of infallibility Paulus, of which that theory was a living by Scripture; but what others have written

These passages are almost the only ones which Dr. Tholuck thinks it necessary to examine, as appearing to sanction the alleged claim by Scripture to its own infallibility. But these, strong as they are, represent in a very inadequate degree the whole strength of the case. Every assertion in the Old Testament or the New, in which occurs a "Thus saith the Lord," or an appeal to authority derived from Christ, not only guarantees itself, but affords a presumption that the writer in question was not allowed to mix his own errors with the truth of God. Every argumentative quotation by our Lord or his Apostles is a direct proof that the sacred writer quoted was regarded by them as on a level with themselves; and even the more ornamental quotations are made with tokens of respect, and in phrases of deference that amount to the same thing. The whole of our Saviour's ministry is a perpetual commentary on his own words, Ερευνάτε τὰς γραφάς, and he even dies with them on his tongue. In the Epistles of Paul alone, upwards of 250 quotations, many of them argumentative and turning on the minute accuracy of the original, exist; and each of these speaks as plainly as it can for the uniform authority of the source whence it is taken. Evidence of this kind must be studied in detail; and any one who reads through the whole Bible, as we have lately done with the view of estimating the magnitude of its own claims, direct and indirect, for itself, may well be astonished at their number and variety, and must regard the specimens examined by Dr. Tholuck as only like the occasional highest peaks of a great mountain range, where everything asserts for itself an elevation above all ordinary levels. There is of course no later revelation to do honour to the New Testament as it does to the Old; little as they claim in comparison for themare two-edged weapons cutting the hands of Isaiah," maintain reverential views of the

is liker an attempt to put them in the Bible than to extract them from it.

In parting company with Dr. Tholuck's essay, we must be permitted to say, though in opposition to his authority, that the case is very different between an immaculate Bible, bearing the weather-stains of time in various "readings," and one veined here and there with original flaws and imperfections. Not to speak of the different inference back to the author of the work in the two cases, there is in the former a constant approach to the original by critical appliances; while in the latter the absolutely true is never any nearer: and still more, not only does proved error work a greater unsettlement in the credibility of the Scripture, since we have not one sacred writer to check another, for every hundred manuscripts and other sources that we have to act as checks on corruption in each other, but the inconsistency of such errors with such high claims is far more painfully felt in the inspired scribes of the Bible than in the ordinary transcribers of their writings, and tends to shake more or less their entire authority. Many good men we know, and Dr. Tholuck among the best, have held their faith in the Bible unaffected by these credited errors; but they must ever be like a sting in the hearts of the great body of Christians, and when carried down to the multitude a Bible thus divided against itself becomes felo de se and cannot stand.

The discussion of the question of inspiration by Dr. Tholuck, in the "Deutsche Zeitschrift," called forth two protests to which we shall draw attention as elucidating the struggles of Continental Theology around this fundamental article of faith. The first protest came from Dr. Stier, a writer of great and growing influence, whose work on the "Discourses of the Lord Jesus," the title of which is prefixed to this paper, but can any one believe that the Gospels, is perhaps the most important of all the contributions that have been made within selves, are not exalted by the very act of the last decennium to German exegesis, quotation that ratifies the histories of the and exhibits more wholesome results of kings of Israel, or that when Christ treated the Straussian controversy, as well as a the Hagiographa as divine, he did not virtu- better antidote for its wounds than any ally promise an equal authority to the least other. In other writings, extending over obtrusive memorials of the new dispensa-tion? Against this mass of historical evil- he has endeavoured to carry out inducdence in the form of claims, direct and indirect, there is nothing to be set on the other side. The alleged disclaimers of Paul the Psalms and on "Isaiah not pseudoOld Testament with a tenacity and vigour to to be regretted, and perhaps all the more from practical uses, and condemns in no measured terms the over-drawn style of courteous discussion on the common ground of science between those who hold the Bible to be the word of God and those who hold it to be a string of myths and traditions. He is a man of conspicuous individuality and power, more like Bengel in most things than any living German theologian, whom it would be well if he could imitate too in point of brevity. His great aim in his principal work is to vindicate the gospels by an inductive proof of their divine coherence, and to illustrate the mystic depth of our Lord's words, as well as their unity in the different evangelists, by a detailed review of them as the central and light-giving essence of his life on earth. We think that he has in most things exhibited the divine and self-evidencing meauing of the Saviour's teaching and relative history, and thus made good his own exalted views of inspiration more successfully than any German defender of the gospels who has yet appeared; while we by no means assent to all his conclusions, which suffer here and there from a disposition, not sufficiently restrained, to find connexions and deep senses where they probably do and teep senses where they promptly do not exist. He does not contend for the ab-solute impeccability of the sacred writers in dates and names, but he draws the line of their infallibility a great deal closer than it has yet been done in Germany, and speaks with a strength and confidence of their absolute and entire inspiration, abating here and there the barest externalities, which is new in that country. "If the Son did not know," he says, "the day of his own second advent, need we wonder that the Spirit left his evangelists in ignorance of much respecting the dates of his earthly history. But no man will ever prove that they have committed one positive and essential error even to a day or an hour." The whole Scriptures, Old and New, he regards as in the same sense divine that the Son of God is, and uses that comparison of the written to the Incarante Word, which cannot be employed on any theory of partial inspiration. In the labours of such a writer we heartily rejoice, and regard him, and a school which he will no doubt create, as likely to do for the New Testament the same service on the principle of strict inspiration that Hengstenberg and others have done for the Old.

is somewhat intemporate in spirit, which is latter addressed to a friend, and attempting

which they are strangers. He everywhere that the latter had hit a weak place in Dr. lifts his voice against the current German Stier's theory—the incompatibility of his practice of separating Bible interpretation emphatic, vehement, and oft-repeated assertions of the authority of Scripture with any admission in it even of a minimum of error. We agree with the scope of his protest against the so called believing theology which Dr. Tholuck represents, as incapable of insisting with full earnestness on the surrender of human belief to the authority of God speaking in his word, but we also think he would improve his own logical position, and do no harm to his exegetical conscience, by casting away the last remnant of conformity to that middle system on whose waverings and fluctuations he has bestowed so much scornful eloquence.

The other protest which Dr. Tholuck's dissertation called forth was from Dr. Merle d'Aubigné of Geneva, who complained of an erroneons statement in it respecting the well-known breach caused by the retirement of M. Scherer from the Oratoire in that city in the end of 1849. This Dr. Tholuck had ascribed to a reaction against the extreme opinions of Dr. Gaussen, whereas Dr. Merle d'Aubigné in his reply, contained in the "Deutsche Zeitschrift" for December 1850, shews that Scherer had entered the Oratoire as a professor five years after the publication of Gaussen's work, and two years after the issue of a work of his own, in which sundry differences from Ganssen's opinions were openly expressed. Dr. Merle d'Aubigné and the Oratoire are entitled to the benefit of this explanation. as the misconception is still as current in this country as it was in Germany. In the same paper Dr. Merle d'Anbigné enters into a lengthened criticism of Scherer's views in order to vindicate the Geneva school in the matter of his dismission, (or rather resignation,) and to secure for them against their late colleague the sympathies of German theologians; which naturally tended rather to the other side. This leads us to take some notice of M. Scherer's sentiments, which in a review like this could hardly be omitted, considering the interest they have excited in many quarters, though that interest is now dying away. We agree in substance with Dr. Merle d'Aubigne's estimate; but we prefer judging M. Scherer from his own words. His most important publication are his two letters, (La Critique et la Foi,) the former addressed to the directorate of the Oratoire in giving in his demission, and containing his creed on the subject of partial inspiration, with the rea-His protest against Dr. Tholnek's essay sons for his change from orthodoxy-the to shew that the Gospel of Christ survives ration in kind as the apostles"-that "to intact though plenary inspiration be abandoned. We shall only touch lightly on this part of our subject, both because M. Scherer's opinions are already tolerably familiar to the British public, and because, in fact, they add almost nothing to those of Schleiermacher, but may be regarded as a translation of the latter into French rhetoric, unmodified by those corrections and abatements which Schleiermacher's own great

disciples had applied to his system. We wish to do all justice to a sincere though, as we believe, erring brother, who writes as one who knows and loves the Divine Author of the Bible, and who, so far as we can see, has acted with praiseworthy honesty and manliness in expressing his sentiments and abiding the consequences. It is the more painful to find in his publication grave mis-statements of obvious facts, fatal inconsistencies in his own creed, and opinions broached which strike at the foundation of all distinctive authority in Scripture whatever. Is it not a grave misstatement roundly to assert that no part of the New Testament claims inspiration-to confound things so diametrically opposite as submission to God speaking in his own spirit, the tendencies of his ill-assorted creed Word, and speaking by a human represen-tative who supersedes it—to lay on the shoulders of the unlettered Christian the whole burden of criticism ere he find his way to the Saviour, as if the orthodox theory did not proclaim to all the world the internal evidence of the Scriptures-and (though this is foreign to the main question) to charge the common theory of the atonement with making the Saviour " wrest pardon out of the hands of God?" (Il ne l'arrache pas à Dieu comme le veut l'orthodoxe, p. 39.)
Then as for inconsistencies, can there be greater than to represent his own system as getting rid of history and criticism, when all the while he makes salvation still depend on the knowledge of the historical Christ, as he is revealed in the Scripture; or when he professes to believe in a Christ without the Bible, anon returns to the Bible as the only source of Christian experience, and again equalizes the inspiration of all Christians with that to which the Bible was due? May we not ask, if men are capable of judging of the alleged contradictions of the Sacred Writings who are thus blind to the real contradictions of their own? And notwithstanding these inconsistent admissions of the value and

cease to expect inspiration is the fall of the Church"-that "the word of Christ is not yet exhausted by the apostolic doc-trine"—and that, "instead of sending our proselytes to the leaves of some mysterious oracle, we must direct them to the great prophets of all time, and to the living instruction of the Church, and to the Word of God personified in his servants."-(Pp. 16, 46, 22.) Such incoherences and extravagances as these justify us in regarding M. Scherer's system of inspiration as not so much a theory as a rhapsody. Christ is now all-in-all; then the Scripture which contains his image is all-in-all; and then the Holy Spirit in the Church is all-in-all without any attempt to harmonize jarring contrasts or settle conflicting pretensions. We therefore do not pursue this investigation farther; but may direct our readers, in addition to Dr. Merle d'Aubigné's strictures, to the acute and vigorous papers of the Count de Gasparin, translated by Mr. Montgomery, which contain some fuller accounts of Dr. Scherer's speculations as developed by himself in the "Revue de Strasbonrg," and exhibit at great length, and in a kindly to increasing laxity and dissolution. It may be mentioned, that while the views of M. Scherer were not such as to awaken sympathy in this country or in the breast of French Protestantism, they have generally been regarded, even in Germany, as going too far; and in Geneva itself, where the sentiments of Tholnck and other German divines on Inspiration are represented in the national Church, M. Cellerier, one of their most distinguished professors, has expressly condemned M. Scherer's movement as fraught with Radicalism, and as tending only to overturn and to destroy.

To gather up the very latest utterances of French and German Protestantism on the subject of inspiration, we must refer to another controversy in which Count de Gasparin has been engaged. His antagonist on the occasion was Dr. Ullmann of Heidelberg, the well-known and accomplished editor of that first of German religious magazines, "Studien und Kritiken." Dr. Ullmann published some years ago a little work entitled "The Essence of Christianity," which was translated in 1849 into French by M. Sardinoux of Montauban, and was subjeeted to a most severe ordeal of criticism; having been designed for a public more necessity of Scripture as the mirror of accustomed than the French to speculation, Christ's person and work, how destructive and less liable to be startled by philosophito its dignity such assertions as, that "every cal formulas as a part of the garniture of Christian ought to expect the same inspi- Christian ideas. In particular, Count de

Gasparin made it the subject of a length-speaking in the Scripture," according to the ened review, in the end of 1851, in the language of Peter, "Thou hast the words of same Journal, (the "Archives du Christetmal life?" But is not this exhibition of tianisme,") in which he had replied to M. Christ an ontward rule? "By no means," Scherer; but it would appear (for we have replies Dr. Ullmann, "the exhibition is not seen his article) in some respects with less success. Dr. Ullmann has discussed his objections in the third Number of his journal for 1852, with great candour, and we think has in most cases satisfactorily disposed of them. Count de Gasparin had brought against German evangelism the charge of mysticism, and had given certain criteria of its presence in religious systems, Dr. Ullmann, whose studies have lain much among the mystical writers of the middle ages, has had no difficulty in proving these tests inapplicable, and has vindicated the right of true mysticism, in other words, of spiritual depth and discernment, to a place in all Christian piety and Christian theology. This does not particularly concern us, however, and is only mentioned to bring in the reference of the debate to inspiration. Count de Gasparin had charged German theology, as a mystical theology, with setting up an inward feeling, in place of an outward rule. To this Dr. Ullmann replies, (and it is so far satisfactory to have his testimony as to the question of right, whatever becomes of that of fact,) "True mysticism, as the defender of faith and love, against a religion of abstract notions and outward precepts, is far removed from any desire to tear lifts up its voice in behalf of pious feeling, this is not with a view to drive the Scripture into the back-ground, and bring forward the other as a religious authority, but simply because the truth of Scripture can only become, by the medium of feeling, our living possession, and because what is fruit," (p. 566.) Than this nothing can be more just; but in replying a little farther on to Count de Gasparin's charge against him, in common with other German theologians, of denying the exclusive authority of Scripit is exclusive. His reasoning is curious in much of an iconoclastic character. than the Scripture, therefore Christas exhibitas only injurious to the hand that dealt the ed in the Scripture is the rule of our faith. blow, and trust that our passing remarks Why should it not be said rather, "Christ shall breathe a just respect for one who

made to faith, and faith is an inward principle," (p. 592.) "It is very true," make answer, " but as faith is not creative, but receptive, you give up the question, else what do you make of your concession, that feeling cannot sunder itself from Scripture?" Dr. Ullmann descends to the strange evasion that the gospel is not a law, and that Christ has abolished the legal principle. What are we to conclude, then, respecting such phrases as "the obedience of faith," "the perfect law of liberty," or the solemn and terrible expressions of the Epistle to the Hebrews, as to the greater danger of those who rejected Christ speaking from Heaven, than of those who despised Moses' law? We do not yield to Dr. Ullmanu in insisting on the necessity of inward illumination by God's grace as the condition of a right treatment of the outward rule, and on the impossibility of ever adapting our spiritual nature to it, save by the assimilation of faith. But this does not abolish the authority of Scripture, as a God-given law; the recognition of its authority is the first step to the attainment of the inward conformity which is aimed at; and onward to the end of the Christian life the perfection of faith is the perfection of submission. Here, alas, is the sore place in itself away from revelution as the objective German theology, even the more advanced, basis, and from Scripture as the certain rule and till God himself be pleased to heal it, of Christian life; and when such mysticism both the smiting and the salving of human eriticism must be in vain!

We have mentioned Coleridge as among the most influential of the advocates of a partial inspiration, and his sway over the minds of many has perhaps been as great as that of Schleiermacher. He has determined, however, no such advance towards read must be felt in order to bring forth good in his country's theology; and the effect of his errors (as we conceive them) on this subject, though far less errors than those of Schleiermacher, has been proportionately more injurious. We admire the genius of Coleridge, and love the man; but ture as an outward rule, Dr. Ullmann is far our assent to his philosophical and theologiless satisfactory, and in truth, betrays the cal creed (within the common limits of confusion and incompleteness of thinking of Christian faith) is extremely qualified; and which he had been accused. He admits could we utter all our mind on these points, that the Bible is an outward rule, the turn- to admirers like Mr. Maurice and Archdeaing-point of Protestantism, but denies that con Hare, our observations might have too favour of some inward supplement. Christ protest indeed against the literary outrage is the centre of the Scripture, and higher lately done to Coleridge by Mr. Carlyle,

must ever hold a high place in British lite- | pecially if it be presented rather as the rature, and no mean place in Christian supply of the deepest wants of our souls, theology. We regret the error that struggled through life-long abortions to graft a higher style of Christian divinity on the intractable and mutually repellent philosophies of Kant and Schelling, and disfigured the simplicity of Bible truth with such disguises as noumena and phenomena and such cabalastic quincunxes as the "pentad of operative Christianity." In this Coleridge was unlike Schleiermacher. In too much else they coincide—the depreciation of external evidence-the exaltation of the Church as a judge of the word, in Schleiermacher more in the individual, in Coleridge more as hardened into the tradition of the massand to come to the point before us, in the refusal of assent to the unlimited infallibility of Scripture. Coleridge's sentiments and tendencies on this subject are found, as all the world knows, in his posthumous work, "Confessions of an Enquiring Spirit," in many respects a valuable book, as it certainly is a most poetical one, and one in which no intelligent advocate of plenary inspiraration need refuse to admit, that there is much which may be studied with profit by all the adherents of that doctrine. The creed of this book is somewhat like the following. The divine influence to which we owe the Bible is of two kinds-(1.) Inspired Revelation, to which we owe the law and the prophets, "no jot or tittle of which can pass unfulfilled," and between which and all ordinary grace, "there is a positive difference of kind-a chasm, the pretended overleaping of which constitutes imposture or betrays insanity;" and (2.) the highest degree of ordinary grace, to which we owe the Hagiographa, different only in degree from the ordinary actuation of the Holy Spirit, (pp. 88, 89.) So much for the Old Testament .- How the New is to be parcelled out into these classes Coleridge has nowhere informed us. It is contended that the inspiring influence has not been such as to guard against errors in detail, which, however, are now reduced to the lowest minimum, "some half-score apparent discrepancies," "a petty breach or rat-hole in the wall of the Temple," (pp. 40, 42,) and again enlarged so as to make one liable to be silenced by the infidel "who throws in one's face the blessing of Deborah or the cursings of David, or the Greeisms and heavier difficulties in the biographical chapters of the Book of Daniel, or the hydrography and natural philosophy of the patriarchal ages," unduly figurative systems or accidents (p. 54.) Nevertheless, it is maintained that terpretation as among laxer schools. the essential and glorious truth of Scripture, as a whole, will force its own way, more es | peals, is mentioned in many treatises on

than as an authoritative literal message from God .- a remedy verified and authenticated by the Church, and thus insinuated by the voice of experience and love, rather than enjoined by external sanctions as absolutely infallible.

Such is the substance of Coleridge's own creed, as far as we can make it out, and it occurs to us to remark almost nothing in regard to it beyond what has been observed elsewhere, unless to complain of its silence regarding the New Testament, and to draw attention to the fact, that where errors in the Bible are once admitted the tendency is to widen the breach, as we see illustrated in Coleridge's own recital, and that too in a

didactic treatise.

These oversights and slips may be due, however, to the vehemently polemical cast of Coleridge's style, which is here its characteristic feature. The book is rather an onset on the current dogmas of inspiration, than a calm and logical exposition of a new theory. It is certainly, in this respect, a sublime example of poetical passion and metaphorical objurgation, such as is perhaps unmatched in our literature. The hard charges brought against the dogmatists seem to resolve themselves into three. Of these we shall say a word in succession. First, There is the charge of Bibliolatry, in other words, of worshipping the letter of the Bible. This unfortunate term, coined in an evil hour, and since freely bandied about by scorners in whose eyes Coleridge himself would have been a Bibliolater, he only ap-plies to the practice of overlooking all difference in the argumentative value of texts of Scripture, and running away with scraps and clauses of verses (merely because they are in the Bible) on which to build doctrines or establish moral conclusions; and he regards this as the inevitable tendency-the reductio ad absurdum of the scheme of plenary inspiration, because infallibility admits of no degrees. We condemn the practice in question as much as Coleridge or any other reprover can do; and on whomsoever the stroke alights let it fall. But the inference deduced to the disparagement of plenary inspiration is invalid. The mind of the Spirit is maintained by no orthodox theologian worth naming to be identical with all that is recorded in Scripture; and as great authorities among the orthodox have protested against the unduly literal or unduly figurative systems or accidents of invery book of Job, to which Coleridge apabuse of it.

sage respecting Deborah in particular, (pp. 31–36.) lauded by Tholuck, and admired by consequences. Coleridge contends with great Stier, we freely subscribe to. Still we amplitude and vehemence that the dectrine doubt, (nay, we are sure of the contrary,) if resting on no foundation of rational evidence, version of water into wine.

plenary inspiration, as an example in much of the sacred writers (φερομένοι,) with the plenary inspiration, as an example in minch of the sacred writers (φεφομεναί,) with the of its structure of the distinction between inspiring influence: and we believe also that Scripture as a record, and Scripture as an authat influence adapted itself to the laws of thority; and indeed, the case is so plain, their mental working, as we see in some abthat we are almost ashamed to enlarge on it. In ormal states of mind higher types of its His charge, except as against the weaker inatural thought and imagery. But who that brethren of any Church, is the fruit of mere looks at the prophets rapt into scenes utterhaste and forgetfulness. Why must the ly new, and left in darkness as to the meanman who believes both letter and spirit to ing of their own visions, while still the inherous ford despise the spirit or neglect dividuality is as perfect as in the barest be from God, despise the spirit or neglect dividuality is as perfect as in the barest it? To use Coloridge's own figures, he has chronicle, can shut his eyes to the mysteries the kernel as well as the spiritualist, though of the question, or think that by the jingle the other may have the husk too, the sheaf of mechanical and dynamical he has abolishas well as the straw-bands, and if he begin ed something tamely literal on the one to worship the latter to the disparagement hand, and established something profoundly of the former, or to confound the one with spiritual on the other? If this polemic the other, let him be duly reprehended, but against mechanism has any meaning as aplet not the charge be flung at his head which plied to the extent of inspiration, as distinct strikes at the Bible itself as much as his from the mode, it seems to amount to this, that the sacred writers were dynamically inspired Again, there is the charge of mechanism, that they might occasionally err, in other or denying all free spontaneous agency to the inspired at all where the the inspired writers. We believe that Cole dynamic element came in, so that the dynamic ridge is virtually the author of the much-re-mic element was not strength but weakness, peated distinction between mechanical and There must be a fall it seems to demonstrate dynamical inspiration, though these words freedom: and the sacred writers must comare not used in his treatise. Many truly mand our sympathies by shewing that they eloquent things are uttered by him against are our erring brethren. Pure gold is too that construction of the Spirit's influence hard and unmalleable: the coinage of which suppresses all personality and conspileaven cannot be worked up without its ration of the inspired persons: and the pas- dross and alloy.

this fine writing be anything better than but on a weak fear of consequences should beating the air, in so far as the controversy any error be once admitted in God's word, between limited and plenary inspiration is and on a superstitious craving for an exterconcerned. It is not the mode of inspiration nal infallibility that might rival the papal, in that is discussed: it is its extent and that fact draws after it, by its exaggerations, the alone. As to the mode of inspiration, there very consequences it was meant to preclude, are difficulties which neither Coloridge nor and strengthens scepticism within and withany one else has solved or can solve. To explain a miracle is a hopeless problem. One every suspicion, and the Bible to be overmay try his logic if he choose upon the con- thrown by every proof of its internal dis-A dynamical cord and inaccuracy. Now, in reply to these theory would sound here as bald as a mecha- allegations we at once deny the frequent nical one. All colours are alike in the dark. charge, that the sources of belief in plenary And if the production of Scripture in the inspiration are such a priori anticipations or mass be a miracle, as Coleridge admits ex- such straits of controversy as is gratuitously plicitly, at least in regard to the Law and supposed. The historical certainty that the Prophets, and doubtless much besides, much of the Old Testament, as Coleridge who shall pretend to track out its laws, or himself admits, was directly written as an to make everything plain by a few such oracular communication—the promise of our phrases as "personal individuality," "adap- Lord to his disciples to bring all his words, tation of native temperament," or "elevating of religious consciousness?" If Detheir remembrance by a Spirit equal in borah was in her normal state she was not a infallibility to Himself-the imperial and prophetess, (at least in actu;) if she were authoritative strain of the three greatest of out of it, who shall psychologically explore Epistles, not to speak of repeated claims to the difference? We do not deny the co- an inappellable supremacy as of men who operation, or rather the sublime possession had the mind of Christ—the deferential quowork of the Holy Ghost—to say nothing of pancies in the chronicles and memoirs of the all-inclusive declarations of its divinity as it Old and New Testament," they form a ratament and irresisting interences to the less renuleration of an otherwise proved doc-strongly guaranteed parts of the New Test trine? We have seen how slender an array tament canon, form a basis of positive evi-the crucial instances of Dr. Tholuck exhibit, dence to which Coleridge has given no weight, and no competent student of the Bible, not and which none of his school who still de-velop this theoretical origin of the doctrine can rate them very much higher. Without VOL XVIII.

tation of the Old Testament, as a whole, by and exploration of light. And will any both Christ and his apostles—together with candid man say, that if the emergent, and reasonings founded on the Hagiographa and as yet unsolved difficulties of Scripture. obscurer parts of the Old Testament, in amount to no more than Coleridge's sumwhich they are expressly spoken of as the mation, "some half-score apparent discrethen existed-these, with many minor argu-tional basis for scepticism, or warrant the ments and irresistible inferences to the less renunciation of an otherwise proved docthey oppose, have fairly looked in the face, any unreasonable straining of faith, the ne-Coloridge, indeed, only once glances at the cessary brevity of narration, the occupation tributes by our Saviour and Paul to the Old Testament, as affording a plea for full inspice chronological details, and many other cirration, but scornfully sets these aside as no cumstances, may surely be supposed to have more pertinent than a general eulogy on given a discordant aspect to some parts of Shakspeare would be to settle the authenti- Scripture from the beginning. Nor is it an city of Titus Andronicus or the poetical evasion, but a perfectly honourable solution, merits of Henry VI. But he all the while to ascribe some considerable portion of the forgets that the tributes in question are not alleged phenomena to accidents of transgeneral but special, exactly as if the depre-ciated works of Shakspeare had been quoted how many once magnified difficulties (such under his name, and declared to be full of as the post-Mosaic origin of alphabetic writhis spirit. We repel, then, as singularly ing) have since vanished, and how other unjust the assumption that the doctrine in "breaches and ratholes" (we take words as question is the mere progeny of fear and they are given us) have been stopped up weakness, and not of reverence for the reweakness, and not of reverence for the second of the satisfaction of the highest authority most sternly the dark lantern of criticism to that Christians own. But does it truly such apertures, and labour to enlarge them, plunge us in those consequences it was hy. The moral discords between the Old and pothetically invented to obviate? To us no New Testament spirit, to which Coleridge inference seems less fair and conclusive. also alludes, do not seem more fairly to Even M. Scherer grants that had we a mass warrant the sceptical inference. The "cursof contradictions and errors in Scripture ings of David" are not more terrible than which we could not shut our eyes to, still our Saviour's denunciation of the Pharisees; positive assertions of its infullibility by a and one who does not find any difficulty in competent authority should produce an anti- regarding the wrath of God revealed from nomy, and leave the mind in equilibrio. It heaven against all unrighteousness and unis a reckless exaggeration to maintain, as is godliness of men, as perfectly consistent sometimes done, that a single proved error with love, should not be greatly stumbled in the Bible should utterly nullify the whole by that sublime impersonal hatred of evil body of historical evidence that proves the and of evil men as evil, which breathes miracle of its inspiration. That evidence through the Psalms of David as the blast of could stand a harder strain than has ever yet heaven against the face of wickedness. We been laid upon it, leaving the believer in search in vain through the Old Testament plenary inspiration in doubt and perplexity for any approved severity which was not indeed, but not in despair. It is not denied done in God's name; and if Coleridge bethat earnest and honest minds, who have lieved Jael guilty of the odious perfidy he held this doctrine, have had their times of seems to impute to her, would not this be mental agitation. The man who has had to make Deborah sing her own condemnanone, or who speaks disdainfully of his fel- tion, and fall not only below the level of lows who have passed through this struggle, prophetic inspiration, but of vulgar humani-has our wonder rather than our sympathy. ty? We permit ourselves one remark more But should a few apparent errors make a on this subject. If the spirit of the Old mountain of evidence tremble in the ba- Testament was not purged by inspiring in-Difficulties, except to sceptical fluence in its approved models and sanctionminds, do not produce scepticism, but only ed monuments, why is the alleged defect lead to a more thorough weighing of evidence limited to one field? Why is vindictive

wrath the only stumbling block? Why have thoroughly intelligent. The abatements it we no ode to chant the praises of domestic must make from the natural meaning of the servitude, no hymn on the blessings of poly- Bible in speaking of itself-the total uncergamy, no counter-epithalamium on the feli- tainty where to draw the line between the cities of divorce? To us the marvellous essential and unessential elements of the tioned moral discords with the New, is one inward criterion without exalting it above duces apparent exceptions to insignificance the guidance of the Church, which on this and shadow.

cape every sceptical pitfall. Nor is a single could only be escaped by final scepticism, or down for guidance in dealing with the honest rushing into the arms of an infallible Church. sceptic inapplicable on the other side. The In the presence of the sceptic, especially, internal evidence of Christianity is here also such a defender of Christianity would be with all truth and nobleness in the best periods of the world's leading nations. We how is it to be printed as a regula regulata? can as fairly as he turn these objects first to Who is to issue your expurgated edition, the inquirer's eye, ere it meet the counter- and on what principle? Where are you to balancing difficulties, though we care little put in the brackets, the italies, the obelisks, for any arrangement that looks like conceal-like buoys and beacons of an unsafe navigahigher efficiency, for they crystallize around light but by a nutation of the luminary. the Bible as their fixed centre. The echo in What Bureau of Longitudes shall supply line to the sacred Ark with its Volume over to help the poor mariner to his haven? which the glory rests.

freedom of the Old Testament from sane-compound—the incapacity of appeal to an of its most supernatural features, and re- the admitted revelation-the helplessness of supposition is but a multiple of the same These are some of the guards by which a incapacities; all would seem to make this believer in this doctrine might honestly es position one of prolonged disquietude, which prudential rule which Coleridge has laid by returning to an infallible Bible, or by -its glorious history-its incorporation sore pressed by the cross examination, "If ment and reserve. These considerations for tion? Your lighthouse of the world is itself the sceptic all remain, nay, remain in far in error, not only by an aberration of the the Church leads back to the original voice. the ephemerides (Höhere Kritik, Wissen-The brightness of the camp conducts in every schaftliche Kritik, Endresultate der Exegese)

On the manifestations of British opinion We shall not do Coleridge the injustice subsequent to Coleridge favourable to parof confounding his mitigated expression of tial inspiration, our limits forbid us here to the defects of the Bible, with what has been enter. Our estimate of the theory of Arheard from some members of his school, nold, as it is incidentally developed in his We shall not press him with the retort that Sermons, may be easily gathered both in applies with irresistible force to them. The its light and shade from our previous critiseparation of the truly divine from the hu- cism. Of Mr. Morell's system we shall man and imperfect element in the Bible has only remark, that it is but an expansion of been represented as a most difficult and pain- that of Schleiermacher, with this leading difful process—a process in which the learned ference, that Schleiermacher's "religious chiefly can have a share-and one which consciousness," a modification of "feeling," affects and modifies many received conclu- is supplanted, not always, or indeed genesions respecting Bible authority. It would rally, in a constant manner, by Cousin's almost seem to be a principal part of the "intuition," a power of "reason." On the discipline of a Christian's life to construct psychology of this system, which seems to out of the common text his critical edition ; us to err still farther in making logic conand this discipline is alleged to be assalutary versant with the fragments of intuitions to in its own nature as secure in its results, which it is nutterly blind as wholes, we shall of this fraction (we hope it is nothing more) not now animadvert. We protest chiefly of the school of Coleridge, we will only say, against the fundamental fault of his work that we neither envy them the blessedness on the "Philosophy of Religion," in its of their trials, nor the safety of their attain bearing on inspiration, that it throughout ments. The voyage to heaven is trying abolishes an objective source and rule of enough, with its shifting winds and treachers to stides, without adding (if clear evidence do not demand it) the presence of a leakage in the vessel, and the frequent sound of spiritually available; nor shall we quarrel starting timbers. We deplore the struggles greatly with any psychology that agitates of an honest mind in this predicament— the question by what inward powers, or by thoroughly honest and at the same time what combination of them, this spiritual

comprehension is made. But to lower and versy-and to rally around the one capital thrust into the background the objective side article of the INFALLIBILITY of the Bible, as springing up only secondarily, and as lapse to the criterion of rationalism under a

" This light and darkness in one chaos joined, Who shall divide? The god within the mind."

Christian name.

Closing here our review of theories of as indifferent the psychological niceties of rent unimportance of Scripture details. which we may truly say is, in more senses of the old and New Testament to prophetic than one, as distinguished from that of the dignity. We cannot limit the inspiration of the Apostles to their writings, for the

With peculiar gratification, considering being affected by the imperfections of the the quarter whence it comes, and the traces subjective in "verbiage, memory, mere it bears of the school of Coleridge, do we judgment, and logic," is what we regret to welcome the truly learned, vigorous, and see done by a writer of his talents and singenial work of Mr. Westcott of Cambridge, cere aims; and if our preceding reasoning on the "Elements of the Gospel Harmony." be of any value, the doctrine of biblical in- Such a reaction in favour of a plenary inspifallibility thereby sustains great injustice. ration, intelligent and thoughtful, firmly held We regret also the inevitable tendency to yet charitably pleaded for, is to us one of equalize the intuitional consciousness in the the most satisfactory signs that could be historical Church with that from which the given from any English school of theology. Bible on this theory first sprung, so that in Mr. Westcott's book is thoroughly informed regard to its interpretation we hear from Mr. with all recent German literature, and con-Morell such echoes of the results of M. tains independent views on the gospels, and Scherer as these, that "we should not be researches into patristic opinion. It stands always looking to the vestments of worn-out on much the same parallel as Dr. Stier's ideas, instead of interpreting the living voice work already noticed, (admitting, however, of God as it speaks to us in the phenomena no minimum even of proved inaccuracy in of the present hour."-(P. 351.) If this the evangelic records,) and, with many of course be once taken everything is down- the merits, it has perhaps some of the imward. Religion becomes an affair of uni- perfections of its German analogue, such as versal suffrage. Dogmatic is merged in occasional fancifulness, and straining after Statistics. And the eternal Alp of an infal- hidden senses and well-balanced schemata. lible Bible, the same in sunshine as in We sincerely regret that our limits prevent storm, melts away in the haze of a fata us justifying these remarks by examples, morgana, reflected from below, and varying We cannot omit to notice the elaborate with the changes of the atmosphere. Far catena of the views of the fathers on inspirabe it from us to make light of the adapta- tion, given by Mr. Westcott, which may be tions of the Bible to our deepest reason, or read as a corrective to the summary of Dr. of the consent of the Church, like the voice Tholuck, and also the evidence from the of many waters, amid all minor and jarring pseudo-Clementine remains that our Scripnoises, to its cardinal principles. But Mr. ture canon did not spring up in mist and Morell's language tends farther than this by darkness, but under the eye of a negative a great deal, and looks like an unhappy re- school as wakeful and active as the Ebionites of the present day. The whole style of Mr. Westcott's work shows how possible it is to think profoundly and reasonably with-out undermining the foundations of faith, and to be a debtor to Germany without being a slave.

The eloquent work of M. Gaussen of the partial inspiration, we are happy to think Oratoire is, however, the most elaborate that an examination equally extensive of the contribution that has been made of recent varieties of the theory of plenary inspirations are to the literature of the orthodox side tion, as it has recently been held and assert at home or abroad. With much in it we ed, is by no means called for. Minor dif heartily accord, and cannot too much admire forences appear in such standard works of a the fervour, brilliancy, and indomitable comparatively by e-gone period as those of vitality by which it is distinguished. No Dick and Henderson, and in such essays, one has more powerfully illustrated the indirepresentative of the views of large sections viduality of the sacred writers, or urged of British Christianity, as those of Dr. more successfully the arguments from the Eulie, Dr. Harris and Dr. Candlish. The language of our Lord and his Apostles, or spirit, however, is the same; and it is satis- obviated more convincingly the objection factory to observe a growing purpose to treat from various readings, and from the appathe question-such as modes and degrees of cannot admit, however, the force of the inspiration, and the inspiration of the words, reasoning that would exalt all the writings

mistakes in conduct usually quoted to prove | So is it too in the struggle of Evangelism criticism passed by an unnamed colleague new weapons can it be attacked? the help which the circumstances require."

We must repeat, in closing this article, our profound conviction of the present value of the propositions we have sought to diseuss and defend. Three powers are now in active antagonism to such a book should have the collision.

-in the absolute Word of God.

this, were, as Tertullian remarks, "conver-sationis vilia non predicationis." And still undecided to re-examine the evidence for the less can we sympathize with the rigid uni- infallibility of the Bible, as a matter of fact, formity with which he carries out, in little convinced that assurance here will bar, as it harmony as it seems to us with his own surely ought to do, those unwise concessions views of individuality, the theory of an ab to the so-called spirit of the age, which are initio dictation in the case of every sacred inconsistent with the idea of a fixed revelawriter without exception. We regret this tion. The mission of the Bible is to connarrowing of the standing-ground which the quer the age and not to yield to it-to ally believers in an immaculate Bible might with itself indeed all truth and all progress, occupy against all disturbing theories, and but to impress on all its own sublime idengreatly prefer, as an ampler programme of tity. What can the Bible suffer, if its united action, the homely conversational friends are only true to it? With what of M. Gaussen, on this part of his work, as what green withse can it be bound? What quoted by Dr. Merle d'Aubigné in the letter has the enlightenment of the nineteenth already noticed to the "Deutscho Zeits-century done to supersede it more than that chrift." "The Holy Spirit has treated the sacred writers as a father his child when has more than one Erostratus; but while they are climbing a mountain together, they are quarrelling for pre-eminence, the There are steep places, where he gives him temple stands, and their torches expire. his hand, others more dangerous, where he Strauss abolishes Paulus; and Ewald detakes him up in his arms; and sometimes clares that in Strauss there is absolutely there are places more level, where he lets intrinsing new. The giants, sprung from the him run alone. In every case he gives him dragon-teeth of scepticism, slay each other, while the Bible, like the immortal letters of Cadmus, (which are indeed its own,) passes

contest for the mastery of the world—Roemans, Naturalism, and Evangelism; and healing in its wings, that has dissolved the it is our assured belief, that if Evangelism worst fetters of humanity, marked the line does not everywhere become and rejoice to for ages between liberty and despotism, as be known as Biblicism—thus availing itself it seems almost about to do in our own of a position which we believe reason can between civilisation and reviving barbarism, fully justify by evidence-it must suffer in and has so gathered up in itself all the rudiments of the future, and the seeds of ad-The headless arrows of an arbitrary and vancement, that its eclipse would be the sentimental pietism will hardly avail against return of chaos, and its extinction the epithe formidable onset of the dogmatic infal- taph of history. The resistance of ages to libility of Romanism. There is an axe in this book, however, is, after all, its erowning the Roman fasces, and these pointless darts legitimation. The Bible is too good for the run no small risk of being added to the race it has come to bless. It blesses them sheaf. Extremes will continue to meet as like an angel whose mission is peremptory, they have met already; and those who have and it troubles too many waters in its work refused to yield unconditionally to God will of healing to be left in peace. It is felt and end by submitting to a human yoke. There feared by all the rulers of the darkness of is, indeed, a subtle affinity between one this world. It is the visible battle-field of human arbitration and another; and he who invisible forces, shewing in the radiant faces has found a rule in himself above the Bible, of the martyrs that have died for it, and the has little to change in finding it (in practice unearthly struggles of those who have hunted if not in theory) in a sacred corporation. It it from the earth, what mysterious interests is then a comparative accident whether the are suspended on its safety or its destruction. magnetic current shall prove of a negative No feeble suffrage can augment the claims or positive kind; and the only influence of a book which has its witness below as which can break the circuit is the introduc- signal as its witness above, which numbers, tion of a new element—a faith distinct from to say nothing of nobler trophies, its hundred either self-reliance or blind creature-worship millions of copies in circulation, and is going forth to the ends of the earth conquering

and to conquer. But to vindicate its majesty against all doubters as made in the image of God, with everything of humanity except its weakness, all its parts and lineaments shining with the lustre of the divince face, here more veiled, there more open, and an unction descending on it from the head to the skirts of the garments,-this is an office as grateful to Faith as it is welcome to Reason. It is an altar which sanctifies the meanest gift. And the worshipper may well be lost amid the myriads whose brightest hope, after walking by this oracle through life's darkness, is to reach that sanctuary of peace, where reverence for the Highest is wounded by no discord, and where those who have been the last to believe shall be the first to adore.

ART. VI .- 1. Travels through the Gold and Diamond District of Brazil. By JOHN MAWE. London, 1812.

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THERE is perhaps no department of general knowledge about which ordinary readers are searches, vol. xv. p. 120. 1826.

7. Account of the Diamond Workings and diamond. Even the mineralogist, the che-Diamonds of Sumbulpore. By Petra mist, and the natural philosopher have Briefly and the International Sumbul Medical and Physical Society of Calcutta, of the origin, the history, and the properties 1826. Vol. ii. p. 261.

8. Notice of the Diamond and Gold Mines must be among the bodies of the mineral of the Residency of the North. West Coast world, and regarded as it has ever been as of Borneo, in the Singapore Chronicle, the most valuable production which the October 11, 1827, and in Edinburgh carth embosoms, it has always occupied, Journal of Science, vol. ix. p. 123, 1828. from its value as well as its beauty, the first 9. Voyage dans le District des Diamans, et place among those precious stones which it sur le littoral de Brésil. Par M. Av. is the highest ambition of wealth and power to accumulate. But though thus associated 10. Observations relative to the Structure and with zircon, sapphire, ruby, topaz, and the

in its origin, its composition, and its physical procured from Etruria by the merchants of properties; and while it takes precedence Carthage. Although, in speaking of the of them all, it is nevertheless the meanest treasures at the time of the Trojan war, in its elements, the weakest in its structure, Homer does not enumerate any of the gems, and the most perishable in its nature. The yet it is certain that it was well known to full-grown diamond indeed exceeds in value the ancients. The Duke of Bedford possesmore than a hundred thousand times its mass | ses a diamond on which an antique head is in gold:—It is the most cherished property engraven; and in the British Museum there and the proudest ornament of kings:*—It is an ancient Roman gold ring with an ocis the most prized and the brightest jewel in tohedral diamond set in it.

mer.† The diamond seems to have been colour. Pliny then informs us that there known from the remotest antiquity; and though it has not yet been found among the diamond, the Arabian, the Macedonian, the among the interesting relics of the Assyrian kings. The diamond is more than onee relation to crystals. It was translucent mentioned in Scripture, but we have no like them, and it was hexangular, terrespond with those which now bear the same which has the paleness of silver, and is respond with those which now bear the same which has the paleness of silver, and is names. In the breastplate of judgment found only in the finest gold. He describes worn by the high-priest, the second row of precious stones consisted of the emerald, the spaphire, and the diamond; and as the Urim fire and heat. The Macedoniau diamond and Thummim, which signify lights and which is also found in gold, (Philippico perfections, were "to be as Aaron's heart auro,) has the size of a enuember's seed, when he goeth in before the Lord," it has been conjectured that "they were diamonds of great beauty and splendour." The Prophet Jeremiah states that the sin of Judah called Cenchron, is of the size of a millet was written with a rea of iroz, and with seed and the Siderites which has the batter. was written with a pen of iron, and with seed; and the Siderites, which has the lustre the point of a diamond; and Ezekiel, in a of iron, exceeds all the rest in weight, and mysterious passage, speaks metaphorically is dissimilar in its nature, for it is easily of the diamond and other precious stones as broken, and may be perforated by another having been in the Garden of Eden. The diamond. Fragments of these stones, adds Syrians are said to have carried on a trade Pliny, are sought after by engravers, and

emerald, it essentially differs from them all monds from the interior of Africa were

the chaplet of beauty, and yet it is but a lump of eoal, which it reduces to a cinder, has devoted a whole chapter to the descripand dissipates into that insalubrious gast itin of the diamond and its properties. He which ascends from the most putrid marsh, describes it as disseminated like gold in and bubbles from the fitthiest quagmire.

The word diamond is derived, through as produced only in that metal. He says the French diamant, from the Greek word metallic veins-as accompanying gold, and Aδαμας, invincible, and this again from a only in the metals of Ethiopia, between the and δαμαω, to crush or subdue,—from its Temple of Mercury and the Island of Mercè, supposed property of resisting the action of and that it was never found larger than the fire and the heaviest strokes of the ham- seed of the encumber, which it resembled in ruins of Nineveh and Khorsahad, we have Cyprian, a fifth called Cenchron, and the no doubt that it will yet be discovered sixth called Siderites. The Indian diamond means of ascertaining with accuracy that minating in two opposite points, as if two the original Hebrew words are rightly ren-rounded cones were joined together.* dered in our translation. With the ex- The size of this diamond was that of the ception of the supphire, the other gems kernel of a filbert. Similar to the Indian mentioned in the Old Testament do not corin diamonds with eastern nations; and dia- when fixed in an iron handle they cut and excavate the very hardest stones. When * Maximum in rebus humanis, non solum inter Pliny assures us that the hardest diamonds gemmas, pretium habet adamas, diu non nisi regibus can be macerated in the fresh blood of a et iis admodum paucis cognitus.—Plin. Hist., Nat., he goat,—that a magnet ceases to attract lib verwii can 15.

this xxxvi; cap. 15.

† Inculting his prepared unitary, it a respuentes iciron when in contact with a diamond;—
thum, ut ferrum utrinque dissultet, incudes etiam ipsac
that the diamond is an antidote to poisons, dissiliant. Quippe duritia inenarrabilis est simulque ignium victrix natura, et nunquam incalescens. Unde cepit .- Plin. Id. Id.

^{*} Duo turbines-thus describing pretty accurately et nomen indomita vis Graece interpretatione ac- the octohedron with rounded faces, which is the most common form of the diamond.

expels watery accumulations, and drives away from the mind vain fears, we obtain diamonds had been known at an early pean insight into the low state of physics, riod in India and China, yet it was only by chemistry, and medicine, at the time when means of emery or the powder of corundum, he wrote. Pliny concludes his chapter with and a rude apparatus, that these effects were the interesting statement that Metrodorus obtained. European jewellers had striven Scepsius avers that diamonds are found in in vain to overcome the extreme hardness Germany and in the Island of Basilia, along of the diamond, and it was not till 1745 with amber.

ral bedies,—above even the gold and silver place of emery, he could grind and polish idols of human worship, were regarded if diamonds with the greatest facility. not as spiritual creations, at least as bodies. Diamonds have now been found in every domestic feuds-it tested conjugal fidelity, information respecting this remarkable mineand when the stone itself was worn as an ral. amulet, it controlled the deadliest poisonsinterdict against his spiritual enemies, suf- teenth century.* fering and trembling man will grasp even the shadow of what may be truth, and relinquish it only when it has repeatedly deceived him. Even in the beginning of the seventeenth century, in 1609, when Boetius de Boot published his treatise "on Stones and Gems," and corrected the errors, and denounced the absurdities of preceding writers, he does not scruple to assert that though the superstitious and metaphysical properties which were ascribed to the diamond do not reside in the gem itself, they nevertheless belong to the angelic spirits which it has pleased the Almighty to connect in a mysterious manner with certain substances in nature.

Although the art of cutting and polishing that Lewis Van Berquen, a native of Bru-It would be a vain and unprofita' le task ges, conceived the idea of cutting and polishto trace the history of the diamond during ing diamond with its own powder. In rubthe centuries of intellectual darkness which bing one diamond against another he found followed the destruction of the Roman Em- that a facet was formed on each, and he was The diamond and other precious thus led to construct a polishing wheel, stones, pre-eminent in value above all natu- upon which, by using diamond powder in

with which spiritual influences were associ-quarter of the globe. In Asia, Africa, ated. The magical touch of the aristocratic North and South America, and even in gem, like the royal manipulation of more Europe. In India they have been found of modern times, was an infallible specific in a large size, and in greater quantities, and it diseases which resisted the ordinary skill of is accordingly from that part of the world the physician. It reconciled the parties in that we received the earliest and the best

The traveller to whom we owe the earlicalmed the raving madman, arrested the est as well as the most interesting account magic wand of the enchanter,—paralyzed of the Diamond Mines of India, and of the the witch's evil eye, and chased from the shades of night the restless spirits that there is not a compared to the precious qualities, which wealth alone could diamond merchant every facility was given purchase for itself, and dole out to suffering him to obtain the information which he de-humanity, were not likely to be dissociated sired, and the native princes allowed him to from the crystals which possessed them, examine, and even to weigh the diamonds even when science had proclaimed the real and other precious stones which they had character and properties of mineral bodies, accumulated. He was thus enabled to visit It is difficult, under any circumstances, to all the Four Diamond Mines then known in dislodge error from the seat which it has Hindostan, and also one of the rivers where long occupied, but more difficult still when the diamonds are found. The first mine it has been interwoven with our interests which he visited was that of Raolconda, and our fears. To find relief from pain, to about eight or nine days' journey from add a fresh lustrum to declining life, to steal Visapour, and five from Golconda, which a glance into the future, and to obtain an was discovered about the middle of the fif-

> "Round about the place where the diamonds are found, the ground is sandy, full of rocks, much resembling the parts near Fontainebleau. There are in the rocks several veins, some half a finger, some a whole finger, wide: And the miners make use of irons with hooks at the end, with which they pick out the earth or sand, which they put into tubs, and among that earth they find the diamonds. But because these

⁴ Les Six Voyages de Jean Baptiste Tavernier, Ecuyer, Baren d'Aubonne, qu'il a fait en Turquis, en Peres, et aux ludes pendant l'espace de patrante ens. Paris, 1751. 3 tom. Our extracts are chietly from the English Translation, by Phillips. Lond. Folio. 1778. But our principal facts are taken from the ori-ginal French, which contains much curious matter omitted by the Translator.

veins do not run always straight, but sometimes of the merchants and other people of the counstrained to break the rock, following always the vears, who seat themselves upon a tree that lies trace of the veins: when they have opened all in the void place of the town: Every one of the veins, and taken out all the sand, then they wash it two or three times over to look for the diamonds. In this mine it is that they find the cleanest stones, and of the whitest water. But the mischief is, that to fetch the sand out of the rock, they are forced to strike such terrible blows with a great iron-lever, that they flaw the diamond, and make it look like crystal: which is the reason there are found so many soft stones in this diamond-mine, though they make a great shew. If the stone be clean, they only give it a turn or two upon the wheel, not caring to shape it for fear of losing the weight. If there be any flaws, or any points, or any black or red specks in it, they cut all the stone into fossets; or if there be only a little flaw, they work it under the ridge of one of the fos-sets, to hide the defect. Now because a merchant desires rather to have a black speck than a red one, 'tis but burning the stone, and the speck becomes black. This trick at length I understood so well, that when I saw any stones in them that come from the mine made into fossets, especially very small ones, I was certain there was either some speck or some flaw in the stone."-Tavernier, p. 134.

At the mine of Raolconda there were several diamond cutters, who had each a steel mill, some of them like those used in Europe. "They cast water continually on the mill, to find out the grain of the stone," and when this is found they pour an oil (with abundance of powder of diamonds) to make the stone slide the faster, and in grinding a diamond which weighed 103 carats when cut, they laid on a weight of least "talking on either side." 150 pounds of lead.

The purchasers of diamonds paid two per cent. to the king on all that they bought. The miners, who know all the places where the diamonds grow, generally set 50 or 100 men to work, in a space about 200 paces in compass, and for the privilege of working this once they pay to the king two pagodas a day, and four when they employ a hun-When a workman meets with a stone of fourteen or sixteen carats, he carries it to the master of the works, who rewards him with a piece of calicut to make a and as often as he squeezes it, he means so many wards him with a piece of calicut to make a land as often as ne squeezes it, no means so many bonnet, of the value of 25 sous, together thousands pageds or rupees, according to the with a half or a whole pageda. When large diamonds are found, they are brought every to say fifty. The small end of the finger to the with whom they are allowed to remain for fingers, it signifies the hundred; if but one seven or eight days, when the price is agreed finger, one hundred."-Tavernier, p. 136. upon, and a bill granted for it upon Agra, Visapour, or Surat. When the diamonds are small they are disposed of in another way, which Tavernier thus describes:—

""" It stands near a great town, or the stands Visapour, or Surat. When the diamonds

down, sometimes upward, the miners are con- try, from the age of ten to fifteen or sixteen them has his diamond weights in a little bag hanging at one side, on the other his purse, with five or six hundred pagods in gold in it. There they sit, expecting when any person will come to sell them some diamonds. If any person brings them a stone, they put into the hands of the eldest boy among them, who is as it were their chief; who looks upon it, and after that gives it to him that is next him; by which means it goes from hand to hand, till it return to him again, none of the rest speaking one word. After that he demands the price, to buy it if possible; but if he buy it too dear, 'tis upon his own account. In the evening the children compute what they have laid out; then they look upon their stones, and separate them according to their water, their weight, and clearness. Then they bring them to the great merchants, who have generally great parcels to match: and the profit is divided among the children equally; only the chief among them has a fourth in the hundred more than the rest. As young as they are, they so well understand the price of stones, that if one of them have bought any purchase, and is willing to lose half in the hundred, the other shall give him his money. They shall hardly bring you a parcel of stones, above a dozen, wherein there is not some flaw or other defect."- Tavernier, p. 135.

> The following account of the "mystery" in which the Indians, whether Mahometans or Hindoos, "drive their bargains" with the diamond merchants, is given by Tavernier as something exceedingly curious. The sale is made in absolute silence, and without the

"The buyer and the seller sit one before another like two tailors, and the one of the two opening his girdle, the seller takes the right hand of the purchaser, and covers his own hand and that with his girdle; under which, in the presence of many merchants that meet together in the same hall, the bargain is secretly driven without the knowledge of any person. For then the purchaser nor seller speak neither with their mouth nor eyes, but only with the hand, as thus: When the seller takes the purchaser by the whole hand, that signifies a thousand,

The mine of Gani or Couleur, seven days' between which and a mountain is a plain, "'Tis very pleasant to see the young children where they find diamonds. The nearer they dig to the mountain, the larger are the the diamond mines on the coast of Coroabout 100 carats.

remarkable for their size, yet they are less strangers were permitted to dig, a Por-Above 60,000 persons were employed in this day. this mine.

The most ancient of all the diamond mines in India is that of Soumelpour, a large town, near which is the river Gouet, a tributary of the Ganges, in the sands of which the diamonds are found. In February, when the floods in the river have subsided, about 8000 persons flock from the town, and search for the diamonds in the sands of the river. The sand sometimes rises above the water, but when it does not, they drain off the water, and carry away sifted, and examined.

of England, who had visited several of shape and water; and Melwillie, or the

stones which they find; but none are found mandel, communicated an account of them at the top. This mine was discovered about to the Royal Society. Although mines of the middle of the 16th century by a man, diamonds occur everywhere in the great who, in digging a piece of ground to sow range of hills which commence at Cape millet, discovered a diamond of 25 carats. Comorin, and extend about fifty miles in The news spread like wildfire, and the breadth through the whole of Bengal, yet "moneyed men in the town set themselves very few of them are worked, and it was to work," and found diamonds larger and chiefly from the kingdoms of Goleonda and in greater quantity than in any other mine. Visapour that the world was supplied with Among the largest was the celebrated diamonds, before they were found in Amediamond of nine hundred Rattees,"* or 793 rica. The Earl Marshal describes no fewer carats, which belonged to the King of Golthan twenty-three diamond mines in the conda, and which his General Mirgimola kingdom of Golconda, and fifteen in the presented to the Great Mogul. This dia-kingdom of Visapour. In one of these, mond, known by the name of the Koh-i- called Currure, which is said to be the finest noor, or Mountain of Light, passed through as well as the most ancient, and which is various hands, and after many changes in worked by the king for his own private use, weight and in form, is believed to be re-diamonds weighing eight ounces troy, or presented by the Great Exhibition Diamond, 811 pagodas, or 960 carats, are said to have belonging to her Majesty, and now weighing been found. About the beginning of the 17th century, when the country was under Although the stones in this mine are the government of the Hindoos, and when remarkable for their size, yet they are less strangers were permitted to dig, a Porelear than those of other mines, their water, tuguese gentleman went for this purpose or lustre, partaking of the quality of the earth in which they are found. When the sum of money, "he sold everything he ground is marshy, the colour of the stone inclines to black, and when red to redness. In other places they are green, and in some yet of the stone yellow, but what seems very curious, a spare. While the miners were at work for yellow, but what seems very curious, they are cut, there appears a kind of greasy found nothing, to drink his last with the moisture, which must be as often wiped conclusion of his money; but in the eventual concerning the workmen brought him a very fine and great stone, they examine them with a lamp in the dark; but the most infallible (206 carats,) in commemoration whereof he process, according to Tavenier, is "to carry eauesd a great stone to be erected in the process, according to Tavernier, is "to carry the stone to a tree thick of boughs," in place, with an inscription engraven on it, in order "to discern by the verdure of that he Hindoo or Tellinga tongue, to the folshade, whether the water be bluish or no."

'Your wife and children sell, sell what you

Spare not your clothes, nay, make yourself a

But money get, then to CURRURE make haste, There search the mines, a prize you'll find at

After which he immediately returned with his stone to Goa."*

The mine of Wootoor, which is near Currure, yields stones of equal magnitude, the sand to another place, where it is washed, and of similar shapes and waters, and, what is singular, the diamonds are found in black About twenty or thirty years after Ta- earth. The mine of Muddemurg is celevernier travelled in India, the Earl Marshal brated for producing diamonds of a fine

The translator says 900 carats, but this is a Vol. xi. pp. 909, 910. mistake, as will be afterwards seen.

^{*} Phil. Trans., No. exxxvi. June 25th, 1677

new mine, discovered in 1670, gives well- in general, though in some places only stance, and had not obtained their hardness.

stones under a pagoda weight were given haps, as thrown out after examination." to the miner, and all above it reserved for The Inte Mr. H. Voysey, who visited

shaped stones of a very considerable size, slightly so, and is occasionally of a dark The earth in which they are found is very brown colour. The soil is from two to eight red; and many of the stones found there enbits deep where the diamonds are found, have it sticking to them, as if it had clung and contains many small pebbles a good there, while they were of a soft glutinous sub deal resembling some ores of iron that Dr. Buchanan saw in Bhagalpur. The dia-The mines of Visapour yield stones as monds are found intermixed with this, but large as those of Golconda, though it is they never adhere to any stone or public. celebrated for its small stones, which yield a They are obtained, as usual, by washing higher profit than the large ones. The dia- away the earth from the gravel; and they monds are found in red and sometimes are generally very small, usually worth only yellow earth, in all the fifteen mines of Visa- 500 rupees, though sometimes they are pour, and they are frequently enclosed in valued between 500 and 1000. The Ra ah clods. The earth is carried to a sort of had one worth 50,000 rupees, which he tank, with walls about two feet high and six placed in the head of an image. The workfeet wide, made of rugged stones joined to men are allowed three-fourths of the value gether by mortar made of earth and water, of stones the size of a pea, or smaller; two-This rude enclosure is strengthened outside thirds of the value of those about the size by a bank, and is floored with stones. The of a hazel nut; and one-half of those larger earth from the mines is soaked in this tank, than a filbert. Every person that chooses the clods broken, and the great stones may dig; and the average number of picked out. It is then stirred with shovels diggers is about a thousand. The rock imtill the water is muddy, and when the mediately under the gravel and earth, mmong gravelly stuff has fallen to the bottom, which the diamonds are found, is a white and all the earth washed away, by using grannlar quartz, too hard to be cut for fresh water, and running it off, the gravel building, stained red in many places, and is spread out and dried, and the diamonds containing more black spots, or dots, than which it contains discovered, and picked out usual. The workmen assured Dr. Buchanan by their reflecting the light of the sun, "that the generation of diamonds is always The diamonds thus found are sometimes going forward, and that they have just as secreted by the workmen. Tavernier states much chance of success in searching earth that they often swallow the diamonds which has been fourteen or fifteen years unexwhen they discover a valuable one; and amined, as in digging what has never been a merchant pointed out to him one of his disturbed; and, in fact, he says, I saw them workmen who had concealed one in the digging up earth which had evidently been becorner of his eye. In Golconda, where all fore examined, as it was lying in irregular

the king, this arrangement was often violated some of the principal diamond mines of by the overseer of the mines, and when Southern India, in January 1821, has thrown the workmen found a stone approaching in some light upon the matrix of the diamond, weight to a pagoda, "they conceal it till in the rock mines of Banganpalli the matrix they have an opportunity, and then with of the diamond is a sandstone breecia, which wife and children run all away into the is found under a compact sandstone rock, Visapour country, where they are secure." like that of the rest of the range. "It is The diamond mines of India have been composed of a beautiful mixture of red and The diamond unines of India have been more recently visited by Dr. Hamilton, Dr. Voysey, and others, and we have recently their descriptions, to give the rare enabled, by their descriptions, to give the diamond, or rather of the matrix of the diamond mine of Pama in 1813. Round Pama is a table-land of great extent, from 500 to 1200 to 1200 feet of perpendicular height above the level of the Gangetic plain. The whole plain in the table-land, for several miles round in the table-land, for several miles round plain in the table-land, for several miles round diamonds wherever it happens to be of a gravelly nature. The soil is very red

the sandstone, but " are content with sifting and examining the old rubbish of the mines," and in which they actually find diamonds. The opinion that diamonds grow in the previously washed, sifted, and examined rubbish, and that the chips and small pieces rejected by former searchers actually increase in size, and in process of time become large diamonds, prevails everywhere in India; and even at Gani Parteal or Couleur, where the Great Koh-i-noor was found, the search is confined to the rubbish of the old mines. Dr. Voysey draws the following conclusions from his examination of the diamond strata

1. That the matrix of the diamonds produced in Southern India, is the sandstone breezia of the slay slate formation.

2. That those found in alluvial soil are produced from the debris of the above rock, and have been brought thither by some torrent or deluge, which could alone have transported such large masses and pebbles from the parent rock, and that no modern

the beds of the rivers are washed down by the annual rains.

opinion that the diamond is continually growing, Dr. Voysey makes the important grains, or 168 carats, was picked up at a observation, that in hot climates crystallization goes on with wonderful rapidity, and that he hopes, at some future period, to produce undeniable proofs of the recrystallization of amethyst, zeolite, and feldspar in alluvial soil. Unfortunately for science Mr. Voysey who was geologist to the Indian Trigonometrical Survey, died soon after his paper was

An account of the diamond workings and diamonds of Sumbhulpore was published about twenty-five years ago by Mr. Breton of Calcutta. The valley of Sumbhulpore,

was found. Mr. Voysey confirms the state- about 410 feet above the level of the sea. ment of Dr. Buchanan, that the diamonds and the streams at the mouths of which the are supposed to grow in the old rubbish that diamonds are found, lie between the 83d had been previously examined. Nay, the and 84th degree of East Longitude and the truth of this opinion may be considered as 21st and 22d of North Latitude. Diamonds demonstrated by the fact, that the miners of various sizes, and of the first quality, are no longer quarry fresh breccia from beneath found at the mouths of the rivers Maund, Keloo, Eeb, and others, which rise in the mountainous parts of Koorba, Sirgoojah, Raeghur, Jushpoor, and Gangpoor, and fall into the Mahanuddee on its left bank. They are also obtained after the rains among the mud and sand deposited on the beds of islands upon the left bank, but never upon the right bank of the Mahanuddee, nor upon its left bank above its confluence with the Maund at Chanderpore, or below Soanpore. About 500 persons are annually employed from November till the rainy season, in searching the bed of the Mahanuddee for diamonds, wherever alluvial matter is deposited in its hollows, or where the current is obstructed by rocks. The earth, dug out by a pickaxe, is placed on a large concave board, with two raised rims, and the diamonds are found among the gravel which is left, by washing away the earth with water along the inclined board. The earth consists of a mixture of stiff reddish clay, pebbles, a small proportion of sand, and a little oxide of iron. At Sumbhulpore a diamoud or traditional inundation has reached to such of the first quality is called Brahmin, of the second Chetree, of the third Bysh, and of 3. That the diamonds found at present in the fourth Soudra, the four tribes of the Hindoos. A diamond of 308 grains or 77 carats in weight was obtained in 1807 by In speaking of the probability of the the Rance Ruttun Coher, and in 1809 one of the Bysh quality, and weighing 672 place called Herakode, in the bed of the Mahanuddee. The diamond was not delivered to the Ranee, on account of her being occupied in the funeral rites of her husband's mother; and before they were finished the Mahratta troops arrived and expelled her from her territory. The existence of the valuable diamond was told to the commanding officer, Chunderjee Bhoonsla, who persuaded the finder to surrender it for a fine village and 1000 rupees. No sooner was the diamond in the possession of the Mahratta chief, than he reproached the finder for bringing a stone instead of a diamond, and drove him from his presence.

The diamond mines of Borneo were known in the time of Tavernier, who was dissunded from going to that island, because The Queen would not permit a stranger to carry off any of the diamonds, the few that were exported being taken away by stealth, and sold at Batavia. The diamonds are found in the sand of a river called Succadan,

^{*} It may be useful to those who study this curious subject, to know that Mr. Voysey has misapprehended the theory of Sir David Brewster, of the origin of the diamond, when he gives it as the opinion of that author, "that the matrix of the diamond is neither a rock of igneous origin, nor one of aqueous deposition;" whereas he merely stated, "that the compression; whereas he herery stated, that the compre-sible state of the diamond could not arise from the action of heat," and "could not exist in a mass formed by aqueous deposition."—Edin. Phil. Journ., vol. iii. p. 100.

"I say the Queen," adds Tavernier, "and not lately shewn consider it not to be a true the King, because in that island the women stone." have the sovereign command and not the men. For the people are so anxious to carats were the property of the miners; but have a lawful heir upon the throne, that the all of that size and upwards were claimed husband not being certain that the children by the Panambachan, then a tributary of he has by his wife are his own, but the wife Bantam, from the Sultan of which state the governed by a woman, to whom they give a treaty with the Panambachan made in the title of Queen; her husband being only 1823, all the diamonds must be delivered to her husband, and having no power but government at 20 per cent. below the marwhat she permits him."

gravel called Areng, in which the diamonds found in the latter half of 1823, and 1900 care found, is obtained by sinking a shaft on the areng, about two feet in diameter, to enable the miner to turn round in it. The lareng is from one to three feet thick, and is Mundy and Captain Keppel, Sir James dug out to the extent of seven or eight feet from the sides of the shaft under the superstance in the sides of the shaft under the superstance in the first propped up. When the areng in the first mine is exhausted, and the course of the miner is exhausted, and the course of the mentions his establishment there as consistent feet from the former one, to enable the miner when he reaches the areng to Hajji Ibrahim, a Chinese Mahommedan, but work back to the former mine, the same le does not say that a single diamond has tain is poured off quite pure from all earthy like gunpowder, and gold particles." matter. The Malayu use the same process; fixed on an inclined plane. carats. The Sultan of Mattan is said to mart formerly opened for the Borneo diapossess one weighing three hundred and *Narrative of Events in Borneo and Celebes, vol. lest it turn out to be flawed; but as the au. in forms us, "gentlemen to whom it has been forms us, "gentlemen to whom it has been legal to the control of the Dido (1988) and Productions, by Hugh Low, pp. 26-29. Lendon, 1848.

being always certain that the children which former Dutch Company purchased this mo-she bears are hers, they rather choose to be nopoly or royalty for 50,000 dollars. By hat she permits him." ket price, ascertained by appraisement on A more recent account of the diamond the spot, the necessary advances having been mines of Borneo was published in the Sin-gapore Chronicle of October 11, 1827. The mines in the residency of the north-west large ones disposed of at Batavia, and the coast of the Island are worked by the Daya, profits divided between the government and the Malayu, and the Chinese. The earthy the Panambanchan. About 300 carats were gravel called Areng, in which the diamonds found in the latter half of 1823, and 1900

work back to the former mine, the same he does not say that a single diamond has process being repeated till the vein is exheen found. The diamonds occur in a grahausted. The areng is hoisted up in small velly stratum, which is laid bare "after the baskets, and then placed in conical circular Chinese fashion of trenching the grounds trays, which are immersed in the nearest with a run of water through the trench." stream, and the areng washed by hand till "The earth is washed at the water's edge the earthy particles are separated from it. in large round wooden pans shaped like The trays are then brought to the surface shields; and when the diamonds are picked and whirled round, till the water they con- out there remains a residue of black sand

The fullest and most interesting account but the Chinese employ a more efficient one. of the diamond mines of Borneo has been The Chinese avail themselves of the shafts given by Mr. Hugh Low, Colonial Secretary sunk and abandoned by the Daya or Ma. at Labuh-ant. The diamonds of Borneo, layu. Having formed a tank, or dammed equal to any from India or Brazil in beauty, up a small stream, a channel is cut in the are found in the greatest quantity in Sango, direction of the vein, and the upper strata Landak, and Banjarmassin, where they are are entirely cleared away by the action of worked to a small extent by the Chinese the stream of water. The areng is then and Malays. Ever since the Malays settled dug out and washed in wooden troughs, in Borneo, the mines of Landak supplied The largest them with diamonds. The mines of Sango diamond known with certainty to have been and Banjar have been more recently explorfound in these mines weighed only thirty-six ed. The principal, and indeed the only

could perhaps boast of a more brilliant dis- banks adjoining water courses, and in raplay of diamonds, than in the prosperous vines. The soil with which the diamonds days of the Dutch was exhibited by the are invariably found intermixed, is called ladies of Batavia." The Borneo diamonds cascalhao, which is a stratum of rounded depths below the surface. The mines at on the primitive granite, inclining to gneiss,

monds, was Batavia, and Sir Stamford peculiarly celebrated for its diamonds, they Raffles says, that "few courts of Europe are found in rivers or rivulets, in the are found in a gravelly stratum, at various pebbles and gravel, immediately incumbent Sarawak were formerly worked, but not and covered with a stratum of vegetable very extensively. The gravel in which they earthy matter of variable thickness. Above occur is in some places not more than six the vegetable earth is a stratum called burners. feet, and in others as much as eighteen be- galhao, which consists of angular quartz low the surface. They are generally small pebbles, and not unfrequently large beds of in size, but of the most brilliant water, solid quartz not more than four or five Mr. Low saw a person get three small ones inches thick. The stratum, according to at one washing, together with a considerable Mr. Mawe, does not seem to have been portion of gold; and Sir James Brooke formed at the same time, or by the same states that, previous to his time, "eleven means as the cascalhao. In the granite bemen had, in three days, obtained a quantity neath the cascalhao there is a portion of of diamonds, which sold at Sandos (at half hornblende and frequently mica. The soil their value) for 5000 Java rupees." The is rich and remarkably ferruginous. In one gratidiamond of the Sultan of Mattan, which, part of the diamond district of Brazil the as we have already stated, is erroneously cascalhao forms a solid conglomerate or supposed not to be a real stone, is, accord breeeia of rounded pebbles, cemented by ing to Mr. Low, still uncut, and if cut and polished, would be reduced from 367 to 183½ carats, that is, to one half its present This pudding-stone is believed by Mr. Mawe size. Its present shape is that of an egg in-dented on one side. Its value, he says, is obtain the diamonds from the cascalhao, the stated by Mr. Crawford to be £269,378, gravelly matter is freed from its adhering being less by £34,822 than that of the Rus-learths by the processes which we have albeing less by £34,822 than that of the Rus-learths by the processes which we have alisan diamond, and £119,773 more than that ready described. Mr. Mawe has given a of the Pitt diamond. Mr. Low adds the drawing and description of the diamond important statement, that he has been in-workings at Mandango, on the river Fiquitobe a good judge of diamonds, that the sand negroes are employed. The bed of the Sultan possesses the real stone," (and there-river is laid dry by an aqueduct, and the wafore not a false one as stated in the Singater is pumped from the deep pools left in pore Chroniele,) which he had seen; but the channel, by means of chain pumps that a crystal is shown to strangers, as the worked by water-wheels. In former times Sultan who has been already robbed of his the easealhno obtained from these pools was torritory forest that this last emblem of row, carried to the washings by negroes that it is Sultan who has been already robbed of his the cascalhao obtained from these pools was territory fears that this last emblem of roy-carried to the washings by negroes, but it is alty will be also taken from him by his now conveyed along inclined planes. When powerful and avaricious neighbours. The a negro finds a diamond of the weight of an Malays of Banjarmassin and Landak have Svo (17½ carats) the event is celebrated offered to work Sir James Brooke's mines at Sarawak, but their characters are so bad garland of flowers he is carried in procession that he does not encourage their immigration. We trust, however, that active means sents him with his freedom, by paying his will be taken to explore the valuable treasures in that interesting locality, and that we shall soon be able to announce the arrival of sulpuble diamonds from British Colony. *6 S or 10 garats is found the negro receives of valuable diamonds from a British Colony.* of 8 or 10 carats is found, the negro receives

The discovery of diamonds in Brazil two new shirts, a complete suit of new early in the present century, has doubt- clothes, and a handsome knife. For smaller less led to the abandonment of many of stones of but little value proportionate prethe diamond mines in India. In the mountainous district of Serro do Frio, which is treasury of the king amounted in all to about * Since this was written, we have learned that the Eastern Archipelago Company have obtained from the Sultan of Borneo the right of working all the mineral productions of his territory.

the mineral productions of his territory.

of the river Abaethé, of form approximating to the octohedron, and weighing seven-eighthat of an oz. troy, or 105 carats, which Mr. Mawe in his Travels, from some mistake, says, "is perhaps the largest in the world," as botanists, and also by M. D'Eschwege, In his later work he does not repeat this statement. He says, "that no potentate is twas left to M. Claussen,* who resided so rich in diamonds as the king of Portugal, whose saite, which he had the honour of being shown, he estimated at more than two millions sterling." This fine diamond was discovered under very penilar circumstances. It was found about the year 1797 by three convicts, who were banished into his interior of Brazil, and who when thus driven from society were anxious to obtain a remission of their punishment by the discovery of some new nine or production which the sovereign would value. Influenced by this motive, they wandered for six years through the most unfrequented parts of the country, exposed at one time to the violence of the Anthropophagi, and at another to be seized by the soldiers of the government. long continued drought, and while they were Rio Acary and others. washing its gravel and expecting only gold, governor of Villa Rica, who, as soon as he ascertained that the stone was a real disclumite, but the strata having little inclination, and reposing immediately upon the viets as a reward for its delivery. The premacignos, (a transition formation.) leave no
cious gem was sent immediately to Rio
doubt of their identity with the Psammitic
Janeiro. A frigate was despatched with it sandstones of Abaethé. The first discoverto make a proper representation of the obtained many diamonds from them, but at case to the Portuguese Government. The a greater depth they became harder and given to the clergyman.

The diamond mines of Brazil are stated The diamond mines of Brazil are stated to have produced only £40,000 per annum.

Between 1801 and 1806 the expense of subject of sufficiently accurate observations. "—Hum-working them (wages being about 6d. or 8d.) bodde's Comos, p. 283. Sir Roderick Murchison and per day) seems to have amounted to per day) seems to have amounted to £204,000, while the diamonds obtained weighed 115,675 carats, the cost per carat being £1, 13s. 9d. In ordinary years the re-turn of diamonds is only about 29,000 carats * turn of diamonds is only about 20,000 carats.*

ther to be seized by the soldiers of the gov- rock salt. In all the parts of this last forernment. As the last resource they explor- mation, where the valleys have excavated ed the bed of the river Abaethé when its sufficiently deep to shew the red sandstone, waters had been greatly diminished by a diamonds are found in the rivers-in the

Early in 1839 diamonds were discovered they discovered the fine diamond we have in the psanmite sandstone of the Serro do mentioned. Uncertain how to act they con-Santo Antonio de Grammagoa. This mounsulted a clergyman who took them to the tain consists of large beds of sandstone, to Lisbon, and the clergyman was also sent ers of these rocks, owing to their being soft, sovereign sanctioned the pardon granted by more difficult to work. More than 2000 the governor, and Church preferment was persons rushed to this spot, and working without any plan, they cansed a part of the

> monds of Chrestovodsvisgensk have had their origin in the black dolomite of that place, for although this have no carbon. They agree rather with Colonel Helmersen that the diamonds like the gold shingle, and the greater part of the accompanying detritus have been drifted from the adjacent flank of the high-

^{* &}quot; In the diamond district of Minas Geraes and St. * "In the diamond district of Minas Geraes and St. lave been drifted from the adjacent flank of the high-Paul in Brazil examined by Claussen, plutonic forces errountains, in which minecons quart or tocks exacting upon diorilic veins have developed in one place ist, fragments of these (itacolumite or micaschist) becommon mica, in another ferruginous mica, in the ing also found in the alluvium. See Geology of Rustonality of the contained in layers of solid silicic acid. Occasionally they lie enveloped by plates of mica, exactly a Brisil. Par P. Claussen, de L'Institut Brésilien, like the garnets formed in mica slate. The Russian 1841. Published in the Bulletins de L'Académie des diamonds found in 1829, in the European declivity of Sciences at des Belles Lattres de Bruxelles. 1841, Tom. the Ural, also stand in geological relation to the black

mountain to fall, and by crushing the debris, | true Itacolumite or quartzose mica-schist, which they found many diamonds. Specimens of the rock with the included diamonds are not very rare. The diamonds are embedded in the Psammite sandstone, and in the Itacolumite sandstone, and sometimes between plates of mica, like the garnets in micaschist. In the museum of Rio Janeiro there is a large rounded diamond, which has very distinct impressions of grains of sand. M. Claussen mentions a specimen of Pseudomorphous sandstone, two inches long and one wide, containing a diamond of nearly two grains, and crystallized in a rounded octohedron,* and also another specimen, the size of the first, of a yellowish sandstone, containing two diamonds, one of which weighs nearly a carat or four grains, and the other one grain. Both of them are crystallized in the perfect primitive octohedron; and M. Claussen has been assured that all the diamonds found in the Itacolumite sandstone are rounded octohedrons, while those found in the Psammite sandstone are perfect octohedrons. M. Claussen has given his views respecting the matrix of the diamond in the following interesting passage :-

"As I had already sent to the museum in Paris in 1838 specimens of red sandstone, as the presumed matrix of the diamond, I shall now explain the reasons which lcd me to this supposition, and which more recent discoveries have fully confirmed. In studying this subject for many years, I had remarked that the peb-bles which are always found in the diamondbearing cascalhaos were-1. Itacolumite (quartzose mica slate); 2. A sandstone, which I then took for a variety of Itacolumite; and, 3. some fragments of jasper; and I found that all other minerals in the cascalhao were quite accidental. I therefore believed that Itacolumite was the matrix of the diamond; but was not able to explain the cause of the total absence of the diamond in all the places where this rock was greatly developed. In a journey which I made in 1836 on the left bank of the Rio San Fran-cisco, I visited the diamond bearing district of Abaethe, and on examining the cascalhaos of that river I found it composed nearly thus :-

Pebbles and angular pieces of macignos and petrosiliceous phyllades, 4 eighths. Psammite sandstone and jasper, Itacolumite sandstone, Quartzose sand, with some grains of menakanite, peridot, garnets,

"The presence of such a large quantity of macignes is not surprising, because the bed of the river is hollowed out in this formation, which prevails also in the environs to a great distance. What struck me more was the pre-sence of a considerable quantity of pebbles of Itacolumite sandstone, which I then took for

I knew only in situ, at a distance of 50 leagues from this. I then began to think that the macigno formation might rest upon the Itacolumite, and that this ought to exist and be found somewhere in the deep ravines which the waters had excavated in the transition formation. In spite of my researches I found only the lat-I began then to ascend the mountains: and my surprise was great to find deposited here and there on the terraces which skirted them, pebbles and pieces of Itacolumite, of sandstone and of jasper, &c. At last upon the top I found beds of Psammite sandstone resting on the transition formation, with which they have a conformable stratification, and into which they pass gradually. These sundstones contain some-times veins of jasper, and of jasper agate, and in the same beds they sometimes suddenly change their aspect and structure, and assume those of true Itacolumite, I then instantly recognised the origin of these pebbles, which I had considered as essential to the cascalhaos, and I was forced to admit the existence of a secondary Itacolumite posterior to the transition forma-tion, and therefore supposed it to be the primitive matrix of the diamond, which is now confirmed. The diamond is never found enveloped in an earthy crust, as has been stated. Its surface is sometimes rough, but generally smooth. The diamond is easily regenerally smooth.

cognised by putting it into water, for it there preserves its lustre, having the appearance of a bubble of air; whilst all other precious stones lose it."—Bulletin, &c. &c., pp. 332-334.

The discovery of diamonds in Russia, far from the tropical zone, has excited much interest among geologists. M. Maurice Engelhardt, who visited the Ural Mountains in 1826, observed the resemblance between the platina sand of that region and that of the diamond districts of Brazil. Humboldt observed a similar resemblance between the Brazilian and Uralian Mountains, and in June 1829 two of his companions, when exploring the western declivity of the Ural range, discovered diamonds. Seven of various sizes were found on the estates of Count Porlier, about 160 miles west of Perm. The Count himself found one in a species of gold and platinum sand. In the summer of 1830 other seven diamonds weighing from three-eighths of a carat to one carat were found among the gold dust on the same property. In the detritus on the banks of the Adolfskoi, no fewer than forty diamonds have been found in the gold alluvium only twenty feet above the stratum in which the remains of Mammoths and Rhinoceroses are found.*

^{*} The owner of this specimen asked 3000 francs

^{*}These diamonds were seen by Sir Roderick Murchison, in the cabinet of Prince Butera. Since that period Colonel Helmersen has shown that dia-monds have been found at three points along the Ural chain, Ekaterineburg, Kushvinsk, and Versch-Urals .- Geology of Russia, p. 301, note.

Hence Humboldt has concluded that the —When Mirgimola, the commander of the formation of gold veins, and consequently forces of the King of Golconda, betrayed date, and scarcely anterior to the destruc- large diamond, and having been kindly tion of the Mammoths. Sir Roderick Murchison and M. Verneuil have been led to the same result by different arguments. Colonel Helmersen, who, along with Humthe real site or matrix of the diamond, diseovered that quartzose mieaceous schist really occurs in the portion of the Ural ad-

jacent to the diamond mines.

Diamonds have recently been found in Africa, whence they were obtained in ancient times. The museum of M. de Drée Borgis, a Venetian diamond cutter, who contains three diamonds lately purchased at was very ill rewarded for his labor, for Algiers, and found in washing for gold in the auriferous sands of the River Sumee, in the Province of Constantine. Mr. Feuchtwanger informs us that Mr. Featherstonhaugh discovered perfect crystallized diamonds, a green and a white one, in N. America, south of the Potomac, and he dads that Mr. Charles Clemson of Phila give." "Had the Sieur Hortensio," adds delphia exhibited to him a diamond found Tavernier, "been well acquainted with his in North Carolina, of a distinct octohedral profession, he might have obtained from form, and weighing three grains; but these this great stone some good pieces, without facts do not seem to be known to, or admitted by, American mineralogists. Mr. Murray mentions on the authority of the Reverend Dr. Robinson of the observatory at Armagh, that a rough diamond with a red tint and valued by Mr. Rundell at twenty guineas, was found in Ireland in the bed of a brook flowing through the county of Fermanagh. It was brought to a lady resident picked it up in the bed of the brook.

Having thus submitted to our readers an account of the most celebrated diamond mines in the world, and of the localities in which diamonds are found, we shall proceed to give a description of the largest and finest diamonds of which a correct account

has been preserved.

The most noted of all the diamonds, and the one most interesting to Englishmen, is "The Diamond of the Great Mogul," subsequently known by the name of the Kohi-noor, or Mountain of Light. Tavernier, the celebrated diamond merchant and traveller, was permitted by the Great Mogul to see this diamond and all his other jewels. He was allowed to weigh it, and he found its weight 3191 rattees, which made 279 and 9-16th of our carats, one rattee being seven-that Hortensio, had he known his profeseighths of a carat. This stone was part of sion, might have obtained some good pieces a large one found in 1550 in the mine by cutting the diamond, in place of grind-of Gani or Coulcur, not far to the east of hig it down, he does not say this of his Golconda, and it came into the possession own knowledge, because he never saw the of the Great Mogul in the following manner: large rough diamond, but he says it on the

of diamonds, is comparatively of recent his master, he carried off with him this welcomed by Shah Jehan, the Great Mogul, he gave it him as a present. It was then rough and uncut, and weighed 907 rattees, which make 7871 carats. "It had," says boldt and Rose, regard the Itacolumite as Tavernier, "three several flaws in it, and if it had been in Europe, it would have been treated in a different manner; for very good pieces would have been got from it, and it would have remained when cut much heavier; whereas it has been all ground away. It was cut by the Sieur Hortensio when it was cut, they reproached him for having spoiled the stone which ought to have remained of a much greater weight; and instead of paying him for his trouble, the King made them take from him ten thousand rupces, and would have made doing any injury to the King, and without having taken so much trouble in grinding it away; but he was not a very skilful dia-mond cutter."—" After having carefully contemplated," adds Tavernier, "this great stone, and having returned it into the hands of D'Akel Khan, he showed me another diamond, of a pear shape, and of a very good form and fine water, with three other in the district by a girl, who said she had table diamonds, two of them pure, and the other which has small dark points.

Having thus examined and weighed the diamond, Tavernier gives a drawing of it, and describes it as having the form of an egg cut through the middle. He says that it has a fine water, and is round and rose cut, very high on one side, and having on the lower edge a erack and a small flaw within. From this minute account of the Great Mogul diamond, there are certain conclusions that we are entitled to draw.

 That the great rough diamond, belonging originally to the King of Golconda, and given by Mirgimola to Shah Jehan, was not eut into two or more pieces by the Venetian artist, but was ground down from 7871 to 279 carats, in consequence of the flaws which it contained. When Tavernier says that Hortensio, had he known his profes-

authority of persons who could not but | The translators of Baber make eight mishauthority of persons who could not but The translators of Baber make eight missinknow the fact, and who being interested in blaming the diamond-cutter, could only thus justify their harsh treatment of him, in fing him 10,000 rupees. It is very probable that the flaws rendered it necessary to grind down the diamond, in place of cutting off the parts separated by flaws, as was lately done in the Kohi-noor, wleng rules or 125 carats. Baber's expression is they were obliged to grind it down to the required shape, in place of cutting off particular portions of it. ticular portions of it.

to weigh, draw, and describe it

name of Koh-i-noon, or the Mountain of with one found above a century later in the Light. It was certainly not known under that name to the authors of the Hindoo however, of Baber's diamond being much Luar name to the authors of the lindoo lowever, of Baber's diamond being much and Legends, which allege that it was worn by the same as that of Aurungzebe's, (Shah an Indian warrior who fell in battle in Jehan's brother), the story of the original 3001 before Christ! According to the weight and the loss in cutting is not to be Autobiography of Baber, who became relied on."

These views of Dr. Wilson appear to us the son of Baber, was sent, after the defeat quite untenable and even contradictory; but held for Ibrahim by Bikermajit, Rajah of Wilson's opinion that the Mogul Diamond Gwalior, who fell in that battle. "The of 279 carats, as weighed by Tavernier, is family of Bikermajit, as Baber himself re-identical with the present Koh-i-noor, weigh-lates, were at the time in Agra. Upon ing 186 carats. To prove this identity, he escape, but were stopped by the parties rattee, and asserts that it "has been found stationed to watch their movements, and by trial to be equal to 2 1 grains," instead would not permit them to be plundered, this value of the rattee, Dr. Wilson makes and of their own free will they presented the Mogul Diamond 175 carats, "which," to him a peshkash (or present), consisting he says, "is a sufficiently near approximaof a quantity of jewels and precious stones, it is a suncertly near approximation of a quantity of jewels and precious stones, it is not to the actual weight of the present amongst which was one famous diamond, kohi-noor, 186 carats. Now, admitting which had been acquired by Sultan Ala-ud, this low value of the rattee, will any person din. It is so valuable that a judge of dia- believe that Tavernier, a skilful diamond monds estimated it at half of the daily expenses of the whole world! It is about carats, or forty grains, in weighing the eight mishkals in weight. On my arrival Mogul Diamond? But we cannot admit Hamayun presented it as a peshkash to me, and I gave it back to him as a present."#

Dr. Horace Wilson, the author of the learned and interesting account of the Kohi-noor, in the Official Descriptive and Illus-

actual valuation of the Arabian mishkal at 2. That the weight of the diamond thus 72 grains, the weight of Baber's diamond cut was 279 carats, and that its shape was would be 576 grains, (or 144 carats,) but that of half of an egg, as drawn and described it is always difficult to fix with precision the by Tavernier, a person thoroughly qualified value of Indian weights and measures, as weigh, draw, and describe it they vary at different places and at different We have been unable to find at what times. It is sufficient to determine that date the diamond of the Great Mogul, which Baber obtained a diamond corresponding has the form of a mountain, received the nearly if not entirely in weight and value

of Ibrahim Lodi at the battle of Paniput, before we can make our readers understand against Agra, the citadel of which had been the question at issue, we must examine Dr. Hamayun's arrival they attempted to makes Tavernier ignorant of the value of a were brought in prisoners. Hamayun of 31 grains, as Tavernier assumed. With merchant, committed a mistake of eleven that Tavernier mistook the value of a rattee. If he did, he must have found all the diamonds which he purchased in India, and resold in Europe, little more than half the weight at which he bought them, having weighed them in India "with the native trated Catalogue of the Great Exhibition, | standard of weight, the rattee," as Dr. Wilconsiders it as very possible that the dia- son alleges. He must, therefore, have found mond of Baber was the one which Tavernier out his mistake long before he published his saw in the treasury of the Great Mogul. Travels, and would certainly have corrected

it. But, as Dr. Wilson himself tells us Memoirs of Baber, translated by Dr. Leyden and "that Indian weights vary in different places and different times," why do we doubt the

Mr. Erskine, p. 308. † Part III. pp. 695, 696.

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accuracy of Tavernier, (who bought diamonds in India by the rattee, and sold them in Europe by the carat.) when he distinctly grandson of Aurungzebe, surrendered to him tells us in his fourteenth chapter, "On the diversity of verights used at the Diamond Mines;" &c.,—

"Secretary specifies a peshkash or present by

"That at the mine of Soumalpour in Bengal they weigh by ratis, and the rati is seven-eighths of a carat, or three grains and a half. They use the same weights over all the empire of the Mogul."

We are now prepared to come to a decision respecting Baber's diamond. If eight immediate mishkals are equal to 320 rattees, Baber's jewels which composed the peshkash. We diamond is so exactly the same weight of regard this therefore as an evidence either the Mogul's, that we can scarcely doubt that they are identical, in which case the story of the cutting of the rough diamond of 793 it to his conqueror. But it is not improbate that there were two diamonds of nearly the same weight, in which case Tavernier's story may be true. But if we do not admit the translator of Baber's value of the mishkal, Baber's diamond must have been the Mogul diamond, as intereduced to 175 carats by Dr. Wilson, nor the present Kohi-noor with the diamond of the Great was the present the diamond of the first produced to 175 carats by Dr. Wilson, nor the present Kohi-noor of 186 carats.

Having thus placed it beyond a doubt that the Baber diamond was neither the diamond of Shah Jehan of 279 carats, nor that of Runjeet Sing, now called the Koh-i-noor, we shall now enter upon the question introduced by Dr. Wilson, where he says, "It still remains to be established how far the great diamond of the Mogul Emperors is to be considered as the same with the Kohi-noor, as that appellation is not given to it by the early writers."* Now, there are two kinds of evidence which may be adduced for or against the identity of these two diamonds-the testimony of history, and the still more important evidence to be derived from a comparison of their weight and form. There is certainly no distinct evidence that the Mogul diamond passed into the possession of the ruling family of Kabul. That they did possess it is "affirmed by the members of that family, and by the jewellers of Delhi and Kabul," but with such motives to adopt this opinion, who would place any trust in the affirmation either of the family or of the jewellers? It is doubt-

secretary specifies a peshkash or present by Mohammed Shah to his conqueror, of several magnificent diamonds." But this surely is no evidence at all that the great historical diamond of India was one of these diamonds. The biographer and secretary of Nadir Shah, who is said to have first used the name of Koh-i-noor, would never have overlooked noor of 186 carats, was one of the magnificent diamonds referred to, and thus passed downwards through Ahmed Shah and his successors into the hands of Shah Shuja and Runjeet Sing. The historical evidence, therefore, entirely fails in identifying the Koh-i-noor with the diamond of the Great Mogul; nay, we are compelled, by the only part of the evidence which has any real bearing on the question, to infer that Nadir Shah never received from the descendants of Aurungzebe the Great Diamond of his family.

In entire conformity with these views is the physical testimony of weight and form -two sources of evidence which, taken separately, we consider irresistible, and which, when combined, amount to demonstration. Tavernier handled, and weighed, and delineated, and described the Mogul Diamond. Its weight was 27976 caratsits form that of half an egg; it is of a good shape-it is round rose-cut, as elsewhere expressed, "there is a little flaw in the edge of the cutting below, which goes round about the stone." With this description the drawing perfectly agrees. Now the Koh-i-noor weighed only 186 carats; its form had not the least resemblance to half an egg; it was not round rose-cut; it was not of a good shape, but of a singularly bad one; and it had not the slightest resemblance to Taver-nier's drawing. We have already seen how Dr. Wilson meets the argument from weight, and we trust we have satisfactorily answered it. We may now add that Tavernier's drawings of different diamonds are to a scale, along with diamonds sold to the King of France, by the carat; and by this scale the diamond of the Mogul, in place of being 175 carats, has the appearance of 279. But

[•] Dr. Wilson is aware that another value of the rati has been given, namely, 1 5-16th grains, in which case the Mogul diamond would weigh only 105 carats, and the Baber diamond only 73 or 84 carats, results which he himself will not admit. The rati is the seed of the advra piractoria, but it is certain that the weight known by this name is heavier than the seed.

not only is the Koh-i-noor in every respect the Koh-i-noor is one of the natural faces of dissimilar to the Mogul diamond, the two the octohedron, and it is not likely that a cannot be identified even by supposing diamond cutter would have cut so accurately that the 279 carats have been reduced in that place. to 286 by cutting off a slice of 93 carats, (279—186—93,) because it is impossible to convert the Koh-i-noor into the Mogul diamond, by adding 93 carats to it, even in the smallest pieces or particles; and, of course, equally impossible to reduce the Mogul diamond into the Koh-i-noor by cutting a slice from it, or even by grinding it down.

This observation is of importance in reference to a theory brought forward by Dr. Beke in a notice read at the Ipswich meeting of the British Association, "on a Diamond Slab supposed to have been cut from the Koh-inoor,"

"It appears," says Dr. Beke, " "that in 1832 the Persian army, under Abbas Meerza, Hereditary Prince of Persia, for the subjugation of Khorassan, found at the capture of Coocha, among the jewels of the harem of Reeza Kooli Khan, the chief of that place, a large diamond slab, supposed to have been cut from the Koh-i-noor. It weighed 130 carats, and shewed the marks of cutting on the flat or largest side. The only account that could be obtained of it was the statement that it was found in the possession of a poor man, a native of Khorassan, and that it had been employed in his family for the purpose of striking a light against a steel, and in this rough acrvice it had sustained injury by constant use. The diamond was presented by Abbas Meerza to expense." †

This new theory of the Koh-i-noor is obviously in favour of our views, in so far as it shows that the relationship between it and the Mogul diamond can only be ascertained by supposing the one to be a portion of the other. The two portions, however, are unfortunately larger than the whole, for 186+130 carats, are equal to 316 carats, 361 carats heavier than the Mogul diamond. The Persian stone, too, of 130 carats, must have been heavier before it was worn by the steel, and a considerable number of carats that we may estimate the difference between

* Athenœum, July 5, 1851, p. 718; and Report of

In order to remove the objection on the ground of weight, Mr. James Tennant, mineralogist to the Queen, has proposed a new and very ingenious theory, according to which the Koh-i-noor formed part of a larger stone which had been split into three pieces by two cleavage planes. The original rough diamond of the King of Golconda, of 793 carats, he supposes to have been split into the Great Mogul diamond of 279 carats, the Koh-i-noor of 186, and a third now among the crown jewels of Russia, the weight of which he has not been able to ascertain, but which must not exceed 328 carats, even if the great stone was split without loss. We have now before us a model explaining this theory, kindly sent us by Mr. Tennant. The original crystal is assumed to be the regular rhombic dodecahedron. The first slice is supposed to be "The Koh-i-noor," as diminished since it was weighed by Tavernier. It is cut from the dodecahedron by a broad plane parallel to a face of the octohedron. The second or inner slice next to this is also supposed to have been split from the Koh-inoor, since it was seen by Tavernier. It is bounded by planes parallel to the face of the octohedron, and we presume that Mr. Tennant considers this slice as that menhis father, Futteh Ali Shah, and is presumed to tioned by Dr. Beke, as among the crown bewales of Persia. The lired or outer slice Armenian jewellers of Teheran asked the sum of is supposed to be the Russian Diamond. is supposed to be the Russian Diamond. 20,000 tomauns (£16,000 sterling) for cutting We have also before us a drawing of the original rhombic dodecahedron by the Reverend Mr. Mitchell, with separate drawings of the three slices, and we willingly admit that this is the only method by which the Mogul diamond of 279, and the present Koh-i-noor of 186 carats, can be placed in crystallographic relationship. The truth of the theory, however, is another matter, and will speedily be tested, for Mr. Tennant has written to St. Petersburgh for the weight and form of the Russian diamond, and the Persian Ambassador, Sheffee Khan, has kindly written to Persia for models of the royal diamond for our information. If the weights must have been removed by the cutting; so and planes of cleavage thus obtained are reconcilable with Mr. Tennant's theory, the the great diamond and its two halves at coincidence, like many other coincidences, nearly 50 carats, a difference which cannot will be a very remarkable one; but, like the be admitted. Besides, the large flat face of facts of clairvoyance and other apparently supernatural events, we never can regard it as anything but a coincidence. We have the British Association, 1831, p. 44.

† The above particulars were forwarded to Dr.

Beke by his brother, Mr. William Beke, late Colonel

of Engineers in the Penian service, who took part

when we consider that Tavornier himself when we consider that Tavernier himself

in the Khorassan campaign.

him,-that he learned the facts of the grinding down of the diamond, and of the fining of the diamond cutter for doing this, not from tradition, but from the parties who were present, and who had no possible motive to deceive him, we must receive his testimony as overbearing any evidence of a

physical kind.

It is obvious, we think, from the facts submitted to the reader, that there is no satisfactory evidence that the diamond of 279 carats, either in its unity or in its twin condition, came into the possession of Shah We are willing, however, to believe the prevailing tradition, that he did possess either the original stone weighed by Tavernier, or the present Koh i-noor, or both. seems quite certain that the latter is the diamond which he surrendered to Runjeet Sing, and it has been confidently asserted by many gentlemen from India, that the Mogul diamond is still in that country; and if this is true, we have no means of ascertaining if it was ever in the hands of the Cabul family, or if it was retained by Shah Shuja when he presented an inferior one to But when fifteen or sixteen gas lights were the Lion of the Punjaub. There have been placed behind it, which was done upon our different accounts of the way in which this valuable gem came into the hands of Runjeet. The following account given by Dr. Wilson is probably the most correct.

When Shah Shuja was driven from Kabul, he became the nominal guest and actual prisoner of Runjit Sing, who spared neither oppor-tunity nor menace, until, in 1813, he compelled the fugitive monarch to resign the precious gem, presenting him on the occasion, it is said, with a lakh and 25,000 rupees, or about £12,000 sterling. According to Shah Shuja's own account, however, he assigned to him the revenues of three villages, not one rupee of which he ever realized. Runjit was highly elated by the acquisition of the diamond, and wore it as an armlet at all public festivals. When he was dying, an attempt was made by persons about him to persuade him to make the diamond a present to Jagannath, and it is said he intimated, by an inclination of his head, his assent. The treasurer, however, in whose charge it was, refused to give it up without some better warrant, and Runjit dying before a written or-der could be signed by him, the Koh-i-noor was preserved for a while for his successors. It was occasionally worn by Khurruk Sing and Shir Sing. After the murder of the latter, it re-mained in the Lahoro Treasury until the superthe civil authorities took possession of the La-hore Treasury, under the stipulation previously made, that all the property of the State should be confiscated to the East India Company, in

knew Mirgimola personally, and even visited | It was at the same time stipulated that the Koh-i-noor should be surrendered to the Queen of England. The diamond was conveyed to Bombay by Governor-General the Earl of Dalhousie, whom ill-health had compelled to repair to the coast, and was thus given in charge to Lieut.-Col. Mackeson, C. B., and Capt. T. Ramsay, the Military Secretary to the Governor-General, to take to England. These officers embarked on board Her Majesty's steam-ship Medea, and left Bombay on the 6th of April 1850. They arrived at Portsmouth on the 30th of June, and two days afterwards relinquished their charge to the chairman and deputy-chairman of the Court of Directors, by whom, in company with the President of the Board of Control, the Koh-i-noor was delivered to Her Ma-jesty on the 3d of July—an appropriate and honourable close to its eventful career.

The history of the Koh-i-noor, since it came into the possession of Her Majesty, is known to most of our readers. It was seen by thousands at the Great Exhibition, but owing to the manner in which it was cut, and to the great breadth of light which was incident upon its facets from the glass roof of the Crystal Palace, it exhibited less lustre and fewer colours than its glass models. recommendation, it threw out the most brilliant flashes of coloured light, which delighted those who took the trouble of moving their head into different positions in order to eatch the refraeted peneils which corresponded to the different jets of light by which it was shewn.

As the Koh-i-noor in the state in which it reached England was of no value as an ornamental gem, it was Her Majesty's wish to have it re-cut into such a form as would display its intrinsic beauty, and make it a After consulting persons true ornament. qualified to give an opinion respecting the best form to be given to it, it was entrusted to Mr. Garrard the Crown jeweller, who by a process of cutting which we shall by and by describe, has rendered it one of the finest ornamental diamonds which exists in

Europe.

As the origin and growth of the diamond is one of the most perplexing and interesting questions in modern science, Sir David Brewster, who had devoted much time to the study of the structure and properties of that body, was anxious to examine such a large mass as the Koh-i-noor, before it was cession of Dhulip Sing, and the annexation of reduced in size, and unfitted for examination the Punjab by the British Government, when by the new form which was to be given it. Having been consulted by His Royal Highness Prince Albert respecting the form into which it should be cut, he received permispart payment of the debt due by the Lahore sion to examine it in its entire state; and in government, and of the expenses of the war. a future part of this Article we shall give a

ducted him.

The next diamond which claims our attention is the Pitt or Regent Diamond, which, geran of Landak, whose brother having got weighed 410 carats, and 136% when cut. It was purchased by Thomas Pitt, when go-vernor of Fort-George, Madras, in December lawful prince, however, having fled to Ban-1701, who states that when it was brought to him as a large rough stone it weighed 305 and the Dutch, he succeeded in regaining mangelins, or nearly 420 carats, reckoning a possession of his district, and nearly destroy-mangelin equal to 13 carats. He paid for it ed Succadana. Sir Stamford Raffles adds, 48,000 pagodas, or £20,400, reckoning the that it has remained an heir-loom in the pagoda at 8s. 6d. It was cut into a fine brillfamily for four descents, and is almost the liant, in the shape of an obtuse quadrangle, only appendage of royalty now remaining.* one inch and two lines long, one inch one and a half lines broad, and ten lines thick. The finest water, and to weigh 367 carats. Sir cutting of it occupied two years, and the ex- Stamford Raffles says that it was uncut when pense thus incurred was, according to one account, £3666, and others, £5000.* It was infer from a drawing of its superficies, in purchased in 1717, in the minority of Louis which the facets are placed with great sym-XV., by the Duke of Orleans, when Regent metry and beauty,) we have no means of of France, and thus got the name of the Re- ascertaining how much it may have been gent Diamond. This diamond is allowed to reduced in weight. Many years ago the be the finest in the world, (though not the Governor of Batavia was anxious to purlargest,) in beauty of form and in the purity chase it. He sent Mr. Stewart to Borneo, of its water. Jeffries informs us that it has to offer for it to the Rajah 150,000 dollars, only one small foul speck in it, which cannot two large war-brigs, with their guns and be seen when the stone is set. The Kings of ammunition, and a large quantity of powder France wore this diamond in their hats, and and shot. But as the fortunes of the family Napoleon had it fixed in the pommel of his are believed to depend upon the possession sword; but it was subsequently transferred of the diamond, and as the Malays regard to the French crown, where it presides over it as possessing the miraculous power of 5300 of the finest brilliants, weighing toge- curing all kinds of diseases by means of the ther 1738 carats, and 96 of the most perfect water in which the diamonds are dipped, the sapphires, weighing 711 carats. The crown Rajah refused to deprive the family of so was made by M. Pabst, a native of Ger- rich an inheritance, and his people of so vamany, and jeweller to the King. Accord- luable a medicine. ing to Patrin this diamond was carried to Berlin, which corresponds with a report weight to the preceding is the largest table mentioned by Mr. Murray, that, "it was diamond in the world. It weighs 242 carats played with such success before the king of and 5-16ths. Tavernier saw it at Golconda Prussia, by the wily Sieyes, as to produce in 1642, and says that "it was the biggest for the service of France 40,000 horses with the ever saw in his life in a merchant's hands." their equipments." Mr. Murray was also It was valued at 500,000 rupees, or 750,000 informed that Charles X. tried to carry it livres. He offered 400,000 rupees for it, off, and "that it was taken from his person but could not get it at that price. In a MS. on leaving France." According to one before us, it is said to be remarkable for its statement, it was valued in 1791, by a com- purity, but inferior in shape, regular cut, and mission of jewellers, at twelve millions of brilliancy, to the stones already mentioned. livres; and according to a MS, now before us, It is of a rectangular form, with one of its at £458,333, which is nearly the amount of angles cut off. Its length is two inches, its twelve million of livres.

The next diamond in point of size and Borneo, which we have already mentioned in our account of the diamond mines of that island. It was, according to Sir Stamford

brief account of the experiments which he Raffles, found about the close of the last made, and of the views to which they con- century, by a Dayak, and elaimed as a droit of royalty by Guru Layo, the sultan of the

Though an inferior stone, the one next in According to one before us, it is said to be remarkable for its breadth one inch and one line, and its thickness three lines only. Its upper surface has beauty is that of the Rajah of Mattan, in four facets, one on each edge, and it is quite flat below. Hence, as the writer of the MS. observes, it has no better appearance than a piece of the purest rock crystal. sold, he adds, for £4000, but he does not

^{*} History of Java, vol. i. p. 266. t Memoirs of the Batavian Society.



The chips and filings, amounting to nearly twothirds of the original stone, were valued at nearly £5000.

say to whom, and we have not been able to | ror of Austria,* and is now exhibited in the

belongs to the king of Persia. Its weight, larly cut, and has neither the proper form of as we learn from the Persian ambassador, is a rose nor that of a brilliant. Its lustre 232 carats, and it is known by the name of and brilliancy are greatly increased by its the Deria-i-noor, or the Sea of Light. In star-like cut, and though tinged with a shade the East India Company's office in Leaden. of yellow it is, from its form and weight, hall Street, there is a portrait of the king of one of the rarest specimens of its kind. It Persia, the grandfather of the present king, is 1 inch 2 lines long, and one inch broad, in which the Deria i noor may be seen It is surrounded with other fine brilliants, placed on his right arm.

The great diamond in the sceptre of the value is estimated at £90,000. Emperor of Russia, which has been called the Effingham diamond, was brought to En- in Brazil has been already mentioned. Mr. gland by the Earl of Effingham while Gov. Mawe in one place says, that its weight was ernor-General of India. We cannot discov- nearly an ounce Troy, and in another sevenbeen purchased by a Jew for £17,000 or he states in the same paragraph what is en£18,000. After having frequently changed tirely inconsistent with this weight, that it drawing into the possession of a Greek merchant, Gregory Suffras, (another account says an American merchant named lished eleven years afterwards, he repeats Luzauf,) from whom it was purchased by the statement of its being in the rough near-Prince Orloff for the Empress Catherine of ly an ounce Troy in weight. This diamond Russia, who gave for it £84,500, and an an- is not even mentioned by Mr. Murray; but nuity of \$3660, together with a patent of he describes another diamond under the nobility. It now adorns the imperial scep-same name of the Abaethé diamond, and tre of Russia, being placed immediately beneath the golden eagle which surmounts it, story of the three convicts which Mr. Mawe This diamond was one of the eyes of an idol tells in reference to the diamond of an ounce of Malabar, called Scheringham. A French Troy. Mr. Murray describes it as the larggrenadier who had deserted from the Indian est in the world-the size of an ostrich egg, service contrived to become one of the infe- and weighing 1680 carats! Romé de L'Isle rior priests of the idol, and having secreted in his Treatise on Crystallographie, publishhimself in the temple, he stole its diamond ed in 1783, says, that "the most extraordirupees. Its weight is 1943 carats. shape is a circular pyramid, with five conand 4 lines, and its thickness 10 lines.

Tavernier gives a drawing of a diamond which he bought at Amadabad, and which weighed 1571 carats. It has a sort of pear shape, with a deep rounded grove along its whole length, with seven black specks and three triangular black cavities. How he disposed of it is not mentioned, and where Journal Œconomique, 1 and he values it at

it is now we cannot discover.

The fine diamond which originally belonged to the Grand Duke of Tuscany has been drawn by Tavernier. Its weight is 1391 carats, and the fault of it, he says, is, that the water of it inclines somewhat to a citron colour. It passed into the hands of the Empe-

discover its purchaser or its present locality. imperial treasury at Vienna, where it at-The next largest diamond is one which tracts universal admiration. It is not reguand neatly mounted in a large sevignée. Its

The discovery of the Abaethé diamond eye. He then went to the English camp at nary stone which has been obtained from the Trichinopoly, and afterwards to Madras, mines of Brazil is a diamond (some pretend where a ship captain bought it for 20,000 that it is a white topaz) which the present Its king of Portugal possesses, and which weighs 1680 carats, (c'est à dire onze ances, centric rows of facets: At the top of the cinq gros, vingt quatre grains.) Besides pyramid the facets are sectors of a circle, this diamond, which is preserved rough," he sixteen in number, meeting in the centre or adds, "this sovereign possesses another of summit of the pyramid. Its base forms a less size but of rare beauty, which weighs rhomboid, whose greatest length is 1 inch 215 carats, and is consequently one of the largest that is known." † Mr. Murray mentions this diamond of 215 carats, under the name of the Round Brilliant of Portugal, which he says is extremely fine, and has been estimated at £388,290. Romé de L'Isle says that the figure and size of the great diamond of 1680 carats is given in the £224,000,000 sterling, whereas, according to Jeffries' rule it should be only £5,644,800

‡ July, 1781, p. 141.

^{*} Journal Historique et Politique de Geneve, 28th February 1775, p. 316. † Crystallographie. 2d Edition. Vol. ii. p. 208. Paris, 1783.

had attentively examined it, informed him baggage, by the combined armies under the that he considered it to be a white topaz, and Marquis of Hastings. It is said to have not a diamond," which we have no doubt is been presented by the Marquis, as from true.

The Sancy diamond, the product of the Indian mines, was brought to France by Baron de Saney, who was the French ambassador at Souleure. Its weight is 531 carats, and, according to Dutens,* cost £25,000, which was far below its value. It is what is called a brislet, that is, pear shaped, and covered on both sides with triangular rose facets, the effect of which method of cutting is to diminish greatly the minster, in whose possession they now are. value which it would otherwise have derived The form of this diamond is triangular, and from its great purity and fine water. The following history of it is given by Mr. Mur- the greatest possible weight.

"This diamond was originally brought from India, and has remained in France for the last four centuries. Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, were it in his helmet at the battle of Nancy, near the Lake Morat, in Switzerland, in 1475, and in which he fell. He is represented in the vignette of a MS. in the Bibliothèque Royale, wearing in his hat that which was afterwards taken in his baggage by the Swiss, af-ter the battle of Grandison. It was found by a Swiss soldier among the spoils of the battle, and sold to a priest for a florin (1s. 8d.), who afterwards disposed of it for three francs (2s. 6d.)
We subsequently, in the year 1849, trace the
Sanci diamond to the possession of Antonio, King of Portugal, who being in want of money, first pledged it for 40,000 livres, and afterwards disposed of it entirely for the sum of 100,000 livres, to a French gentleman of the name of De Sanci. Nicolas Harlai de Sanci had it afterthe diamond in order to pledge it for a sum of money, and it was entrusted to a confidential band of robbers. The body, however, after some search, was found buried in a wood, and on being opened, discovered the gem, the servant having swallowed it at the first onset. Baron de Sanci afterwards disposed of it to James II. of England, in 1688, when he had escaped to France, and remained at St. Ger-mains. From him it passed to Louis XIV., and Louis XV. wore it in his hut at his coronation. Its form is somewhat pear shaped, and is of the purest brilliancy."

This fine diamond has been lately purchased by Count Demidoff, the Grand Almoner of the Emperor of Russia, for 500,000 estimated value \$15,000. rubles.

The Nussac Diamond, weighing, according to one account, 893 carats, and accord. diamond called the Saxon White Brilliant,

Mr. Murray says, that "Mr. Mawe, who Mahratta war in India, in the Peishwa's himself, to the East India Company, but it was afterwards given up to form part of the Deccan booty. It remained ten years in the possession of Rundell and Bridge, and was purchased at a public sale in 1837 by Emanuel Brothers, for £7200, scarcely onethird of its estimated value. The Nussac diamond, and the diamond ear-rings, weighing 56 carats, and purchased for £11,000, were sold by him to the Marquis of Westit has been cut and polished so as to retain

The Pigott Diamond, not now in existence, was a "brilliant of great surface both in table and girdle," and from its superior water was the finest in Europe. Its weight was 471 carats. In 1801 it was sold by lottery for £30,000. It became the property of a young man, who sold it at a low price. It was again disposed of, and Rundell and Bridge, into whose possession it afterwards came, sold it for the same sum to Ali Pacha, who always wore it in a green silk purse attached to his girdle. Mr. Murray informs us, "that when Ali Pacha was mortally wounded by Reschid Pacha, he immediately retired to his Divan, and desired that his favourite wife Vasilika should be poisoned, and he gave the diamond to Captain D'Anglas, with orders that it should be erushed to powder in his presence, which was forthwith done, and the beautiful gem utterly destroyed. Vasilika still lives, but wards by succession. At the time of the Baron de Sanci's embassy at Souleure, Henry III. re-utterly destroyed. Vasilika still lives, but quiring money to recruit his forces, borrowed the model of the diamond alone remains. The too obedient officer bitterly regretted his folly, and the destroyed diamond haunted him in his dreams for months afterwards."

The Vienna Rose Diamond is considered a remarkable specimen of large diamonds. It has the form of a square truncated at the angles. Its length is 1 inch 3 lines, its breadth 1 inch 2 lines, and it is very thick in the girdle. The upper face of the stone is flat, but not rising into a crown, as is invariably the case in a fine regularly cut Dutch Rose Diamond. Owing to these imperfections, its beauty is now less than might be expected from a brilliant of the same size. Its weight is 96 carats, and its

In the King of Saxony's Repository at Dresden, called the Green Vault, there is a ing to another 791, was captured during the of considerable size and great beauty. It is of the first water, perfectly transparent, and of a pleasing form. It glitters and

^{*} Des Pierres Précieuses, p. 81.

sparkles with unusual brilliancy of colour. Hope gave £13,000 for it, and that it had

We have already mentioned the Deria-i- less." noor, or the Sea of Light, as weighing 232 186, and that it is placed in a pair of brace- rich sky blue brilliant belonging to the crown lets valued at nearly a million sterling, jewels of France. It weighs 67 26 th carats, along with the Taj-e-Mah, or Crown of the and has been valued at three millions of Moon, which weighs 146 carats. The Per-livres: another, of a splendid blue colour, sian crown contains two diamonds of great and of great beauty and rarity, was pursize and value, namely, the Sea of Glory, chased by George IV. from Mr. Eliason. It weighing 66 carats, and valued at £34,848, weighs 441 carats, cost £22,000, and was and the Mountain of Splendour, weighing the principal ornament of the crown on the 135 carats, and valued at £145,800.

any of the colourless diamonds of inferior ria," is in the Royal Treasury at Munich. weight and value. We must, however, call It is a perfectly regular treble * cut brilthe attention of our readers to the most liant. Its length is one inch, its breadth ten interesting coloured diamonds which are lines, and its weight thirty-six carats. The known to exist. The value of a diamond is colour varies from the soft velvet blue of a greatly enhanced if it is either pink, blue, or perfect sapphire to the colour of steel. It prized, passes into wine colour, and through lustre. It is surrounded with beautiful white cinnamon brown into black. The pale green brilliants, in the Order of the Golden Fleece. passes into yellowish green, the bluish grey red.

"a most magnificent and rare brilliant of a deep sapphire blue, of the greatest purity, this gem is kept a profound secret, and most beautifully cut: it is of true proportions, not too thick nor too spread. This one incl. long, and nine lines broad. It called unique, as we may presume that decoration of the cross of Maria Theresa is there exists no cabinet, nor any collection attached. of crown jewels in the world which can and cutting, and averaging one carat each. the origin of this singular body. The weight is forty-four carats, and the price once asked for it was £30,000. are informed by Mr. Tennant that Mr. tions, the one amorphous or shapeless, like

Other three blue diamonds have been Mr. Murray says that its weight is mentioned or described. One of these is a day of his coronation. The third blue dia-Our limits will not permit us to describe mond, called the "Blue Brilliant of Bava-The yellow colour, which is not is quite pure, and sparkles with the highest

In the King of Saxony's Green Vault at into Prussian blue, and the pink into rose Dresden, there is a large green diamond, which, in point of brilliancy and purity, is Such of our readers as visited the Great said to surpass every other known green Exhibition of 1851 must have seen and ad-diamond. It is cut into an oblong form. Its mired the fine blue diamond of Mr. Hope length is one inch and one line, its breadth which was exhibited in the gallery. To use ten lines, and its weight forty carats. It is the words of Mr. Hertz, this diamond is mounted on a clasp, and is set round with

matchless gem combines the beautiful co- weighs thirty-two carats, and has the shape lour of the sapphire with the prismatic fire of an obtuse oval. It is a regularly cut and brillianey of the diamond, and on ac- brilliant, and is of the finest rose colour and count of its extraordinary colour, great size, and other fine qualities, it certainly may be of a knot of white brilliants, to which the

Having thus given a history and descripboast of the possession of so curious and tion of the various diamond mines in differ-fine a gem."* This diamond is mounted as cnt parts of the world, and of the finest a medallion with a border of small rose diamonds which they have yielded, we shall diamonds, surrounded by twenty brilliants, now proceed to give a brief account of the of the finest water and equal size, shape, form, the composition, the structure, and

> Like all other crystallized bodies, the We diamond is found in two different condi-

It adorns the insignia of the order of the been several times pledged for a much Gold Fleece, and is surrounded with other larger sum, viz., £15,000, and that £16,000 fine brilliants. It is 1 inch and 1 line had been lent upon it. Messrs. Rundell and square. It weighs 48% carats, and from its Bridge regarded this as the finest blue diafine shape and great perfection, it is said to mond ever known, and Mr. Mawe on refer-have been purchased by King Augustus for ring to it calls it "a superlatively fine blue diamond, which may be considered match-

^{*} Catalogue of Mr. Hope's Collection, p. 25.

^{*} A brilliant is said to be treble cut when the large facets on its side are flattened or cut into two smaller facets.

a pebble water-worn, or rounded by attri-|crystals were only scilicates.* As M. Ebeltion in the bed of a stream,—the other a man has succeeded in making several minerals geometrical solid of great beauty, some- and gems by an artificial process, such as times with its planes or faces rounded, as in perovskite, glucine, rutile, spinelle, ruby, the spheroidal diamond, and sometimes with peridot or chrysolite, and eymophane or its faces smooth and flat. These crystals chrysoberyl, we may reasonably expect that are sometimes composed of two, and are the other precious stones, and the diamond then called hemitrope or twin crystals, and itself, will yield to the advancing science of sometimes of a great number aggregated the age.1 together, and yet the whole mass preserving the general form of a single crystal.* The the regular octohedron, and the dodecaheand the solid thus produced is the octobethe faces of the octohedron to each other is 109° 28' 16", and that of the faces of the octohedron to the faces of the cube, 125°

It has been long known that the diamond, unlike all mineral bodies whatever, consists of vegetable matter which can be burned. Sir Isaac Newton had conjectured from its high refractive power, that the diamond was "an unctuous substance coagulated," and in 1694 a diamond of nearly 8 carats was so been made to make artificial diamonds, but from emerging from it after reflection. hitherto without success. About twenty-five years ago M. Cagnard de la Tour announced that he had formed a diamond by crystallizing charcoal, but M. Thenard found that the

* This is finely seen in a specimen now before us, the specimen of the Institute of France, is specially occupied with this class

In its physical properties, as well as in its commercial value, the diamond transcends general forms of the diamond are the cube, all the other gems. It is the hardest of all mineral bodies, scratching zircon, sapphire, dron, the first with four faces, the second ruby, rock-crystal, and all the gems, and with eight, and the third with twelve. The cannot be scratched by any of them. The second of these forms may be produced from the first, by cutting off all its four angles, till the faces of the cube disappear, diamond would be equal in weight to a little more than 31 cubic inches of water. Its redron, or the primitive form of the diamond, fractive powers, that is, its power to bend a i.e., every diamond may be reduced by ray of light incident obliquely upon its sur-cleavage to this form. The inclination of face, is 2 439, that of water being 1 336, and glass 1.500; but in this respect it is surpassed by octohedrite, artificial Realgar and Greenockite. Its power of dispersing a ray of white light, that is, of separating it into its component colours in reference to its refractive power, is only 0.038, whereas plate glass is 0.052, and oil of cassia 0.139, so that in this respect it is inferior to a vast number of fluids as well as solids. It is a curious fact, which we believe has not been noticed by optical writers, that this inferiorvolatilized by a burning glass at Florence ity of dispersive power is necessary to the that the pieces into which it broke were disproduction of those splendid coloured re-The same experiment has been fractions to which it owes all its value as an often repeated, and in our own day Sir II. ornamental gem. Its high refractive power Davy, with the Grand Duke of Tuscany's separates the red and blue rays more than a burning glass, found that a diamond intro- high dispersive does in most other bodies, duced into a glass globe supplied with oxy-and sufficiently to give each colour of the gen, and kindled by the solar rays, continued spectrum its full force. Had its dispersive to burn after it was removed from the focus. power, on the other hand, been greater, the Carbonic acid gas was the exclusive result of colours would have been widely separated, the experiment. Sir George Mackenzie of and proportionally diluted or weakened in Coul was the first person in this country who intensity, and the green and blue rays would, burned diamonds, making a free use of his in many of the most inclined facets, have mother's jewels; and by means of diamond been unable to emerge from the front surpowder he converted iron into steel. Mr. face of the stone. Hence the superiority of Smithson Tennant, the founder of the Smith- the diamond, as an ornamental gein, depends sonian Institution in America, volatilized a not only on its high refractive power, which diamond in a gold tube with a stream of alone separates the colours of white light to oxygen, and found that the oxygen gas was a very great degree, but also on its low distransformed into an equal volume of carbonic persive power which prevents them from acid gas. The diamond is therefore pure being separated too much, and detained as carbon, and hence various attempts have it were within the stone, or rather, prevented

This is finely seen in a specimen now before us, belonging to Mr. Tennant.

^{*} See Edinburgh Journal of Science, 1627, vol. x.

of experiments.

A part of the beauty of the diamond, but lights are reflected from the surface of transonly a small part of it, depends upon the parent solids or fluids, at angles varying great quantity of white light which is re- with the nature of the body, from 50° to 68°. flected from the outer surface of its facets, they are by this reflection converted into and gives it a sort of metallic or adamantine polarized light. lustre. It is obvious, however, that if no light were thus reflected, and if it all entered or polarized, through a piece of well anthe stone, and therefore suffered refraction, we should have the same quantity of light reflected back again in a coloured state, we would see if we looked through pure rather than in the state of white light. This property, which belongs to all bodies of a the glass, by placing the edge of the plate high refractive power, of reflecting much of glass upon a heated iron, or if we either light both when it enters and quits them, has the effect of making the most transparent and perfectly eolourless specimens of diamond, that is, those of the purest water, as it is technically expressed, less transparent than either pure water or pure glass; because the quantity of light reflected from the two surfaces of a plate of diamond is taken from the quantity transmitted, so that, were such a thing possible, a window glazed with plates of diamond would make a darker room than one glazed with colourless glass.

The diamond exhibits vitreous electricity, that is, the same as glass by friction, and it is stated, though we have not succeeded in confirming the statement, that when a diamond is held for an instant in the pure light, traction or expansion being indicated by the it exhibits a phosphorescence which lasts a colours displayed at particular parts of the considerable time. It is not improbable that glass. In this way polarized light enables this effect may be produced by the impres-sion of light upon the retina, which continues have been subject to certain mechanical for the third of a second, and that the sub- forces, the nature of which must be sought sequent luminous appearance may be the for in the circumstances under which the

observer's eve.

We come now to the most important part of our subject, to an examination of the internal structure of the diamond, as compared with that of other gems, and to explain some very simple and infallible methods of distinguishing the diamond from all other precious stones, and from artificial imitations of it: and also of distinguishing the precious stones from one another, and from the coloured glass imitations of them with which

they are so often confounded.

In order that the general reader may peruse these pages with some degree of intelligence, we may remark that, within the last forty years, very remarkable properties of light have been discovered, which enable us to study the interior structure of organized bodies, whether they belong to the animal, obvious that if we place a fragment of the the vegetable, or the mineral world. The solid, such as a piece of broken flint-glass, light, which puts this power into our hands, through which we can see nothing, in a fluid is called polarized light, and is distinguished of the same refractive power, such as oil of from common light by peculiar properties. aniseseeds, the light will pass from the oil The light of the sun, and moon, and of all into the glass, and again out of the glass into flames is common light; but when these the oil without suffering any change in its

When we transmit light, whether common nealed glass, it suffers no change, and we see no structure in the glass different from what water. But if we make heat pass through bend or compress the glass by mechanical force, its structure, or the mechanical condition of its particles, will be changed. If we now transmit common light through the glass thus changed, the change will not be visible; but if we transmit polarized light through it, and again analyze that light by reflection from a transparent body at an angle between 50° and 68°, and in a plane at right angles to that in which the common light was reflected and polarized, the observer, looking through the glass, will see the most brilliant colours, indicating the effects of the compressing or dilating forces, or of the contracting or expanding cause,-the degrees of compression or dilatation, of conaccidental or complementary colour in the body has been originally formed, or in which

it has been subsequently placed. In applying this principle to the examination of transparent solids, such as gums, resins, glass, minerals, and precious stones, we are met with a difficulty which it is sometimes impossible to surmount. We can easily shape gums, resins, and glass, and even ordinary minerals, so as to make light pass through them, and exhibit, to the eye which receives it, the structure they possess; but when the minerals are precious stones, either cut or uncut, and when we cannot shape them to transmit light, we must adopt a special process to obtain the same, or, in

some eases, a much better result. If a solid body has the same refractive power as a fluid, or the same power of bending the rays of light out of their path, it is

direction. The observer will therefore see slightly inclined, or when we can cement a through the glass distinctly, and through all its various thicknesses, and he will even be able to read through what is in reality a broken and rugged fragment.* By this process we see what could not be seen by any other process; for if a lapidary had cut parallel faces upon the glass, we could only have seen through it in certain directions and through certain thicknesses; whereas by the present method we can see through the fragment in every possible direction and through every degree of thickness.

The method now described will apply to an immense number of transparent minerals and other bodies; but it is applicable only very imperfeetly to the diamond, zircon, garnet, sapphire, and ruby, and most imperfectly to the diamond, on account of there being no fluids whatever whose refractive power is as high as that of these five precious stones, as will appear from the following Table :-

Refractive Solid Bodies.

Power. 2 439 No fluids of nearly the same Diamond, Zircon, - Garnet, refractive power. 1.815)

Refractive Power. Fluid Bodies. Sapphire, 1.794 Muriate of antimony, 1 800 Ruby, -Spinelle, -1.794 1.764 Chrysoberyl, 1.760 Euclase, -1:643 Sulphate of carbon, -1.678 Topaz, -1.632 Oil of cassia, - - 1.641 Oil of cassia diluted with oil of

olives may be employed for all inferior degrees of re-

fractive power.

Emerald, 1.585

Aquamarine, 1:585 methyst, 1:564 Cairngorm, 1.564

It is obvious from this Table that muriate, or butter, of antimony may be used for sapphire, ruby, spinelle, and chrysoberyl, and it would even do for garnet. Sulphuret of carbon would answer for certain minerals, and oil of cassia would answer for enclase, and, when diluted with oil of olives, for all the gems from euclase to cairngorm, and for all minerals, &c. of inferior refractive power. We have, therefore, no method of looking through crystallized or cut diamonds with any degree of satisfaction; but it is obvious that some advantage may be gained by plunging them in muriate of antimony, or sulphuret of carbon, or even oil of cassia. Hence we are forced to study the structure of the diamond through flat plates or laskes, as they are called, or through certain table diamonds, when we can see through faces

prism of glass upon any of their faces, to refraet the rays in an opposite direction, and permit them to reach the eye, as nearly

as possible, colourless. It was by the application of all these processes that Sir David Brewster was enabled to exhibit the remarkable optical structure of the Diamond, which had not previously been the subject of investigation. he examined fourteen specimens of diamond, and found that seven depolarized light, in virtue of an irregular structure which others did not possess. He subsequently, in the same year, examined nine diamonds, in all of which this irregular structure was exhibited. In one of these diamonds, of which he has given a drawing, there are various patches of depolarizing structure, some of which are in a state of compression, and others of dilatation, as if a soft substance had been kneaded, as it were, and pressed in different directions; while in another specimen there were three luminous bands, two of which exhibited the action of a compressing, and the intermediate one of a dilating force. M. Biot, in commenting upon these experiments, gave it as his opinion that these effects were the result of heat or of rapid evaporation; * but whatever was the cause, which this could not be, it is clear that the diamond has been in such a state as to yield to mechanical influences which have not operated upon other regularly crystallized bodies-that is, it has been in a soft state. The truth of this opinion was subsequently demonstrated by new experiments published in 1835. In a diamond laske with parallel surfaces he found two black speeks of different sizes, which, under the mieroscope, proved to be cavities, round which, when examined by polarized light, there were four luminous wings or sectors separated by a black cross, and appeared a compressed structure. It was impossible to discover what these cavities contained, whether a fluid or a vapour, or a compressed gas; but they obviously contained something which had a mechanical energy capable of compressing the diamond, and it is equally obvious that the diamond was in a soft state when this force was exerted. These conclusions may startle ordinary readers; but when they know that cavities containing fluids, vapours, and compressed gas have been discovered in topaz and other precious stones, by Sir David Brewster, and the fluids, vapour, and gas actually taken out of them, their surprise will cease.

Such was the state of our information re-

^{*} This experiment was first made by Sir David Brewster, and used for measuring the refractive power of fragments of minerals and other bodies.

^{*} Traité de Physique, tom. iv. p. 573.

specting the interior structure of the dia- on the cleavage surface of which there grew mond when the Koh-i-noor arrived in England, and was shewn in the Great Exhibition. As this beautiful diamond had been cut, not to display its brilliant colours, but merely to preserve it of as great a weight as possible, it had no value as an ornamental gem. Her Majesty, therefore, was naturally desirous of having it re-cut, and wishing to have this done in the best manner, and with the least loss of weight, the opinion of different individuals was taken. In a Paper read at the Geological section of the British Association at Belfast,* Sir David Brewster stated, that having been consulted on this point by his Royal Highness Prince Albert, he expressed his anxiety to examine so large a mass of diamond before it was reduced in size, and rendered unfit for examination by the facets with which it would be covered. His request was graciously granted, and he accordingly examined it at Buckingham Palace with the microscope, and by the aid of polarized light. Its general structure was such as he had found in smaller diamonds, but of course much more beautifully displayed. The polarized tints produced by compression were as high as the blue of the second order of colours, though in many places not higher than the white and the yellow of the first order. Near the very centre of the diamond there were three black specks scarcely visible to the eye, but which the microscope shewed to be cavities surrounded with sectors of polarized light. These cavities were of a very irregular shape, and the sectors of light partook a little of that irregularity. In the two smaller diamonds there were also several cavities with sectors of polarized light, and the same polarizing structure which indicates the existence of compressing and dilating forces.

On one side of the Koh-i-noor there was an incision or flaw which was supposed to have been made to fix the setting upon the stone. Upon examining this cavity with the microscope, Sir David Brewster observed a yellow light on one part of it. This yellow light was supposed to come from part of the gold being rubbed off. As gold, however, is never yellow by transmitted light, and as gold rubbed off by friction could not possibly be transparent, Sir David had no doubt that the yellow matter was yellow diamond, and that it had originally existed in a fluid state in the cavity. Upon examining next day, along with Mr. Tennant, the collection of diamonds in the British Museum, he saw a remarkable specimen of colourless diamond

a semi-octohedron of yellow diamond. Upon a narrow examination he found in the edge of the specimen a cavity with the extremity of which this yellow diamond was connected, and finding in the other end of the cavity a portion of amorphous yellow diamond, he was led to the conclusion that the semioctohedron of yellow diamond had existed in a fluid state in the cavity, and having been driven from the cavity, had crystallized upon the cleavage surface. In the paper referred to Sir David remarked that he was aware that such a conclusion made a great demand upon the faith of the mineralogist, but that those who had seen, as he had often seen, cavities of topaz filled with crystals of different properties, some of which were fused by heat and some not,-who had seen these melted crystals again crystallize and recover their former magnitude and shape, -who had seen the fluid contents of cavities boil, and throw up clouds of vapor,and who had seen the fluid contents of a cavity when opened fall upon the surface of the specimen and change into a regular erystal,-that those who had seen such results would not be unwilling to believe that there might be fluids in the eavities of diamonds capable of exhibiting the same phenomena.

Desirous of gaining more information on this curious subject our author examined nearly fifty diamonds, which were kindly lent to him by Messrs. Hunt and Roskill, and in a vast number of these, or almost all, he found numbers of cavities of the most singular forms, round which the substance of the stone was compressed and altered in the most remarkable manner. The shapes of the cavities sometimes resembled insects and lobsters, and the streaks and patches of colour in polarized light were of the most variegated kind. In examining the hundreds of diamonds which form some of the Oriental ornaments of the East India Company's Museum, our author found that all these stones contained large cavities, and were, in short, coarse and flawed diamonds which could not be cut into brilliants, or used in rings and other ornaments. It seems indeed to be a general truth that there are comparatively few diamonds without cavities and flaws, and that the diamond is a fouler stone than any other used in jewellery. Some diamonds, indeed, derive their black colour entirely from the number of cavities which they contain, and which will not permit any light to pass between them. What these cavities contain remains to be discovered. We have now before us a crystallized cavity in a specimen sent us by Mr. Sebastian

^{*} See Athenaum, September 18th, 1852, p. 1014

Garrard, Jeweller to the Crown, but what- correct, will prove that that part must ever it does contain is transparent. Berze- have been an original plane of the Octobelius informs us that there is a diamond in dron. The next step was cutting a facet on the collection of the Countess Porlier, in the top of the stone, immediately above the which, Mr. Parrot says, there is a black last mentioned flaw: Here the difference mass resembling coal, and which he thinks in the hardness of the stone first manifested "is coal which did not become crystallized itself, for while cutting this facet the lapiinto the transparent gem;"* but the most remarkable eavity we have heard of is that described by Tavernier in a diamond of 104 carats, which was so foul in the middle that nobody would buy it. "A Hollander, he says, at length bought it, and, cutting it in two, found in the middle of it, eight carats of filth like a rotten weed!"

The process of eutting diamonds is one of great interest, and as the facts observed during the cutting of the Koh-i-noor are both new and valuable, we have much pleasure in adding the following communication, for which we are indebted to Mr. Garrard, under whose skilful care and superintendence this important operation has been so well

and so safely performed.

"The process of diamond cutting is effected by a horizontal iron plate, of about ten inches in diameter, called a schyf, which revolves from two to three thousand times per minute. The diamond is fixed in a ball of lead which is fitted to an arm, one end of which rests upon the table in which the plate revolves, and the other, at which the ball containing the diamond is fixed, is pressed upon the plate by moveable weights at the discretion of the workman. The weights applied vary, according to the size of the facets intended to be cut, from two to thirty pounds.

"The recutting of the Koh-i-noor Diamond was commenced July 16, 1852, by his Grace the late Duke of Wellington, and the part first worked upon was that at which the planes P and Ft meet, as it was necessary to reduce the stone at that part to at the usual speed, the schyf was then relevel the set of the stone before the table could be formed, the intention being to turn the stone rather on one side, and to take the incision or flaw at E, and the fracture at M, as the boundaries or sides of the girdle. The next important step taken, was endeavouring to remove an incision or flaw at C, described by Professor Tennant and the Rev. W. Mitchell, as having been made for the purpose of holding the stone more pecially underneath the flaw at A, which firmly in its setting, but this incision was part was nearly as hard as that directly pronounced by the cutters (after having above it. An attempt was made to cut cut into and examined it) to be a natural out the flaw at A, but it was found not de-

dary, noticing that the work did not proceed so fast as before, allowed the diamond to remain on the sehyf rather longer than usual. without taking it off to cool: the consequence of this was, that the diamond beeame so hot from the continued friction and greater weight applied, that it melted the lead in which it was fixed: Again, while cutting the same facet the schyf became so hot from the extreme hardness of the stone, that particles of iron mixed with diamond powder and oil became ignited. The probable cause of the diamond proving so hard at this part is, that the lapidary was obliged to cut directly upon the point or angle at which the two eleavage planes meet, so that he was cutting across the grain of the stone. Another step that was thought to be important by the cutters, was remov-ing a flaw at G. This flaw was not thought to be dangerous by Professor Tennant and the Rev. W. Mitchell, as if it was allowed to run according to the cleavage, it would only take off a small piece, which it was necessary to remove in order to get the present shape. The cutters, however, had an idea that it might not take the desired direction, and therefore began to eut into it from both sides, and afterwards directly upon it, getting rid of it in this manner. While cutting, the stone ap-peared to get harder and harder the further it was cut into, especially just above the flaw at A, which part became so hard, that after working upon it for six hours, it was found impossible to proceed with the work volving at 2400 times a minute. The speed was then increased to 3000 times a minute, when the work gradually proceeded. When the back of the stone (the former top) was cut, it proved to be so soft, that a facet was cut in three hours, that would have occupied more than a day if the stone had been as hard at this part as at the top; the stone got gradually harder afterwards, esflaw of a yellow tinge, a defect often met sirable on account of its length. The flaw with in small stones. This statement, if at N did not at all interfere with the cutting."

> We h. d intended to give some account of the other precious stones of unusual

^{*} Berzelius's Rapport Annud, 1839, p. 297.

† We have left the letters in the text, though we cannot give the diagrams to which they refer.

magnitude and value, such as the sapphires, while the diamond does not. This arises rubies, emeralds, and topazes, which have from their having an inferior refractive, been preserved in the Royal Repositories and, consequently, reflecting power, so that restricted limits will not permit us, and we an explanation of the methods which may the diamond from the precious stones to which it has an outward resemblance, and to resemble it; and also the methods of are very little known, and very little pracsimplest rules for determining whether they coloured glass.

from the octohedral spinelle, by the former lour of these two images is an infallible in-easily scratching the latter. It is disting dication of the nature of the stone. In the guished from the sapphire, whether colour-less or coloured, by the latter having a reflected from its facets will be many more topaz by the latter giving signs of electricity for several hours after it has been rubbed, whereas the diamond loses its electri-

city in a quarter of an hour.

These methods are obviously suited only for the mineralogist and the jeweller, who have instruments for the purpose. When the stones are cut and set in gold, another method must be adopted. The diamond and the garnet are distinguished from all all other precious stones, by their having only single refraction, the others having double refraction, or giving a double image of a taper, or small light, when it is viewed through their facets. By the same means all precious stones, except diamond, and garnet, and spinelle, are distinguished from artificial ones, by the former having double refraction, and the latter only single refraction. Even when the precious stones are set opaque, that is, when we cannot see through them, it is easy to find whether the

of the eastern and western world; but our the light reflected from their facets is very small compared with that which comes from shall therefore conclude this article with the diamond. On a modification of this principle Sir David Brewster has conbe successfully employed in distinguishing structed an instrument which he calls a Lithoscope,* for distinguishing precious stones from one another, and from their imitathe artificial pastes or glasses which are made tions. It consists of a small glass prism, which moves round a fixed joint, so that the distinguishing all the precious stones from lower surface of it may be laid upon the their artificial imitations. These methods surface, or upon a facet, of the stone to be examined. In this position the two surfaces tised, and we think it discreditable, in an are parallel, and the image reflected from intellectual age like the present, that those the lower surface of the prism would cowho buy and sell and wear the rarest and incide with that reflected from the surface or finest jewels, should scarcely know the facet of the stone. A drop of oil-oil of olives, oil of aniseed, oil of cassia, or sulare buying, selling, or wearing pieces of phuret of carbon, may then, according to circumstances, be placed between the prism When the diamond is rough and uncut and the facet, and when this is done the it may be distinguished from rough and observer turns a serew, so as to raise the uncut sapphires, rubies, topazes, cairngorms, prism a little round its joint. The effect of amethysts, and quartz, from its giving this is to separate the image of a taper, or vitreous electricity by friction, while all the a small luminous aperture, as given by the others give resinous electricity. The dia- prism, from that given by the facet, and mond, in its octohedral form, is distinguished the difference in the intensity and the cospecific gravity greater than the former; times brighter than the image reflected from and it is distinguished from the colourless the face of the prism, than with any other of the precious stones.

> In perusing the preceding pages the reader cannot fail to have been struck with the singular nature of the substance to which his attention has been called. In all its characters and relations the diamond occupies a peculiar and a lofty place. It is the monarch of the subterranean world :- the material divinity which the Pagan, the Jew, and the Christian worship with equal idolatry. The sacra fames auri, the accursed thirst for gold, is an inferior and less exciting passion than that with which we would struggle for the gigantic brilliant, or scramble for its glittering fragments. Over this globe of ours there rules many a mighty

> * From λιθος, a stone, and σεστεω, to see. This instrument as made by Dolland, was exhibited to the British Association at York in 1832. See First Report, &c., p. 78.
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> † A well known though generally ill-practised

refraction is single or double, by looking into the stone at the image reflected from the posterior facets. If any of the precious of rartificial stones are immersed in alcohol, or even water, they lose their lustre, other, till they have acquired the same temperature.

sovereign-on its surface are many rich | ART. VII .- 1. Uncle Tom's Cabin, or Life and powerful empires-many a cloud capt tower and gorgeous palace rises above its plains-many a mass of gold and of silver has been wrenched from its bowels-and many a gem of art has arrested the intellectual eye; -but more loved than Sovereignsmore prized than empires-more coveted than gold-more admired than the creations of Raphael, is the sparkling diamond which flashes in the imperial crown or adorns the royal sceptre, or adds to beauty its only "foreign aid." Nor is this an ideal appreciation of its rarity and worth. is in truth the very essence of property. It is riches condensed and wealth securedtoo small to be seen by the midnight burglar-too easily hid to be seized by the tyrant-and too quickly carried away to be wrested from the patriot exile, or torn from the hunted outlaw. In vain would the vanquished monarch strive to remove his bags of gold, or transport his territorial domains;—but a diamond is an empire made portable, with which he might purchase a better kingdom and mount a prouder throne. Had the treasury of Crossus been invested in brilliants he might have founded a nobler Lydia beyond the reach of his Persian invader.

It is difficult to express in words or in numbers the commercial value of the Diamond; but we may truly say that a string of Koh-i-noors, a furlong in length, would purchase the fee-simple of the globe, while a ring engirdling the Arctic Zone would buy up the whole planetary system.

A moral as well as a secular lesson is read to us by the diamond. Like every organism of this world it bears the impress of The stoutest metal and the toughest decay. gem exist by forces which time weakens and the elements destroy; and in that great catastrophe when the "Earth and the works which are therein shall be burned up, the jewel so highly prized will pass into its primeval cinder, while the silver and the gold will only change their form, and reappear perchance brighter and purer in the new earth which is to arise. Let us covet then the virgin gold and the pure silver of truth and justice, and estimate at their real value the glittering qualities and the dazzling possessions which bear so high a value in this world, but which have none in the next.

among the Lowly. By HARRIET BEECHER STOWE. Boston, 1852.

2. Aunt Phillis's Cabin, or Southern Life as it is. By MRS. EASTMAN.

3. Slavery in the Southern States. By a CAROLINIAN.*

THE ordinary office of a Review is to introduce a book to the notice of its readers. But no such task is ours in the present instance. The question asked with respect to "Uncle Tom's Cabin" is not "have you read it?" but "what do you think of it?" It is already the book of two hemispheres. The number of its readers is one of the chief literary and social phenomena of the age. Within a few months it has been more than twenty times reprinted. It has spread in hundreds of thousands on both sides of the Atlantic, and has occupied the minds and tongues of men more than any other book of our time. Ordinary criticism has here for the present no place. We covet not the office of criticising a picture before which all that have eyes and hearts are still standing breathless as before the living reality. We deem it idle to tell of the author's powers of pathos to those whose eyes are yet moist with the tears it has called forth-to speak of mastery over human passions, to those whose hearts are still in turn shuddering with horror, glowing with indignation, and melting with pity. It is not for us to wield our critic-rod even but as a divining-rod, to point to where treasures lie; and gladly do we lay it down at the feet of the gifted authoress, whose highest praise it is that we lose the recollection of the genius that has produced this book, in the intense power of its truth, appealing to every human heart and conscience. We hail it as the noble work of a noble woman in a noble cause. And as a woman's work, we hail it, not merely admiringly, but hopefully, as a bright omen of the speedy triumph of this noble cause. We remember that it was a woman, Elizabeth Heyrick, who wrote the pamphlet that moved the heart of Wilberforce, to pity, and to pray over, the wrongs of the oppressed sons of Africa, and sent him forth to his life-long struggle on their We bid this true-hearted woman behalf. accept the omen of his success,

One mark of genius displayed in Mrs. Stowe's work it may be worth while to notice, because many of her readers are likely to have overlooked it, though feeling its effects. A work of fiction, read with more

^{*} Published in Fraser's Magazine, October 1852.

intense and more widely-spread interest than | tage from their fathers, feel it to be a heriany this age has seen, is destitute of that tage of wo, and are ready to say "the which is the ordinary resource of writers of fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the fiction-the adventures of two lovers. The children's teeth are set on edge." omission of this is what hardly any writer Stowe has taught us generous sympathy for of fiction, bad or good, has ever ventured these men, while she has revealed to us the ont since Shakspeare, with the single exception of Defoe. Not even Sir Walter Scott, is an incubus on the moral energies of the nor even Miss Austen, could venture on this western world, and deliverance from which omission. But it is to be found in two of is become a matter of life and death. Her the most powerfully interesting works that book leaves the conviction that the evil lies ever were produced-Robinson Cruson and in the essence of the system and not in its UNCLE TOM.

But, as we have said, our object is not to furnish a literary criticism of this extraordinary book. We turn to the hideous social malady which roused the genins of its author, to compare with these awful pictures which all the civilized world has been studying for months past in a work of fiction, the mass of plain but authentic documents now in our possession, illustrating the reception of her book in America, and more generally slave life, and the social position of the slaves in that country. Here we find ourselves so overloaded, that our chief trouble and grief is eaused not by the diffieulty of finding facts, but by the impossidence which has been recently placed in our possession.

A preliminary word on the charge of parslave-owners in the South States who care America. for and take pains to promote the welfare of their slaves—who would choose to be the men of the many answers to Mrs. Stowe, there are many to whose high moral natures testimony to the character of Southern the system of slavery is an overwhelming slaveholders than she herself does. We

accidents. She illustrates the manner in which the most frightful sufferings naturally issue out of the most favourable circumstances in which slavery can exist. The dramatic power of the work is not more remarkable than the moderation, large views, and excellent sense of the writer.

Amid all the tributes to this appeal of some specimens selected at random from Mrs. Stowe to every human feeling and every christian principle, there is, perhaps, no greater tribute to its power than the kind and multitude of answers that have issued, and are still issuing, from the upholders and abettors of the slave-system, of whose horrors this tremendous revelation has been made. We have said that the power of the book lies in its truth, directed to the conbility of finding a place in our pages for sciences of men—and, accordingly, we find more than a few small fragments of the evi-that the consciences of men are dealing with it as truth. And perhaps it is in its being an appeal to conscience, and in its being responded to as such, that the book stands out tisanship which some have alleged against from the class to which it nominally be-Mrs. Stowe. Amid all the horrors of her longs. When did an army of journalists, tale, and the anguish she keeps alive in and novelists, and pamphleteers—in fact, all every reader, she has taught us to feel deep the legal organs of society, ever before so sympathy with a class of slaveholders of set themselves in battle-array to contend whom, in her St. Clare and Mrs. Shelby, she against the truth of a so-called "work of has furnished us with types. Canning is fiction?" When, before, were so many reported to have said that "to depend upon pens employed to refute the "wild and unthe honour of another is to depend upon his real pictures"—the "monstrous exaggera-will; and to depend upon the will of another is to be a slave." Now, while Mrs. pel the "calumny and insult" of a novel? Stowe has shown that circumstances uncon-But the fact is, that Mrs. Stowe has told the trollable by the slave owner must render his truth fearlessly; and therefore is she not honour no security at all to the slave, from only answered, but answered wrathfully; any extremes of evil possible under the and should these answers not teach us to system, yet none can read her book without doubt her statements, they will, at least, saying, "there is honour among slaveholders." She has fully recognised what we courage, the power of christian principle, reknow to be a fact-the existence of many quired to enable her to speak the truth in

We shall first give our readers a specivictims rather than the inflictors of the cru- which we think may assist them to decide elties she has laid bare. We know that whether her assailants give more honourable burden-who having received it as a heri-give the following article at full length:-

(From the Weekly Picayune, New Orleans, August 30, 1852.) UNCLE TOM.

" It is stated in Eastern papers that an experienced writer in Boston is engaged in dramatizing the abolition novel, 'Uncle Tom's Cabin,' and that it is about to be produced upon the stage in that city. south, which have been propagated so extensively through the press, with the laudations of editors, politicians, and pious fanatics of the pulpit, are to be presented in tableaux, and the lies they contain acted by living libellers, before crowds of deluded spectators. The stage is to be employed in depicting to the people of the north the whole body of the people of the south, as living in a state of profligacy, cruelty, and crime—tyrants, who fear not God, and cruelly oppress their fellow-creatures; and the drama is thus enlisted among the promoters of sectional hatred, a teacher and preacher of national discord, whose end inevitably would be the disruption of the Union. How long is it supposed that political harmony can subsist, after the alienation of feeling shall have been fully established which this organized system of misrepresentation and insult, on one side, and the natural instincts of resentment and retaliation on the other, must create? What better materials can be found for mutual batred and perpetual warfare? How long would men consent to live together on such terms; and from a severed Union, what else can follow but open and unappeasable hostilities, more real and more insatiate than those which, for hundreds of years, made France and England. divided only by a narrow firth, look on each other as natural enemies; and every individual Englishman think of a Frenchman as something he was bound to hate and destroy? The tendency of all the anti-slavery demonstrations in the north-abolition novels, abolition lectures, pictorial abolitionism, and now the abuse of the stage to the purposes of calumny and insult, in aid of abolitionism-is to create a more intense international enmity, than could ever rage be-tween nations of different languages and institutions. There are no feuds so deadly as those of disunited families; no enemies so remorseless as brothers who have once torn asunder all the ties and charities of kindred b'ood.

" It is with a shuddering thought of these consequences, which the folly and cupidity of the times will not see, that we read of the popularity, at the north, of such books as 'Uncle Tom's Cabin;' and the attempts to give it a more effective form, by presenting it on the stage, fixing it with all the arts of scenery, on the memory of thousands who do not read, as a true picture of life and morals at the south; bringing up a new generation with the incradi-

ing universal abhorrence. It is deplorable that a woman should be the chief instrument in this labour of mischief. We know nothing of Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe, except from her book; but there is enough in that to give her an odious notoriety. She has too much mind not to comprehend the wicked injustice and danger-The gross misrepresentations of the ich have been propagated so extensive the press, with the laudations of edition of the press, with the laudations of editions ous consequences of the distorted picture she and John W. Websters, were portrayed as true representatives of the principles and habits of New York or Massachusetts, would be as correct in material facts, as her story of planting life in the south; and she would no doubt feel an inexpressible disgust for the yellow bound literature which should circulate such abominations.

"But her own task has been not a particle more honourable, nay, her work ought to be ranked below those in its moral purpose, and herself rebuked with sterner severity; because she has degraded to her unseemly and mischievous labours powers which might have been usefully and gracefully devoted to delicate and womanly compositions. The secret of this vol-untary debasement is, we fear, to be found in a calculation of profit most cordially masculine, in the misusing of her thoughts for the sake of gain. The dollars with which she has been enabled to make herself rich, to buy that snug country place, and seat herself down for a life of luxurious leisure, had more attractions for her than the love of truth, or the natural femi-nine instincts for peace. Hence she dipped her pen in the bitterest gall of malevolence, and has written one of the most abominable libels which the age has produced, full of all manner of calumnies and uncharitableness; and provoeative of mischief beyond her power to check, if she would. Such a desecration of woman's nature is a sorry and a rare sight, even in this age of feminine aspirations to rivalry with man in all his harshest of traits, and all his most unamiable pursuits."

Now assuredly the writer of such a paragraph as the above leaves little doubt that he is very angry. He does not pretend to any philosophic indifference to unjust accusation, still less to the calm dignity of christian patience under calumny. He does not say, "Let the galled jade wince, my withers are unwrung." No, he honestly says, "We have galls, and though we have some grace, yet have we some revenge." He is angry, and he lets us see it. Not only to Mrs. Stowe herself does he attribute heartless cruelty, shameless falsehood, and cable idea that there is in one-half the territory of gross cupidity, but also to all those aiding the United States, a people to whom the mon- her efforts, or even giving credit to her strous inhumanities and shameless corruptions statements; and, according to him, the described with so much deplorable art by this number is very great In justice to him, we authores, are familiar and welcome as their authores, are familiar and welcome as their are bound to mention that a similar testimony is a free access of the attempt must be a dreadful calamity, the source of innumerable horrors to both sections and both races; and even if it should not prove to be success. The full the attempt itself is a great crime, merit the answers to "Uncle Tom." Now, sup-

.....

there are very many persons mercenary, un- had any complaint, were brought before a just, reckless, passionate, cruel, and merci- magistrate, who should allot the due amount, less; and we are naturally led to inquire and also see it inflicted? But this would which of these qualities render the persons involve the master's passing his whole life in whom they are displayed, fit to have un- before the tribunal: and therefore, with all controlled power over their fellow-men? due regard for his valuable time, and to the And if it be established that in the North- claims of justice for immediate satisfaction, ern States there is a considerable proportion by the laws of South Carolina and Louisiof persons unfit to be entrusted with uncon- ana, a discretionary power is given to the trolled power, what warrant have we that it master himself to punish his slaves "by is not the same in the South? what reason whipping or beating with a horse-whip, cowhave we to believe that the "Southerners" are universally mild, humane, conscientious, pressing."* and considerate? We cannot find a reason we find any reason to trust the "Southerns" moral elevation?

to congratulate Mrs. Stowe on having at makes the penalty of false witness to be least a candid opponent in the editor of the "a cropping" of both ears, with an exposure New Orleans paper. Not only by not attempting to deny does he admit the possibil- each car being successively nailed to it for ity of the occurrence of these "outrageous one hour, and then cut off. inhumanities," and "shameless corruptions described with so much deplorable art," but furnished by the indignation or the alarm of he furnishes us in the very same paper with this New Orleans exponent of the minds of an instance of their actual occurrence. We the Southern slaveholders, to the truthfulcopy the paragraph :-

" Outrageous Cruelty-Quick Retribution .-The Memphis Eagle states that, some time guished author, a Barbadian by birth, and since, one Matthew Rayner, who resides in the who has himself owned slaves. He says, vicinity of Raleigh, Tenn., had one of his negro men to tun away. He apprehended him in American slavery in Unde Tenn is not the men to run away. He apprehended him in Memphis, and took him home. The next day he commenced a cruel and fiend-like punishment, and, after inflicting upon him hundreds ment, and after innicting upon in munutures general conduct of slave-owners may be negro's ears close to his head. The shocking humans. The worst cases no one sees. facts spread through the neighbourhood, and news was someway conveyed to Rayner that a warrant had been issued for his apprehension. Upon hearing this he immediately left the county, and arrived at the residence of a Mr. Beard, in Tipton county, where he died the next day, and was buried at his residence on the 10th instant."

There, certainly, is here strong expression of very natural horror; and yet we cannot but suspect that it is the cropping off the man's ears that has excited it, from his expectation that legal punishment was to fol-low the deed. For it is certain that this would not have been entailed by any amount | † Statute Law of Tennessee, vol. i. Slaves, p. 313.

posing this to be true, or half true, it fol- of mere flogging. Indeed, how could it? lows that in about half of the United States, Unless every slave against whom his master skin switch, or stick, or by ironing or im-

But though the paragraph states that the in the difference of race, for they are, on the legal authorities did take cognizance of this whole, the same race; nor can we suppose crime so far as to issue a warrant for the ara few degrees of latitude can make so great rest of its perpetrator, with a view, it is to a difference of character. Where then can be presumed, to bring him to trial; yet we cannot be sure what the result might have while distrusting the "Northerns," unless, been, or whether punishment would have indeed, we are to believe that the non-exist- been inflicted. And our doubt will not apence of slavery can corrupt the morals of a pear irrational when it is remembered that people, or its existence confer and promote this occurrence took place in Memphis, a town in the State of Tennessee, whose slave-On the whole, we think we have reason code actually contains a provision that of the negro in the pillory for two hours,

> ness of Mrs. Stowe's representations of the realities of slave-life; we have ourselves obtained the strong testimony of a distin-American slavery in Uncle Tom is not the less faithful because a stranger visiting the country sees so little of it; and because the Slavery was mitigated in our West Indian Colonies by the small size of the islands, and the check of public opinion which reaches every corner. But in the remote districts of America, and even of Jamaica, what may and must have taken place when every master was a law to himself?"

> And this last fact enables us to reconcile the contradictory reports which present the condition of the slave in such totally different aspects. "Every master is a law to

^{*} Laws of Carolina. Brevard's Digest. Slaves, 543. And Pigest of Louisiana. Code Noir, sect. Crimes and Punishments. Sect. 16, vol. i.

himself," and according as he is humane and whipped, were sent chained together and in generous, or selfish and cruel, controlled or a state of cuttre nakedness to work in the uncontrolled, by the external circumstances fields. But we pause. There are other in which he is placed, so does he deal with parts of this Aceldama upon which we dare his slaves. A friend of ours told us that he not enter. Could it be credible by any one his slaves. A friend of ours told us that he not enter. Count it be creating by any one was once staying in a house where a lady unacquainted with the baleful influence of who was visiting rebuked him for saying this system upon all who breathe its atmosomething against slavery, asking whethers phere, that this wretch was regarded by the he had ever been in the West Indies. He people around him as a "gentleman that had said "No, but that he was intimate with a 'comical way' with his negroes, but was the ball of the ball in the main a good man." many West Indians." She replied, that he in the main a good man." could not be any judge. She had spent six weeks in Jamaica with her friend Mr. Smith, of an island taken from the French, set or Mr. Jones, and she could testify that the himself to devise plans (which were put a slaves were well treated, and very happy, and far better off than the poor of this country. The lady of the house, who had One of the instances which came under his much sly humour, observed to her, "Your notice (we speak on the best authority, and friend Mr. Smith was a remarkably kind-hearted, good man, was he not?" "Oh, yes, most singularly so." Her auditors exchanged glances, but left her contented with

her supposed proof. Such was the good lady's report, and we doubt not there are many similar instances. But we are obliged to present another and mouth to it. not quite so pleasing picture of the negro's But it may be said further, that the par-happiness, under the beneficent rule of the ticular cases we have mentioned happened absolute owner of the negro, "body and many years ago, and in an obscure island of soul." This picture of human life under a the West Indies. We will call another witslave system is drawn from informations ness to bear his testimony to the state of sworn before the House of Commons, on things at this day in New Orleans. That occasion of the inquiry into the state of the witness is Dr. Howe, the friend and in-West Indian Colonies. We would gladly structor of Laura Bridgman.* In a letter spare our readers and ourselves the disgust- from him to Mr. Charles Sumner, which we ing details of facts which, taken from legal have read, he thus bears the testimony of an documents, exhibit as cruel an infliction of eye-witness against slavery :physical suffering as do those statements of Mrs. Stowe, which her milder assailants characterize as "gross exaggerations," as "a most wild and unreal picture of slavery," as "imaginative sketches," as "well-seasoned horrors." It is matter of fact, that in the island of Tortola, on one plantation, during a period of three years, sixty negroes died from severity of punishment, and for that whole time but one negro died a natural death. Children of nine years old were taken up by the heels and dipped into tubs to recover breath, when they were again nature. Entering a large paved court-yard, treated in the same manner, and afterwards suspended from a tree with the hands tied all ages, sexes, and colours, I heard the snap of a suspended from a tree with the hands tied the strength of the stre suspended from a tree with the hands tied together, and cart-whipped. In one case a child, about ten years of age, died with its skin almost entirely off. It had been dipped, by its master's order, into a caldron of time in my life, the sensation of my lair stiffening boiling liquor. Three women suspected of an attempt to poison their mistress, had a quantity of boiling water proved down. a quantity of boiling water poured down their throats, and after being severely cart of Logic, (note, pp. 19, 20, 9th edition.)

The late Sir Charles Wale, when governor stop to by the cession of the island to France) for mitigating the horrors of slavery. are prepared to verify the facts by indubitable proofs) was that of a negro who had been suspended by the arms for several weeks, until he had so completely lost the use of them, that he was ever after obliged, unless some one fed him like an infant, to take his food like a dog by putting down his

"I have passed ten days in New Orleans, not unprofitably, I trust, in examining the public institutions—the schools, asylums, hospitals, prisons, &c. With the exception of the first there is little hope of amelioration. I know not how much merit there may be in their system, but I do know that, in the administration of the penal code, there are abominations which should bring

down the fate of Sodom upon the city.

"If Howard or Mrs. Fry ever discovered so ill administered a den of thieves as the New Orleans prison, they never described it. In the taken up by the heels and dipped into tubs negro's apartment I saw much which made me of water with their heads downward, kept blush that I was a white men, and which for a there till stifled, then taken out and suffered moment stirred up an evil spirit in my animal

small of her back, and fastened around the board. compressed her closely to it. Below the strap she was entirely naked. By her side, and six feet off, stood a huge negro, with a long whip, which he applied with dreadful power and won-derful precision. Every stroke brought away a strip of skin, which clung to the lash, or fell quivering on the pavement, while the blood fol-lowed after it. The poor creature writhed and shrieked, and in a voice which showed alike her fear of death and her dreadful agony, screamed to her master, who stood at her head, 'Oh, spare my life; don't cut my soul out.' But still fell the horrid lash; still strip after strip pealed off from the skin; gash after gash was cut in her living flesh, until it became a livid and bloody mass of raw and quivering muscle.

" It was with the greatest difficulty I refrained from springing upon the torturer, and arresting his lash; but alas, what could I do, but turn aside to hide my tears for the sufferer, and my

blushes for humanity!

"This was in a public and regularly organized prison; the punishment was one recognised and authorized by the law. But think you the poor wretch had committed a heinous offence, and had been convicted thereof, and sentenced to the lash? Not at all! She was brought by her master to be whipped by the common executioner, without trial, judge, or jury, just at his beck or nod, for some real or supposed offence, or to gratify his own whim or malice. And he may bring her day after day, without cause assigned. and inflict any number of lashes he pleases, short of twenty-five, provided only he pays the fee. Or if he choose, he may have a private whippingboard on his own premises, and brutalize himself

"A shocking part of this horrid punishment was its publicity, as I have said; it was in a court-yard, surrounded by galleries, which were filled with coloured persons of all sexes-runaway slaves committed for some crime, or slaves up for sale. You would naturally suppose they crowded forward and gazed horror-stricken at the brutal spectacle below; but they did not; many of them hardly noticed it, and many were entirely indifferent to it. They went on in their childish pursuits, and some were laughing outright in the distant parts of the galleries; -so low can man created in God's image be sunk in brutality."

And now, has Mrs. Stowe exaggerated? Do the colours of her " most wild and unreal picture"-" the phantoms of a prurient imagination" fade before the light of sober reality? The heart shudders and the nerves self;" they are only the abuses of it. quiver as we read her tale of torture and of death; but, in the actual working of the tween the legitimate purpose-the intrinsic system itself, there are deeper horrors which character-of any system, and its abuses. she has not unrolled, on that scroll like unto But to put out of account altogether the the Prophet's, "written within and without, lamentations, and mourning, and woe." greater or less liability to abuses, and the lamentations, and mourning, and woe." greater or less enormity of them, and quiet-Hear her own words. We have ourselves by to ignore every incidental evil, would be, been favoured with the sight of a letter in the ordinary concerns of life, regarded

tened to one end, her fect tied and drawn tightly this true-hearted woman. She is speaking to the other end, while a strap passed over the of her book :—"There has been hardly a day since it has been published that confirmatory voices have not come from southern slaveholders; men who have long waited for an opportunity to speak, and who now come out to attest its truth-for, alas! they know what I know, and they must perceive that I know it, that the half is not told in that book. A book that should tell all would not be eredited-it could not be read. I have only wondered some mo-

ments, in the anguish of the survey, that the firm earth does not collapse to hide such

horror from the sun!

But now assuming that no single instance could be proved of wrong suffered from this entire dependence of many men upon the arbitrary will of one man-and this absolute dependence is the essence of slavery-this surely could be no ground for the defence of a system under which there could be a possibility, not merely of its occurring, but of its occurring without violating one essen-"Nephew," tial principle of that system. said Algernon Sydney in prison on the night before his execution, "I value not my own life a chip; but what concerns me is that the law which takes away my life, may hang every one of you whenever it is thought convenient."

But even supposing the system were such as to be quite unexceptionable, when well administered, and that nothing but its abuses were ever deserving of censure,-are the citizens of the United States prepared to pass a verdict of aequittal in all cases, and on every kind of system, on such grounds? Are they prepared, for instance, to substitute for their boasted republican institutions an absolute monarchy? Yet it is plain that a perfectly wise and good monarch would devote himself to the welfare of his people, and would most effectually promote it. And if so many hundred thousands of their slave-owners are thus qualified, (which they must be, to insure the good treatment of the slaves,) it would not be difficult for them to select one who should be thus qualified, and make him their autocrat. As for the atrocious cruelties of a Nero or a Domitian,

True it is that we ought to distinguish befrom her, and we give the heart-words of as proof of insanity. Who, for instance, what American, North or South, would like this life, worse than slavery, in the fact that to be himself exposed to the risk of such the punishment affixed to crimes committed abuses as, by their own shewing, slavery is by the slaves, is always death. Cases of liable to?

Times," finds security and protection for mitted by white men, are all death, to the ness, the violence, and the cruelty of their otherwise, and this necessity is strongly owners, in the principle of self-interestbecause ill-treatment of them would impair Cincinnati Herald:"their value. But does self-interest, we ask, avail to secure from man's neglect, or his violence, or his cruelty, the brute animals that are his property? Surely, we need be fined? No, for we have already robbed him only point to the daily police-reports, to find abundant evidence that, in the case of brute can call his own. A fine, therefore, is out of property, legal interposition is necessary to protect the horse, the donkey, the cattle, We have done that already. We have comprotect the horse, the donkey, the cattle, from him who on the ground of self-interest is the most concerned in their wellbeing. Why, then, should self-interest suffice to thim would be a sweet pastime, a relief from guard the negro from the passions and cruelty of an owner, in whose eye he ranks enjoyment. We cannot punish him by imprinot higher than his cattle? And what is the rage of a passionate man against a brute, compared with what is felt against a fellow man?

The following advertisement, copied verbatim by Sir Charles Lyell from a Natchez paper, illustrates the spirit and manner in which human "chattels" are disposed of in America in the intercourse of commerce :-

" NINETY NEGROES FOR SALE.

"I have about ninety negroes just arrived from Richmond, Virginia, field hands, horseservants, carriage-drivers, two semptresses, several very fine cooks, (females,) and one very fine cook, (male.) One black smith, one carpenter, and some excellent mules, and excellent waggons and harness, and one very fine riding horse-all of which I will sell at the most reasonable prices. I have made arrangements in Richmond, Va., to have regular shipments every month, and intend to keep a good stock on hand of every description of servants during the

"Natchez, October 16th. JOHN D. JAMES."

passage occurs in the account of a steamboat collision :-

"We learn that the passengers lost all their effects; one gentleman in particular lost nine negroes and fourteen horses."

clares-" Slaves shall be deemed, taken, nuity and power, panting for revenge, can de-

would leave children at play in a room full reputed, and adjudged, to be chattels personal of loaded fire-arms, and edge-tools, and open in the hands of their masters and possessors casks of gunpowder? Yet the tools were to all intents and purposes whatever." There not designed to cut them, or the guns to is, moreover, a plain admission on the part shoot them. If they maim, kill, or blow up of the Slave States Legislature, that there is one another, these are only abuses. But nothing that can be inflicted on a man, in arson, theft, and burglary, which would be A writer in a late number of "The comparatively lightly dealt with, if comthe slaves against the neglect, the reckless- slave. But the legislature could not do stated in the following extract from "The

> "A negro has committed a crime, is convicted and brought for sentence, and the question arises, what shall that sentence be? Shall he pletely stripped him of every right; we have sacrificed them to our avarice. We cannot take away that which he has not; and imprisonment sonment; the dungeon would be a solace, a re-ward. We might separate him from his wife and children, and cause him to suffer thus as a punishment. No wife and children he has; they were sold away from him long ago. children are torn from each other, and the mother from children and husband both. cannot make him feel again on that point. The wound was made, but the agony is over now. and the medicine was a despair, which palsied the heart beyond all power of feeling again. Shall we load him with chains? No, the marks on his wrists and ankles show yet, now raw and bloody, where the fetters were, when he was manacled without a crime, when he was chained in the gang, to be driven as a brute. There is no punishment in chains for him. Can we not scourge him? No, look at his back, fresh torn as it is with the lash. Scourging and torture are a familiar part of daily life with him. Everything but life has already, and often, been drained by the overseer's scourge; and scourging, therefore, would scarcely rise in his judg ment to the dignity of a judicial infliction, and would produce very little moral effect.

"We might thrust him out of the pale of humanity, and pursue him and hunt him down as we would a beast of prey. That has been And in a St. Louis paper, the following done already, more than once, and such incidents are familiar to him, and would present none of the terrors of novelty. That long scar on his check was where the bloodhound tore him; and that red line along his head was ploughed by a rifle-shot from his pursuing mas-He has been hunted already. What then can be done with one whose common life, whose The law of South Carolina expressly de- daily experience, is so horrible, that logal ingevise nothing worse than what is already upon | that Jesus loves all alike ! He is just as willing

is regarded by the slaveholder, by the laws Tom sings about." of the country, and by a large proportion of its inhabitants. But still worse than this is the child, 'I will try! I never did the light in which the poor negro considers care nothin' about it before.' himself. And surely the worst feature of slavery after all, is that conscious degradation of the man, which is inseparable from his contented acquiescence in being a "chattel." Nor has Mrs. Stowe, in her admirable delineation of the negro character, omitted some happy touches in reference to this point. Eva is pleading with Topsy:

"'What does make you so bad, Topsy? Why won't you try and be good? Don't you love anybody, Topsy?

" Donno know nothing bout love; I loves

candy and sich, that's all,' said Topsy.

" But you love your father and mother ?" " 'Never had none, ye know. I telled ye

that, Miss Eva.'

"'Oh, I know,' said Eva, sadly; 'but hadn't you any brother, or sister, or aunt, or----"' No, none on 'em-never had nothing nor nobody.

"' But Topsy, if you'd only try to be good,

you might-

"Couldn't never be nothin' but a nigger, if I was ever so good,' said Topsy. 'If I could be skinned, and come white, I'd try then.

" But people can love you if you are black. Topsy. Miss Ophelia would love you if you were good. " Topsy gave the short blunt laugh that was

her common mode of expressing incredulity.

" Do not you think so ? said Eva. " No, she can't bar me, 'cause I'm a nigger ! She'd's soon have a tond touch her. There can't

nobody love niggers, and niggers can't do no-I don't care,' said Topsy, beginning to thin'.

whistle.

" O Topsy, poor child, I love you! said Eva, with a sudden burst of feeling-and laving her little thin, white hand on Topsy's shoulder-' I love you, because you baven't had any father, or mother, or friends; because you've been a poor abused child! I love you, and I want you to be good. I am very unwell, Topsy, and I think I shan't live a great while; and it really grieves me. to have you be so naughty. I wish you would try to be good for my sake;—it's only a little while I shall be with you.

"The round keen eyes of the black child were overcast with tears; large bright drops rolled heavily down, one by one, and fell on the little white hand. Yes, in that moment a ray of real belief, a ray of heavenly love, had pene-trated the darkness of her heathen soul! She

him! One thing only remains, as the editor of to love you as mo. He loves you just as I doe
the Herald has said,—He can be killed. Every-only more, because he is better. He will help
that be death he suffers now. Let him be
you to be good, and you can go to heaven at
killed " last, and be an angel for ever, just as much you to be good, and you can go to heaven at last, and be an angel for ever, just as much as if you were white. Only think of it, Topsy! if you were white. Such, then, is the light in which the slave You can be one of those spirits bright Uncle

"'Oh dear Miss Eva, dear Miss Eva!' said

"St. Clare at this instant dropped the curtain. 'It puts me in mind of mother,' he said to Miss Ophelia. 'It is true what she told me; if we want to give sight to the blind, we must be willing to do as Christ did-call them to us, and put our hands on them." "

A similar consciousness of inferiority is apparent in some of Aunt Chloe's little speeches. It was not in keeping with Mrs. Stowe's object to make it more prominent.

But still we are told on every side that the slaves are the happiest people in the world. The New Orleans paper says so, and Mrs. Eastman says so, and, indeed, almost every Anti-Abolitionist says so.* we are told, like slavery. And if this be meant to apply only to individual instances, we are ready to admit it to be true. But if it be meant to assert that such is the case universally, or even generally, we feel bound, before we can give our assent to the proposition, to make a few inquiries. What is the meaning of the countless advertisements, offering rewards for the apprehension of runaway slaves, to be recognised by marks sufficient to prove the "happy" state they left, and which they were too dull or too ungrateful to appreciate? What is the meaning of certain legal provisions and enactments in the slave code of the States? Surely those legislators could not have been so fully impressed with this contentment with, not to say, preference for slavery, when they penned such enactments as that of Mississippi, which declares that "any

^{*} The application of the word "happy" to slaves, suggests a circumstance related by Clarkson, the Negro's Friend. It occurred during the course of the Parliamentary Inquiry, previous to the passing of Sir William Dolben's bill, brought in with a view to the number of the slave cargo in proportion to the tonnage of the vessel. The evidence offered by the opponents of the measure was wound up by the statement that this voyage was one of the happiest periods of the niggers' lives, and it was given as a proof that, when upon the deck, they were in the habit of amusing themselves by dancing. But, when the witnesses came to be cross-examined, what description did they give of the dancing? The negroes, who usually lay chained two and two by the hands who usually lay chained two and two by the nanus laid her head down between her knees, and wept and sobbed! while the beautiful child, bending over her, looked like the picture of health that they were whipped if they released to do the things of the solution of the picture of health that they were whipped if they released to do some bright angel stooping to reclaim a sinner. it, and this jumping was what the witnesses called "' Poor Topsy!' said Eva. 'Don't you know!" dancing."

person finding a fugitive negro, may seize, that they are but coquetting with it, and death to be the punishment not only of the system. runaway slave, but of any person who shall death any fugitive slave ?"I

has escaped, he should be sold, or in that fondamental de toutes les sociétés. tors for this "Domestic Institution."

This pretence, that slaves love slavery,

apprehend, and whip him on the spot-that want only to have a little gentle violence any negro travelling without a pass is liable used, is like the Irish vindication in each to be seized and put into jail-that the jailer case of the common crime of abduction,shall interrogate the prisoners, and write by "The girl wished in her heart to be carried mail to the person by them described as off, and only wanted an excuse to give her master; if the account be false, he shall father and mother." Thus, too, the French, give each prisoner twenty-five lashes-well when invading Rome, urged that the Rolaid on," and "interrogate them anew," &c.; mans in their hearts wished for the overand for the space of six months it shall be throw of the Republic, but were overawed his duty "alternately to interrogate and by bandits, and were glad of the coercion. whip as aforesaid." What is the meaning If true, these statements only prove the of that law of South Carolina,* declaring consummated moral ruin of the victims of the

But perhaps we might be better able to choose to aid him in his escape? Or of form some conception of this "happiness," that of Louisiana, declaring it lawful to if we could clearly understand the mean-"fire upon any slaves who do not stop when ing of an expression which seems a favorite pursued? Or of that of Tennessee, declar- one with the Carolinian, whose letter, in ing it lawful for any person whatsoever, and vindication of the slaveholders and Southern by such ways or means as he or she (and it slavery, has just appeared in Fraser's Magais such as these that charge Mrs. Stowe with zine. It professes to be an answer on the being unfeminine) shall think fit to put to part of the southern slaveholders to the question, "What do you think of Uncle Why is it that there is not anything like Tom's Cabin?" In this pamphlet the writer an admission of this love of slavery in the speaks more than once of the "vis medinegro throughout the whole legislative code catrix of nature correcting the insufficiencies of the system, unless he find it in the enact-ment which, in the laws of Louisiana and ciencies" must be intended as Montesquieu Tennessee, provides for the gratification of thus describes,-"La loi de l'esclavage n'a this very natural desire for restoration to jamais pu être utile à l'esclave; elle est his cherished bondage, by ordering that if dans tous les cas contre lui sans jamais être unreclaimed by the master, from whom he pour lui: ee qui est contraire an principe

other of those morally elevating edicts, According to Montesquieu, there is not which decrees rewards to any citizen who merely inadequate provision but adverse shall apprehend the runaway? What is power. But to correct these "insufficiencies the meaning of the provision of the constit of law," the "vis medicatrix of nature" tution of Mississippi ?- "The legislature comes in, according to the Carolinian. He shall have no power to pass laws for the had better have said that the law of the emancipation of slaves, without the consent slave system comes in to correct natureof their owners, unless when the slave shall that is after the fashion of a slaveholder's have rendered the State some distinguished correction-to trample upon it and to crush service." Who can reconcile freedom be- it. And he might have added that it was ing there offered as a fit reward for distin- necessary to the very existence of slavery guished service rendered to the State, with that law should come in to defend and the continual assertions that the slaves maintain it. To use the eloquent language would not accept freedom if offered to of Mr. Charles Sunner, in his speech on them? We think we shall scarcely be ac- the 26th of August in the American Senate, cused of pressing our argument too far, on the Fugitive Slave Bill :- "A power so when we assert that we have been furnished peculiar and offensive, so hostile to reason, with abundant proof, not only that the love so repugnant to the law of nature and the of slavery is neither inherent in the negro, inborn rights of man, which despoils its nor universally acquired by him, but that victims of the fruits of their labour; which it is not considered to be so by the legisla- substitutes concubinage for marriage; which abrogates the relation of parent and child; which, by a denial of education, abuses the intellect, prevents a true knowledge of God, and murders the very soul; which, amidst a plausible physical comfort, degrades man, created in the divine image, to the level of a beast; -such a power, so eminent, so

^{*} Brevard's Digest, vol. ii. p. 236. † Brevard's Digest of the Laws of Louisiana, Code Noir, vol. i. § 33. \$ Laws of Tennessee, 1631, vol. i. p. 321. ¶ Laws of Wississippi, Section ii.

transcendent, so tyrannical, so unjust, can lessons to the negro as shall be consistent find no place in any system of government, with slave institutions. She puts the reunless by virtue of positive sanction. It can mark into the mouth of St. Clare, the inspring from no doubtful phrases. It must tellectual, the refined, the humane and be declared by unambiguous words, ineapable of a double sense." So self-evident the great and the noble but for is this, that even the slaveholding tribunals have seen it. Mr. Sumner quotes the Supreme Court of Kentucky as declaring,-"We view this as a right existing by positive law of a municipal character, without foundation in the law of nature or the common law.

The main argument of the Carolinian may be thus shortly stated,-" Whatever is not evil in itself ought to be judged favourably and acquitted without any reference to its abuses. Slavery is not evil in itself; therefore it must be judged irrespective of its abuses." We deny both premises, and for reasons already given. We deny the first premiss, because, though it is true that we ought to distinguish between evils that are intrinsic, and incidental cyils arising from accidental abuse; and also true that we ought not to condemn at once whatever may be abused-for food may cause death to tyranny of Nero was only the abuse of deterred by fear in some cases from at-

paralyze the character of his subjects, mages for false imprisonment. Eor proof we need only point to the Indians under the rule of the Jesuits in moral right with the institutions of slavery, Paraguay.

of labour and of subsistence and enjoyment, makes the slaveholder so averse to its be-Any clown in England talks of "looking ing even attempted. Thus it is that most out for work," and grieves at being "out missionaries, except the Moravians, have of work"—thereby meaning wages. Now made slaves discontented and rebellious. the most intelligent slave can have no such For when men acquire any notion of justice, association in his mind. But the Carolinian they apply it very readily universally : and regards slavery as an excellent training, assuredly the negroes might well inquire What then, we ask, is its end? Children why their prescriptive title to traffic in the are kept in a state of implicit submission, personal effects of their master, or to disand compulsory training, on purpose that pose of his person, should be one degree they may grow up into men fit to take care less inviolate than that of the master to of themselves; and slaves it seems on pur- trade upon their flesh and blood. It is not pose that they may not.

overlooked) the peculiar difficulty, arising Eastman's Aunt Phillis had. "I am an from his condition, in giving such moral honest woman," she says, "and not in the

generous St. Clare, who would have been

Things incomplete and purposes betrayed, The saddest transits o'er truth's mystic glass."

He says, "As to honesty, the slave is kept in that dependent semi-childish state, that there is no making him realize the rights of property, or feel that his master's goods are not his own, if he can get them. For my part, I don't see how they can be honest." Most persons would say, teach the slave that theft is a sin-granted, but he will deny that it is a theft. It is enemy's property, and fair spoil. He is not a member of the community. It is a hostile one.

"Think'st thou we will not sally forth, To spoil the spoiler as we may, And from the robber rend the prey."

His master has stolen him, or at least is the intemperate; yet to put out of account a receiver. And he will ask whether if you altogether the danger of abuses to which any were taken prisoner by bandits, and either thing is liable, is an absurdity which no one kept by them or transferred by them to would be guilty of in ordinary life. The others-you would, though you might be power which an absolute sovereign might tempting to escape, feel any scruple of conhave exercised for the benefit of his subjects. science—any doubt of the right—to mount We also deny the second premiss, that their best horse and ride off! Such is the slavery is not evil in itself. Slavery is slave's case. You cannot prove to him that an evil when not abused, and when the he has not a fair right to anything (includmaster is kind and judicious. Even if we ing himself) belonging to his master, or to could find security for a despot, that he any other member of the community which should exercise his despotic power bene- is hostile to him. It is not coveting one's volently, yet his sway must degrade and neighbour's goods to sue another for da-

It is this impossibility of reconciling that causes the peculiar difficulty of impart-Slavery unnaturally dissociates the ideas ing moral instruction to the negro, and quite so easy a matter to give a negro as Mrs. Stowe has perceived (what is often clear ideas of the meum and tuum as Mrs.

habit of taking anything. I would not take principles, the motives, and the examples my freedom." We might easily shew that which the New Testament sets before us. a similar difficulty stands in the way of in- We need not multiply commonplace quotaculcating any other moral precept.

aries proceed? And how did Paul proceed? How did he freely instruct slaves, while by the legislators of South Carolina themguarding his instructions against anything selves; for one of the first articles of the tending to a servile war? We find that code organizing slavery contains a formal Paul based his exhortations to them, as in- declaration, "that a slave who shall be bapdeed to all his Christian converts, on the tized is in nowise, in virtue thereof, to be duty of not raising a prejudice against the given his freedom."* But the Carolinian, gospel. If respect for authority is to be in- as the organ of the southern slaveholders, culcated, it is thus he urges it:- "Let as declares the system to be of God, and remany servants as are under the yoke count gards it as the "five talents" committed to their masters worthy of all honour, that the them, which it "would be a weak and name of God and his doctrine be not blas wicked prayer to ask to be taken from phemed." Are honesty and fidelity urged? I them." Indeed, such stress do slaveholders "Not purloining, but shewing all good seem as if they were such only in homage fidelity, that they may adorn the doctrine of to religion. But such homage to the Prince God our Saviour in all things." It has been of Peace-to Him with "the easy yoke well said that "the christian system is one and the light burden"—to Him who "takes which substitutes sublime principles for the lambs in his bosom, and gently leads exact rules." And the apostles, while labouring constantly to inculcate these principours foul scorn on Him, and reminds us ples, left men who had embraced them (as rather of the "purple robe," and the "reed," ples, left men who had embraced them (as rather of the "purple robe," and the "reed," Dr. Hinds remarks in his "History of the, and the mocking.

Origin of Christianity") to rectify their intitutions accordingly for themselves. They the slave to his master may even be a carefully abstained from politics—that is, spring of moral elevation, generating great from all direct interference with social institutions. Every political question may be losses and clarity "eminently calculated to made out to be somehow connected with give rise to the christian virtues,"—that realizing the properties were not existed. religion; but the apostles were not satisfied thus the very spirit of Christianity may be with abstaining from all interference with incorporated in the actual system of slavery, whatever had no connexion with religion; While among the New Englanders the poor they abstained from any direct interference are only occasionally seen, and that chiefly even with current politics, in the works of by the humane Jews, the slaveholders, havtheir christian mission. They shew, by ing the poor always with them, are in a their example, that it is not the office of the position that promotes their active useful-Church of Christ to ally itself with any one ness, at some sacrifice perhaps of their roparty in the community; but rather to permantic sensibilities. Is this meant for an meate all human society, by an indirect illustration of Butler's well-known doctrine (often unconscious) influence and reconciling power. But if this silence of the apostles on the special and individual application to slavery of the principles they inculcated, be the sanction for the system, as some American slaveholders maintain it is, then despotism is as much sanctioned by Scripture as slavery. The American defenders of slavery will scarcely like to accept this conclusion from their premisses: and yet certain it is that the tyranny of Nero is as much sanctioned by this silence, and by the apostolic exhortations to "honour the as the oppression of the slave.

If, then, there be no sanction for slavery in this apostolic silence and submission, as regards the then existing institution of slavery, we assuredly cannot find it in the 210.

tions. Indeed it seems that the inconsist-But, how then do the Moravian mission- ency of slavery with the spirit and general principles of Christianity was clearly seen -they are urged on the same ground: lay upon the divine sanction, that it would

> of the active and passive habits? ought not the Bishop then to have enjoined us to keep slaves chained to our hall-doors, in order to secure an increase of our "active usefulness," even at the expense of our romantio feelings?

> As to the argument, that slavery was from the first intended as the fulfilment of God's curse upon the descendants of Canaan, we can only say, that however little we may desire to feel as Mrs. Eastman says Aunt Phillis did under her full conviction of this -as if burning in Hecla, though fully submitting to the inevitable decree-yet we still less envy the feelings of those slave-

holders who are content to believe them-jamid many deplorable social evils, much selves the fulfillers—the executioners—of a effort, wise and unwise, is making to impart eurse on their fellow-men. But it does to our poor that knowledge, and to encouseem a strange perversion to turn a pro-rage them to the exercise of that forepheey of evil into a precept to commit it. thought, which would give them self-de-On this shewing, the Pharaohs were obedi- pendence and self-respect. ent servants of God in evil-entreating his crime against Him whom they erueified.

There is one point more in the Carolinian's pamphlet which we must notice. He has taken advantage of a fallacy put by most plausible way. He states that a capitalist is virtually a slaveowner as much as Mrs. Stowe says, " of any fig leaf of covering partly from imagination. from the intolerable blaze of the scorn of civilized humanity." to one man over another is met with every- these Blue-books contain. stitution of society, as it is to contend against storms, earthquakes, and blights. He admits that the slave is wretelied and these as the produce of the estate. degraded, but he takes comfort to himself legally inevitable, is worse than that in which within the limit of American law. it may lawfully be avoided. If our poor are effectually taught to lay by when they have good wages, not to marry improvidently, the last moment of the slave's earthly existence, not to bring up their children in ignorance, and to all his descendants to the latest posterity. not to join trade-unions, (a horrible slavery, but self-imposed,) and to guard against various other things prejudicial to their wellbeing and dependent upon themselves to land does not straiten him, nor does any impassable barrier narrow up his career. impassable barrier narrow up his career.

The man of the lowest grade in England plant in any known mode against his master.

may attain any position, not hereditary.

"3. The slave being considered a personal may attain any position, not hereditary. "3. The slave being considered a personal And in these days of philanthropic effort, chattel may be sold, or pledged, or leased, at

An American writer of a book, entitled people, and the Jews were justified in their "England's Glory and her Shame," gives the result of his (supposed) observations during a "tour in the manufacturing districts of England," and draws a most appalling picture of the misery and degradation Mrs. Stowe into St. Clare's mouth, but of the manufacturers; to the great consolamerely for the purpose of putting the slave- tion, no doubt, of the American slave-ownholder's most plausible argument in the ers, who are thus left satisfied that if slavery is a bad thing, there is no alternative but something worse. Now, we happen to a Virginian planter, since, with the employed have ascertained, through the medium of a in England, it is only "work or be starved," gentleman who personally knew the author, instead of "work or be flogged." This falthat he set foot in Europe, but concocted his lacy, the slaveholder catches at, "glad," as work partly from Blue-books, and perhaps

It must, however, be added, in fairness to He makes up his the author, that he was probably not aware mind that "this power that slavery gives of the amount of misrepresentation some of They are the where in society," that all the actual misery Reports of the Evidence taken before the and degradation of the slave is nothing Committee on the Ten-hours' Bill-a work more than what is to be found in all coun- which too much resembled a supposed botries, and that it is as vain to contend tanical examination of a certain farm and against what he believes to be an absolute garden, resulting in a collection of a few decree of Providence, in regard to the con- nettles out of one field, and four or five

But we shall place before our readers a in pointing to human Beings still more de-short digest of slave-laws of the South and based. Indeed, the way this argument is West, and ask them to contrast the condipushed, would seem to imply that better tion to which the slave is shut up by law in must always mean good. But it is totally America, with that of the very poorest free-false that the condition of the slave is not man in a free country. If the following infinitely worse than that of the poorest statement does not exhibit what American labourer in England. Indeed, it must be slave-holders actually practise, it shows at so, as long as a position in which evil is least what it is possible for them to practise,

"1. Slavery is hereditary and perpetual, to

62. The labour of the slave is compulsory and uncompensated; while the kind of labour, the amount of toil, the time allowed for rest, are dictated solely by the master. No bargain being and dependent upon themselves to is made, no wages given. A proud despotism avoid, their condition will indefinitely improve. No legislative restriction sets any limit to that improvement 16 and 18 a limit to that improvement. If a man be quality, depend entirely on the master's discre-not "straitened in himself," the law of the tion. To use the language of Judge Stroud, land does not straiten him, nor does any "The slave is entirely under the control of his master-is unprovided with a protector-and,

the will of his master. He may be exchanged | ciple and devotedness unto death is not for marketable commodities, or taken in execution for the debts or taxes either of a living or dead master. Sold at auction, either individually or in lots to suit the purchaser. He may remain with his family, or be separated from them for ever.

" 4. Slaves can make no contracts, and have no legal right to any property, real or personal. Their own honest earnings, and the legacies of friends, belong in point of law to their masters.

"5. Neither a slave or a free coloured person

can be a witness against any white or free person in a court of justice, however atrocious may have been the crimes they have seen him commit, if such testimony would be for the benefit of a slave; but they may give testimony against a fellow slave, or free coloured man. Even in cases affecting life, if the master is to reap the advantage of it.

"6. The slave may be punished at his master's discretion - without trial -without any means of legal redress; whether his offence be real or imaginary; and the master can transfer the same despotic power to any person or per-

sons he may choose to appoint.

"7. The slave is not allowed to resist any free man under any circumstances; his only safety consists in the fact that his owner may bring suit and recover the price of his body, in case his life is taken, or his limbs rendered unfit for labour

"8. Slaves cannot redeem themselves, or obtain a change of masters, though cruel treatment may have rendered such a change necessary for their personal safety.

"9. The slave is entirely unprotected in his

domestic relations.

"10. The laws greatly obstruct the manumission of slaves, even where the master is willing to enfranchise them.

"11. The operation of the laws tends to deprive slaves of religious instruction and consola-

- " 12. The whole power of the laws is exerted to keep slaves in a state of the lowest ignor-
- "13. There is in this country a monstrous inequality of law and right. What is a trifling fault in a white man, is considered highly criminal in the slave; the same offences which cost a white man a few dollars only are punished in the negro with death."

A word, in conclusion, in reference to Uncle Tom himself and his history. If there is nothing in American law to justify any presumption against the truth of this pic-ture, neither is there anything in human nature to prevent the possibilities of the law from being converted into realities of so-Cases strikingly similar to Uncle Tom are not unknown, though it is said that Mrs. Stowe in pourtraying the meekly heroic old man has drawn altogether on her fancy. We have been furnished with a

without a parallel :-

"In the summer of 1849," says the editor of the Pittsbury Visitor, "we were in Louisville, Kentucky. As no great change has ever taken place in our opinion on this slavery question, we were at some loss then for a place to go to preaching, and used on Sabbath to walk out to a grave-yard, or into the fields, or up and down the streets in search of sermons.

"One forenoon passing a little church from whence the sound of singing arose, Brother Samuel, who was with us, remarked that it was a congregation of Methodists, and a missionary station, and that he had once dropped in there

and heard a sermon he liked.

"We went in and took a seat. A plain-looking elderly man preached in the style usual for Methodist preachers in country places—all about religion—its comforts in life, and triumphs in death. He insisted, with great earnestness, that it was a 'great thing to be a Christian.' Religion-it made the weak strong, and the meanest most honourable. To illustrate this grand truth he told an anecdote, as some-thing coming within the range of his own knowledge, of an old slave who had 'got re-ligion.' His master was kind, but irreligious and reckless, and was withal much impressed by the earnestness of his servant's prayers and exhortations. But one day, one evil day, on Sabbath, too, this same kind master, was drinking, and playing cards with a visitor, when the conversation turned upon the religion of slaves visitor boasted that he could 'whip the religion out of any nigger in the State in half an hour.' The master, proud of possessing a rare specimen, boasted that he had one out of whom the religion could not be whipped. A bet was laid, and the martyr summoned. A fearful oath of recantation and blasphemous denial of his Saviour was required of the old disciple, upon pain of being whipped to death. The answer was, 'Bless de Lord, Massa, I can't.' Threats, onths and entreaties, and noise were tried, but he fell on his knees, and holding up his hands, pleaded, 'Bless de Lord, Massa, I can't. Jesus, he die for me. Massa, please Massa, I can't.' The executioner summoned his aids, the old man was tied up, and the whipping commenced; but the shricks for mercy were all intermingled with prayers and praises—prayers for his own soul and those of his murderers. When fainting and revived, the terms of future freedom from punishment were offered again and again; he put them away with the continued excla-mation, 'Jesus, he die for me; Bless de Lord, Massa, I can't.' The bet was to the full value of the property endangered. The men were flushed with wine, and the experimenter on nigger religion insisted upon trying it out. Honour demanded he should have a fair chance to win his bet: and the old disciple died under the lash, blessing the Lord that Jesus had died for him !

"The preacher gave his recital with many tears, and before he was done we do not think case of actual occurrence, which we offer as there was a dry eye, except our own in the proof that this exhibition of Christian prin- house. Our pulses all stood still with horror, but the speaker did not appear to dream that his knowledge, that religion, those literary and

with which he was surrounded. "We cannot remember how he said the particulars came to his knowledge, but think the martyr had been under his pastoral care, and that he got the minute from slave witnesses in

'love-feast.'

"He gave us the story simply to shew what a good thing religion was. Of those who heard it, and the many persons there to whom we re-lated it, we found not one who appeared to doubt it. Any indignation felt and expressed was against the individual actors in the tragedy."

We are compelled by our limits, to bring this article to a close-not by having exhausted, or nearly exhausted, the subject. In fact, the most practical part of it remains behind. We shall perhaps return to it on some future occasion. Meantime, we beg to assure all really humane and christian Americans, whether Northern or Southern, that we have written " more in sorrow than in anger;" that we sincerely wish their deliverance from the truly difficult position in which they are placed, and that we are actuated by no spirit of hostile rivalry, but have endeavoured to speak the truth in love.

ART. VIII .- 1. Twelfth General Report of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners. Presented to Parliament by Command. London, 1852.

2. Practical Instructions to Boards of Guardians as to the Emigration of Poor Persons at the Cost of the Poor Rate. By W. G. LUMLEY. London, 1852.

3. Correspondence relating to Emigration from the Highlands and Islands of Scot-Parliamentary Paper. London, land. 1852.

4. Memoir and Labours of Caroline Chisholm, London, 1852.

EMIGRATION is the natural method by which old countries are to be relieved, and new countries to be peopled; the operation designed by Providence for at once mitigating more rapid, and more general; agriculture the evils of civilisation and cradicating those of barbarism; the mode of transfer- factures are still extending and generally ring the surplus wealth and population flourishing. In the general aspect of the which in the course of time have become a country there is unquestionably much ground burden instead of a benefit in the limited for gratitude, and for self-congratulation, field of comployment where they had their But if, descending from the statistical height origin, to lands which need nothing but this which has given us this bird's-eye view, we transfer to be converted from a wilderness examine the constituents of English society into a garden; the means of spreading over a little in detail, we are perplexed and painthe globe those arts, those luxuries, that ed by much that is exceptional or contradic-

story had any bearing against the institutions scientific achievements, in a word, that aggregate of social gains which have sprung up in remote and specially favoured centres of human existence. To the more improving and energetic races of men, emigration from an overerowded home to emptier and more attractive quarters, is as natural and instinctive a movement as swarming is to bees; it is forced upon them by nearly the same necessity; and, if well-timed and wisely conducted, is rewarded by pretty much the same re-

There probably never was a nation to which emigration on a great scale was more urgently suggested than to England in the middle of the nineteenth century-both by difficulties at home and by attractions abroad. Her population and her wealth were rapidly increasing, but the field for the employment of both was limited; the rate of profit was diminishing; the rate of interest was being reduced; all professions were overstocked; distress, in one circle or another, was frequent and recurrent; and in all ranks "the uneasy class" was on the inerease. On the other hand, our colonies were clamorous for a supply of labour; they were boundless in extent; they embraced every variety of climate, from the arctic to the tropical; they offered every variety of occupation to the emigrant, from the shepherd to the lumberer; and they promised a field to nearly every description of talent and activity. Above all, they assured to every one the certainty of an unanxious future. On the one side was an insatiable demand: on the other an inexhaustible supply.

We are not disposed to draw a gloomy picture of the condition of our people. That condition on the whole has greatly improved in the last forty or fifty years. Not only bas wealth and luxury greatly increased, but the mass of the community have been more than ever before participators in all those advantages which enterprise and science have created. The consumption of luxuries has greatly augmented among all classes; the price of food and clothing has diminished; locomotion has become immensely cheaper, has improved; and commerce and manu-

tory. The whole community seems to be sweet natural ties of wife and mother are afflicted with what the French call a sort of felt, at an early age, to be almost unattainmalaise générale; and the symptoms of the able: if they are beautiful they must barter malady are nearly uniform in each rank, their loveliness for a wealthy suitor; if they The "uneasy class," as it has been aptly have few personal attractions, their probable termed, is not a distinct section of the nation, but consists of a vast aggregate of con-tributions from every section. The highest tributions from every section. and the lowest orders alike furnish their quota. All, in every rank, who cannot indulge in the common privilege of humanity, a religious vocation-a perpetual protest the enjoyment of the domestic ties, without against the great undiscovered wrong or losing their status in society - who can blunder of the world. only purchase a wife and children at the concost of every other blessing, and who there tributions to the "uneasy class" increase. fore shrink from the absorbing price—be- All who are anxious, and with reason, as to long to the "uneasy class." Among the their own future or that of their children, aristocraey, those younger sons, whose parents can bequeath to them no adequate income; whom the exhaustion of the family ever accumulate property: they can seldom interest, or the progress of popular retrench even hold their own. People with fixed ment, cuts off from the old chances of a comfortable sineeure; who are too poor, too been rising in the world, in consequence of proud, or too unenterprising for the exacting the steady and considerable reduction which occupations of commerce; who, if they en has taken place in the price of all articles, ter the Church, have no fat family living to But the recent discoveries of gold make it inherit, and feel no superior capacities by questionable whether the tendency hence-which to carve their way to a prebend or a forth will not set in an opposite direction. bishopric, who know that the army or the People, too, with fixed money incomes have navy, though an honourable profession, is generally small incomes, and the very cirscarcely ever wealth, and seldom even live cumstance that these incomes are fixed and lihood, to any but the favoured children of incapable of increase, renders their possesfortune; whose talents at the bar-where sors anxious about the future, and fearful of they would have to meet the competition of encountering the burden of a family, which rivals inured to labour, trained to endurance they have even fewer facilities than others and stimulated by actual want—would pro-for placing out in the world. Persons, again, bably never secure them a single brief; living on the interest of money, have, for a whose only prospect, therefore, is to vege- long series of years, found their incomes tate on some wretched subordinate post in alarmingly diminished. Five per cent. used the administration, or to purchase an income to be attainable where three and a half is by expatriation as governor or secretary to scarcely to be got now. The profits of trade, some cheerless and uncultured colony,—too, have fallen off, pari passu, with the inthese are among the contributions of our terest of money. Political economists exnobility and gentry to the "uneasy class." plain to us that this must be so: any one The poverty and privations of these unpro- who will compare his own rate of profit with vided scions of the great are severer than is that which his father tantalizes him by decommonly supposed, and their numbers are seribing as usual in his day, knows that it is very considerable. They have often to live so. Numbers of merchants, manufacturers, as dependants through the whole of life; and tradesmen belong to the "uneasy class." they have to maintain the externals not only of gentility but of wealth, on an income wealthiest might be reduced to poverty at a barely adequate to the merest needs of high stroke. These classes are far more numer-society; by the right and the necessity of our than they used to be; but how few birth they live in daily contact with the among them feel any real security as to the most enervating and enviable luxury which subsistence or the careers of their children! they must in a manner share and endure, How frequent and how stern have been the yet scarcely enjoy or grasp; and they are warnings against indulging in any such secucondemned to perpetual celibacy, from the rity! Every merchant knows how difficult curse of which they can only escape by the it is to place his son in first rate counting-low achievement of hunting down an heiress, houses. Every manufacturer knows how The junior branches of the other sex are lit. difficult it is to find for his son, however dilitle better off: with hundreds of them the gent and steady, a safe partnership, unless he

lot is either to fritter away existence in insipid distractions, or to wither slowly,wretchedly virtuous—poor lay nuns, torn and shaken by earnest natural affections unconsoled even by the sad delusions of

As we descend in the social scale the conbelong to it. The farmers, as a body, it is well known, belong to it. They scarcely money incomes have indeed, for many years,

has a large capital wherewith to purchase it. more dispiriting. Here it is certain that term which I have used."#

How many are summoned down from their more equivocal and ignominious. most aspiring dreams of human regeneration

"To stoop to strive with misery at the door!"

How many find themselves unable, even by the severest labour and the strictest frugality, to escape debt and disgrace !- In the medical profession again, how few are those who grow rich in comparison with those who remain poor! How few are those who make a large income compared with those who make no income at all! And how many anxious and suffering years have been endured even by the most successful, at the outset of their career! Probably at least half of those who have embraced this profession have lived during the greater portion of life upon their private fortune, not on their professional gains. Diligenee, skill, seienee, prudence-unless far beyond the averageare unavailing to secure practice or emolument. More than average opportunitiesmore than average good fortune-are needed in addition. The case of the bar is even

"The desire to establish children in the world only a minority actually live by their prois the same as ever, while the difficulty of fession. The majority pass the best years accomplishing that object is much greater; of their life sickening in expectation of a since beginners in trade require a much brief, though thoroughly acquainted with larger capital than formerly to obtain the their profession, unremitting in their applisame income; unfavourable accidents hapcation, and inured to any severity of toil, pen as before, while bankrupteies, complete | It was, indeed, given in evidence before the The existence, therefore, of all those whose incomes are derived from the employment incomes are derived from the employment incomes are derived from the employment. of capital-except great capitalists, who can barristers made enormous fortunes, while a easily save out of diminished incomes-is a larger number were in receipt of moderate continual struggle with difficulties. How to emoluments, Still it is notorious that not make the two ends meet; which way to more than one-third of those who are auturn; how to provide for one claim without nually called ever rise to live by their profes-neglecting another; how to escape what sion. The same remarks apply to the class they consider degradation; how on earth to of engineers, artists, literary men, and clerks: manage for their children:—these are the thoughts which trouble and perplex them. bread out of each other's mouths." The The anxious, vexed, or harassed class, would case of governesses speaks volumes; and be a better name for them than the milder volumes of indescribable sadness, A vast proportion of them have never been intended The case is the same in professions: all or educated for their occupation, but have are overstocked; in all there is the same been reduced to it by the misfortunes or intense competition; in all there are vast non-success of their families. Numbers of numbers of disappointed votaries; in all the them have fallen suddenly-numbers more blanks are many and the prizes few. Every lawe sunk gradually—from the easy into year sees fresh clergymen issuing from col-the uneasy class. They are now to be had lege, anxious, and often for long years of any character, with any acquirements, on anxious in vain, for a miserable curacy; and almost any terms. Every one who adverreduced to support life by the most strenuous tises is embarrassed and overwhelmed by contrivances till they can obtain one. How the multitude of the applicants. And for many never get beyond a curacy! How what? For the wages of a butler or a Lonmany pass their whole lives in a ceaseless don footman; and for a situation in some struggle with embarrassment and want! cases-be it said with pain and shame-

> Now, in all these instances the root of the evil is identical. The labourers are too The hands are many for the vineyard. seeking for the work, instead of the work being elamorous for the hands to do it. For every job there are two applicants; and, of the two, one only can be employed and fed. Notwithstanding the vast increase in our national wealth; not withstanding the multiplied and daily multiplying wants which our luxurious eivilisation has engendered,-the field of employment is still too limited for the numbers who are crowding into it. Hence the severity of competition; hence the intensity of pursuit necessary to success in any line; hence the uncertainty of victory even to the best-strung energies. Hence that sad aspect which, amid all its more glorious features, English society presents,of a race of men, capable of a higher destiny, meant for calmer enjoyment and for nobler aims, to whom life is not a pilgrimage but a race, -whose whole existence, from the eradle to the grave, is one breathless hurry—a crush, a struggle, and a strife!

^{*} England and America, i. 93.

Things do not brighten as we go down, and its vincinity, and in the manufacture The agricultural labourers, who may now of Laucashire and Cheshire, are specimens number about a million, exclusive of their dos. Others, again, as the handfamilies, have long been in a condition loom weavers of Lancashire, Paisley, and which is at once a grief, a perplexity, and a Spitalfields, are either always or periodically reproach. It is not that they are worse off in distress; their numbers are greater than now than formerly.*—we believe the reverse to be unquestionable-but still their state is to the last degree unsatisfactory; and has been so, time out of mind. In some to work excessive hours in order to scrape counties they are more prosperous and bet-ter paid than in others: generally speaking, tence. There are some localities (as in their position deteriorates in proportion as agriculture is the only occupation of the district. The labourers are better off in the of a once lucrative trade. But throughout north than in the south. In Lancashire, Yorkshire, Cumberland, and Westmoreland. they have in ordinary times not much to them; true to a great extent, but to a great complain of. In Dorsetshire and Devonshire they seem to be permanently wretched. In Leicestershire and Lincolnshire the wages are often regular and ample: in Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire, they are seldom tion to that of the brutes that perish. such as adequately to support life. But as a whole it is, we fear, indisputable that the usual earnings of the rural day-labourer are not sufficient to provide his family with food, clothing, and habitation, of fitting kind and quantity; life is spent in "the hard struggle of living,"—a struggle successful or unsuccessful, as the case may be; but on either supposition, leaving no leisure for enjoyment or improvement, and offering no possibility of rising; on either supposition, scarcely an existence suitable for men with intellects, souls, and human affections,scarcely an existence which we can bear to regard as the normal and inevitable one for large classes of our countrymen.

If from rural we turn to artisan life, we find evils of a different, but scarcely less lamentable sort. As a rule, the employed artisans are in receipt of earnings which, rightly spent, might support them in comfort, raise them above want, provide for the future, and often elevate them into the class of capitalists. But great numbers of them -perhaps the majority-are reckless and wasteful: they make no provision for future vicissitudes; and when reverses come, they are as destitute as if they had never known what wealth was. The people engaged in the iron works of Wales and Monmouthshire, in the hardware trades of Birmingham

support; sometimes they can find no employment; at other times they are compelled Leicestershire for example) where distress has arisen from the dying out or the removal a great body of the artisan population, the complaint-made less by them than for extent also self-caused-is the same: their toil is so incessant and severe, as to leave no time nor wish for anything but sleep, and to render their life an alarming approxima-

There is yet another class, of whose condition fearful pictures have of late been laid before the world-the distressed workpeople of large towns-the distressed needlewomen; the distressed tailors; the distressed bootmakers, and others, who, in the very midst of wealth, are said to be in destitution and squalor indescribable; in the midst of freedom to be actually and physically in bondage as savage and incscapable as that of the American negro. These classes are said to number some thousands in the metropolis alone; and their sufferings and privations to be such as can scarcely be credited in a civilized and Christian country. Nor, whatever may be our opinion as to the causes of their wretchedness, or the undue colouring thrown over it, can we refuse to believe in the general fact of its existence.

There was enough, one would have thought, in such a state of things as we have described, to induce whole swarms of our countrymen to leave the old world, where they were so anxious and so wretched, and flock to those more favoured scenes where a cordial welcome awaited them, and where at least they might feel secure of ample subsistence and an improving future. But many difficulties and determents stood in the way. The educated and refined classes, painful and anomalous as was often their position here, shrunk from leaving behind them all the elegancies of polished life, all the amenities of cultivated society, and plunging into scenes where success must be

In the whole of this picture it must be borne in mind that we are describing the English community, not precisely as it presents itself to our observation in this autumn of 1852, when emigration, free trade, and a succession of good harvests, have combined to place all classes—especially the labourers—for the time, in a condition of unusual comfort and prosperity: we are delineating England as it averaged in uncertained by unremitting toil and fre-the aggregate from 1940 to 1850.

on a level, and sometimes the latter had greater still. The following are the num-even the advantage; and where those, bers who have gone out in the first six who in England had belonged to the ruling months of 1852:class, would often find themselves at the mercy and under the control of meddling and vulgar officials. The industrious classes, whose education had taught them little of any country but their own, were alarmed at the length of the voyage, and the distauce of the colony, and had formed exaggerated notions of the dangers and embar. This is at the rate of 365,972 for the whole rassments which attend the emigrant life- year, or exactly 1000 a day. of the contest with savage nature and savage men. The destitute did not know ments to the mode in which this emigrahow to go, and for many years no arrange- tion proceeds, and to the various arrangements were made to facilitate their transfer. ments which have been made to promote and Emigration therefore proceeded but slowly, facilitate it. though at an increasing rate; some new and extraordinary stimulants were wanting Ireland, which is two-thirds of the whole. to give an impulse to the movement ade- Of 335,966 who left the United Kingdom quate to the requirements of the case, in 1851, 257,372 are stated to have been These stimulants Providence sent, in the Irish; and of the 182,986 who have emifamine in Ireland and the Highlands, and the grated in the first six months of 1852, not gold discoveries in Australia. The effect of less than 126,000 are Irish. There are two these in giving vigour and expansion to the previously languid exodus from our shores, may be seen from the following table, from which it appears that in twenty-two years, from 1825 to 1846 inclusive, the emigration from the United Kingdom was only if from data furnished by the Emigration Com-

EMIGRATION FROM THE UNITED KINGDOM FROM

Vears	N. Amer- ican Col- onics.	U. States.	Australia and New Zealand.	All oth'r Places.	Total.
1825	8.741	5.551	485	114	11.891
1826	12,818	7,063	903	116	20,900
1827	12,644	14,526	715	114	29,003
1828	12,084	12,817	1.056	135	26,69-2
1829	13,307	15,674	2,016	197	31,198
1930	30,574	24,887	1,212	204	56,907
1831	69,067	23,418	1,561	114	83 160
1532	66,339	32,872	3,733	196	103,140
1833	24,904	29,109	4,093	617	62,527
1831	40,060	33,071	2,800	288	76,222
1835	15,573	26,720	1,860	325	44,478
1836	34,226	37,771	3.124	293	75,417
1837	29,848	36,770	5,051	326	72,031
1639	4,677	14,332	11,021	29-2	83,222
1839	12,658	33,536	15,786	227	62,207
1840	32,293	40,643	15,850	1,958	90,743
1881	38,164	45,017	32,625	2,786	118,592
1842	64,123	63,852	8,534	1,835	129,344
1843	23,518	24,333	3,478	1,891	57,212
1844	22,921	43,660	2,229	1,873	70,696
1845	\$1,603	5H,535	830	2,330	93,501
1846	43,439	82,239	2,347	1,826	129,851
1847	109,690	142,154	4,949	1,487	259,270
1848	31.065	188,233	23,904	4,687	244,089
1849	41,367	219,450	32,091	6,590	229,498
1850	33,961	223,078	16,037	8,773	280,849
1831	42,603	267,357	21,532	4,472	335,966
Total.	894,306	1,750,682	222,935	41,036	2,901,999

* England is not the only country which is re-ligant herself largely of her surplus population. Carrying with them on an average 200 Thalers, or The emigration from Germany is at the present about £30 each, or a total of £3,000,000.

gentleman and the labourer was nearly! This year the emigration promises to be

To the United States,			136,204
British North America	h .		19,453
Australian Colonies, .			25,810
All other Places, .			1,519
		-	182,986

Let us now give attention for a few mo-

First, with regard to the emigration from 1,480,000, or about 67,300 yearly, whereas missioners, (at pp. 11 and 13 of their last in the five years from 1847 to 1851, it has Report, which we have placed at the head been 1,422,670, or more than 284,500 per annum.* less than 230,000 went to the United States. The second feature goes far to explain the first. Nearly the whole of the emigration from Ireland is conducted by funds furnished either by the emigrants themselves or by their friends in America. A few of the Irish proprietors have assisted their former tenants to escape to a more fortunate country, as a humane and peaceful method of effecting the necessary clearance of their

> moment, and has been for some years, most extensive and systematic. The Germansemigrate mainly to the United States, and go in whole villages and communities at once, taking their clergymen with them, and having generally sent over some one before-hand to survey the promised laud, and to make purchases and preparation for them. We have no means of ascertaining the numbers who have gone with any exactness, but they are estimated at 400,000 in recent years. The Central Emigration Society of Germany gives the numbers moment, and has been for some years, most exten-Emigration Society of Germany gives the numbers who sailed in 1852 as follows:

From	Bremen.		37,943
11	Hamburg.		18,127
11	Havre,		35,000
11	Rolterdam,		3,000
11	Anlwerp,		9,243

34,052 to reach Australia; but by far the greater proportion of the passage-money of the Irish emigrants has been sent over from America. The sums remitted for this purpose, which the Commissioners have been enabled to trace, amounted, in

1848,	to	upw	ards of	£460,000
1849,				540,000
1850,				957,000
1851,				990,000

Now the average expense of reaching the Australian colonies is about £15 a-head; that of emigrating to America does not exceed £4. Everything therefore combines to direct Irish emigration to the United States-the comparative cheapness of the transit, the fact that both the means and the attraction are furnished by their relatives who have preceded them, and added to these motives, we fear, is the strongly operative one of a desire to escape from the hated domination of the Saxons.

The emigration movement next in importance is that conducted by the "Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners," who are supplied with funds from the Cape and the Australian colonies (chiefly arising from the sale of land) for the purpose of affording a free (or nearly free) passage thither to such emigrants as they shall deem suitable. Between 1847 and 1851 inclusive, about £800,000 had been thus expended, and 62,664 persons have been sent. The funds in the hands of the Commissioners are increasing, and their opera tions are beginning to be on a proportionately extensive scale. The discovery of gold has given an enormous stimulus to emigration to this quarter, and it appears probable that its entire amount (assisted and unassisted) will this year reach 50,000 against 21,000 last year.

There are three or four New Zealand colonies, each of which has its special corresponding society at home; they sent out last year an aggregate of 2677 emigrants,

But perhaps the most useful and the best conducted of all the emigration arrangements of this country is that which has been which had long been both poor and overpeo-

estates, and the Emigration Commissioners the Channel, but equally impoverished and have, in the course of ten years, aided unenergetic. They lived in the same way, on small crofts or farms, divided and subdivided as the families increased, keeping sometimes a cow, sometimes a few sheep, but subsisting mainly on potatoes and fish, and on the wages they could obtain in the Lowlands as agricultural labourers. Their numbers had become sadly redundant, and their condition very wretched, before the famine of 1846 and the succeeding years came to give them the coup-de-grace. Since that period they had been to a great extent supported by charity-a system which rapidly dried up their few remaining resources, and sapped their little remaining energy, Last year it became obvious that nothing but emigration on a large scale could save them. It is calculated that from 25,000 to 30,000 will have to be removed before the population in those barren and rocky districts will be reduced to an amount commensurate with their indigenous resources. At the same time the gold discoveries in Australia, by attracting away a large proportion of the herdsmen of the great grazing establishments, alarmed the proprietors of that colony for the safety of their flocks and the preservation of their yearly supply of wool. An urgent and sudden demand was made upon the mother country for some thousand shepherds. Now it happens that the Highlanders, both from taste and habit, are admirably adapted for this occupation. They are less fitted than either the English or the Lowlander for the steady and laborious pursuits of tillage; but the wild, rough, and comparatively easy life of the keepers of sheep and cattle exactly suited them. A society was therefore formed, under the skilful and energetic superintendence of Sir John M'Neill and Sir Charles Trevelyan, for removing the superabundant population of the Western Highlands to the Australian colonies. Subscriptions were raised, and an Act of Parliament to facilitate aid from the Highland proprietors was passed. The arrangements made were most judicious and complete. Calculating on and respecting the strong family affections which are so marked a feature in the Gaelic race, and arguing that a shepherd surrounded with his wife and children in the bush would be set on foot for transferring a portion of the population of the Western Highlands and the Hebrides to Australia. These districts, diggings,"—it was decided to send out whole families together. This made them pled, had suffered from the potato failure, in both more willing to go, and more valuable the same manner and nearly to the same and more reliable when they arrived. More-extent as Ireland. Like Ireland they were over it was found that old men, though past inhabited by Celts—far more peaceful and the full vigour necessary for the severe lamanageable, indeed, than their brethren over bours of agriculture, would be still serviceable as shepherds from their steadiness and | 11 experience. Accordingly the Emigration Commissioners agreed to relax their rules as to passage-money, and to afford the whole family, young and old, a (partially) free passage to Australia at the expense of the colony, the deposit payable by the emigrant (in aid of the passage-money) rising with the tender or advanced age of the individual. This deposit, and the necessary outfit and the transmission to the port of cmbarkation are provided in the proportion of one movement has commenced which may bethird by the proprietor, whose estate is thus come extensive and serviceable. The parish relieved of a heavy burden, and two-thirds of St. Martin's in the field has discovered by the general subscription. But in order that pauper families may be transported to at once to prevent the exhaustion of the Australia and fairly settled there for life, at funds thus obtained, and to prevent the in- the same cost as would only support them jurious and demoralizing effects upon the for a year at home. The rate-payers have emigrant of reliance on electrosynary aid, a therefore consented to a special rate of one promissory note is required from him be penny in the pound for the purpose of thus fore he goes on board, by which he engages removing those who have become chargeato pay back the amount advanced to him, ble, and who are willing to be removed to by fixed instalments, the details of which a more hopeful scene. They have just sent are to be arranged with him by the society's off the first shipload of sixty emigrants in correspondents in the colony, and which are good health and spirits, at a total cost of to be deducted from his wages by the mas- about £1000, or about £16 a head. ter by whom he is employed. In consider- The name of Mrs. Chisholm is widely charge no interest on the sum advanced, and and able lady, has probably done more than to forego acting on the promissory note, any one individual to protect emigrants, and which was made payable on demand. If, to render emigration easy and attractive. 4000 persons, at an average cost (over and she was in the habit of travelling long disabove the passage-money afforded by the lances into the bush with batches of her procolony, and their own private resources) of the procolony, and their own private resources) of the procolony, and their own private resources of their own private resources of the procolony, and their own private resources of barren regions can supply.

considerable amount of emigration partially mend and choose them wives. From first or wholly conducted by parochial funds. By the 4th and 5th of William IV. e. 76, 11,000 emigrants in comfortable situations, parishes were authorized to borrow money as well as in founding an institution and a on the security of their rates for the purpose system which, it may be hoped, will long of aiding such of their poor as might be survive. It is not easy indeed to overesti-

been aided to emigrate :--

	Persons		Persons.
Ip to the year 1836	5,521	Brought over.	11,855
In 1836	1,159	In 1844	900
1837	754	1845	750
1838	726	1846	208
1839	529	1847)	1,294
1840	613	1848	1,294
1841	729	1849	1,576
1842	936	1850	1,962
1843	858	1851	1,840
Carry over	11,855	Total,	20,385

This year, however, another parochial

ation of his entering into this engagement known to all who are interested in Austraand keeping it, the society promises to lian colonization. This excellent, judicious, however, the emigrant should quit the ship, Her first undertaking was the establishment and escape with his outfit, or when arrived of a "Home for female emigrants" in Sydout should attempt to abscond to "the dig-ney, where young women were received on gings," or should refuse to take regular em-their first arrival, and retained till suitable ployment, the promissory note can be at situations could be found for them, and were once acted upon. By this means, it is ex- thus saved from the almost certain ruin pected that nearly the whole of the advan- which awaited them, if left to their own reees will be recovered in little more than a sources, and compelled to find quarters for year, and be available for new emigrants, themselves. Her next step was to establine the society has this year sent out nearly lish affiliated "Homes" in the interior; and 4000 persons, at an average cost (over and she was in the habit of travelling long diswell in the world, many would apply to her For many years back there has been a to send them servants, and some to recomwilling to emigrate, whether paupers or not. mate either her merits or her services. She Under this Act the following numbers have is now in England; and has set on foot a society for enabling families to emigrate altogether, and thus avoid those painful sepa-1 By the combined effect of emigration and only enabled numbers of wives to rejoin tato-rot first appeared, the previous motheir emigrant husbands, and children their emigrant parents, but has arranged a most per cent.) had been maintained, the real unprotected, but under the wing of respectable families; while Captain Chisholm remains in Australia to watch over the location land after the famine, has ever since conof the emigrants whom his excellent lady thus consigns to him.

Finally, there remains for notice the Female Emigration Society, started by Mr. respectably and comfortably in Australia, a considerable number of females. They still continue their exertions, but we believe on Mrs. Chisholm's plan, and with her aid.*

deaths; and in Ircland very considerably exceed this addition. "If this drain goes on, how (it is asked) shall we recruit our army? and servants? how meet the increased cost of agriculture? how maintain our manufacturing superiority in the face of rising wages and augmented cost of production?" Let us look all these dangers fairly in the face, and examine them a little in detail; for it is most important that we should ascertain as far as may be, the future that is before us, and that the public mind should be harassed by no vague or unfounded fears,

The case of Ireland must be considered separately. The facts are concisely these,

It is gratifying to know that of 319,000 steerage emigrants in 1851, 147,000 were women.

This is so: yet we avow that we view the process without either alarm or regret. We regard it as both a necessary and a most salutary operation. By no milder process by no less wholesale exodus—could Ireland be regenerated and refloated. For generations she has had her head under water, and the chief part of her people have been in

rations so common under the old system famine, the population of Ireland was re-(when the young and unencumbered only duced from 8,175,124 in 1841 to 6,515,794 were taken,) which so greatly both retarded in 1851. But as there is every reason it and added to its hardships. She has not to believe that up to 1846, when the poderate rate of annual increase (about half admirable system by which young men and amount of depopulation in the five years women go out, not as formerly, isolated and from 1846 to 1851, was from 8,379,500 to 6,575,794, or 372,740 per annum. The stream of emigration which set in from Iretinued to flow at an accelerated rate. The tie of affection to the old country seems to have been fairly broken; the attractions of the New World are annually increasing, as Sidney Herbert. This was first established friends and relatives multiply on the other with a view of providing a remote and re- side of the Atlantic; the potato-rot conspectable home for those destitute needle- tinues, though in a mitigated form; labour women of worthy character, on whose behalf has become scarce, but owing to the absence public sympathy had recently been so largely of capital, wages have not materially risen; aroused. We have no wish to speak of the farms are every day being consolidated, and difficulties which the founders of this society estates are every day being cleared; and experienced in finding fit objects for their we are bound to say that we see no reason benevolence. In spite of these difficulties whatever to believe that the tide of emigrathey have sent out, and we believe placed tion has received, or will yet receive, a check. From 1847 to 1850 inclusive, about 200,000 Irish emigrants annually left their country; in 1851, this number had risen to 257,000; and in the first six months of 1852, 125,000 have gone. Now, the total Under the combined influence of the annual addition to the population by the various inducements and facilities we have surplus of births over deaths was from 1831 enumerated, emigration from the United to 1841, (before any of the recent distur-Kingdom has now reached a height which bing causes began to operate,) 65,157. But begins to excite considerable alarm in the as for many years back Ireland has been minds of many. It appears as if the old exporting the most healthy and vigorous country had reached its culminating point, portion of her children, those in the prime in population at least, and must henceforth of life by whom mainly multiplication is decline. On a rough estimate it seems that carried on, the Emigration Commissioners, the emigrants at least equal the addition to in their recent Report, estimate that those our numbers by the surplus of births over who remain-being in an unusual and increasing proportion the old, the feeble, and the infantine-do not more than barely keep up their numbers. We believe this calcuhow find an adequate supply of labourers lation to be quite correct. It follows, therefore, that the emigration from Ireland represents accurately enough the actual decrease of numbers; in other words, that Ireland is being depopulated at the rate of a QUARTER OF A MILLION per annum-a process which, if continued, will empty her entirely in the course of TWENTY-FOUR YEARS.

a state of chronic distress. They have people-we require not only to remove multiplied like rabbits, and cultivated the redundant numbers, but to replace them by soil like savages. It was stated ten years a more energetic, more aspiring, and more ago on the highest official authority, that 2,400,000 were habitually in a state of destitution, and dependent on elecmosynary aid is a continuous annual emigration (for at for a considerable portion of the year. The least a decade) of 250,000 Catholic Celts, Irish had few manufactures, and were little addicted to fishing. They looked almost exclusively to agriculture for subsistence; and their numbers were immeasurably greater than mere agriculture-especially such agriculture as theirs-could support. We borrow from the Quarterly Review of last December an argument and some figures which place the whole matter in a transparent and irrefragable light. The agricultural counties of England can scarcely maintain their own actual numbers, and do not even profess to support or employ their own increase. The cultivators of the soil have of late years actually diminished: more tillage is carried on with fewer labourers. The surplus and the increase of these counties find employ. ment in other districts and in other occupations: they migrate to the towns; they find engagements in the factories or the railways. Now, the ten most purely agricultural counties in England, with a climate equal to that of Ireland, a far richer soil, and an immeasurably more efficient and productive style of cultivation, find themselves fully peopled (if not overpeopled) with a population of improve, advance, and civilize; wherever one individual to four acres :- Ireland, even with worse land, and with a population already decimated by famine, had in 1851 a population of one individual to 23 acres ; in some districts the allowance was only two acres and a quarter, as will be seen by the following table :-

Provinces.	Statute acres inclusive of Lakes, &c.	Statute acres absolutely unimprova- ble.	Net available Stat. acres.	Population in 1852.	Acres to each Individual.
Uliter	8,262,000		4,850,000		2 28
Leanster, .	4,825,000		4,635,000		275
Munster, .	6,913,000		5,040,000		2 75
Connaught,	4,190,000	750,000	3,430,000	1,011,917	3 35
Total Inland	20,190,000	2,535,000	17,645,000	6,515 794	27

In order then to bring agricultural and illpeople, but we have the wrong kind of has proceeded so slowly is to be found in

and a simultaneous immigration of 50,000 Protestant Saxons or Scotch. In this direction lies the salvation of Ireland, the peace of England, and the solution of those political, social, and religious difficulties which have so long harassed and perplexed alike the most courageous, the most able, the most conscientious of our rulers. To this point should our most earnest efforts be directed :not to check or discourage the actual Irish exodus, but to counterbalance it by encouraging a large infusion of more vigorous and hopeful British and Protestant blood.

We are not blind to the many excellent and estimable qualities of the Irish; blended with others, controlled, disciplined, guided by others, they are a useful and serviceable people;—left to their own devices, a prey to their own indolent, slovenly, and improvident tendencies, all history shows how helpless and prone to degenerate they are. They make a bad nution, but admirable ingredients in a nation. It is the same in other regions. Wherever they settle singly among Americans or British, they they congregate, so as to carry Ircland about with them, they continue what we see them at home. We do not, in saving this, by any means wish to imply that they are an inferior race, but simply that they are a peculiar one, and not fitted to stand alone. being deficient in that restless energy, those indefinite desires, which are the very mainsprings of successful colonization-deficient also in that faculty of self-government and self control, in the absence of which free institutions can never flourish or be permanently maintained. But when their peculiarities have become modified, and their capacities developed, and their activity directed by an adequate amount of Scotch and English colonization of their country, we may hope to see all their good qualities brought out and utilized, and all their bad cultivated Ireland to a level with agricultu- ones repressed, and controlled, till Ireland, ral and well-cultivated England, her popula- so long a "howling wilderness," shall begin tion must be reduced to 4,500,000, or two "to blossom like the rose." This colonizamillions below its amount in 1851. The tion was recommended by Sir Robert Peel; tide of emigration may therefore go on at it was attempted by Cromwell; and it is its present rate for at least eight or ten years curious enough, that long before their time before it has even done enough. For be it it was proposed by Lord Bacon, in an elaremembered we have in this case two evils borate Memoir which he addressed to to remedy-we have not only too many James I, in 1606. The chief reason why it

the inadequate security hitherto afforded to lowing extracts are very interesting, as which deter peaceful men from casting in their lot with such an unquiet race. It has now, however, fairly commenced, and will, we doubt not, proceed with accelerated pace. The extent to which it has already gone it is not easy to ascertain; but in many quarters we hear of the settlement both of English and Scotch purchasers of land, and tenant farmers. A short time since, a traveller happening to sit down at an ordinary at Ballina, with a dozen other diners, discovered, in the course of the meal, that they were every one of them Scotch. At the recent meeting of the British Associa-tion at Belfast, the Earl of Mayo made the following statements. He said that-

" Having just returned from the west of Ireland, he could bear his testimony to the work of regeneration having begun in the west in a most remarkable manner. It must be gratifying to every one to know that in the west, taking in Galway and Mayo, Englishmen were coming to reside; and what was most singular was, that they went to the uncultivated and not to the cultivated parts. In one of the wildest parts-at Ballycroy -he found a small cottage inhabited by an English gentleman, and he (Lord Mayo) had the curiosity to ask for what reason he had purchased that particular place. His reply was convincing. He considered that, by buying that uncultivated spot, and paying attention to it, he would be able to double his income in a very short time. The place he had purchased was extremely low, flat, and marshy soil, and yet he had succeeded in cultivating some of it, and intended, in conse-quence of the success of his experiment, to cultivate more. With respect to other parts of Connemara-say from Westport to Clifden-he was surprised to find the number of houses occupied by persons who were almost all Englishmen; and he might add that even in that wild district a very beautiful shop had been opened. It was a business-establishment almost worthy of Regent-street; and he could not help asking himself, on looking at it, how was an individual so unwise as to set up such a shop there? doubt Mr. Ellis, when he bought a place, had calculated well, and he was doing wonders in regethey would stil find gentlemen coming and spending their money in these wilds. During the short time he (Lord Mayo) had been there, he met hundreds of English people, and there could be no doubt that property would increase re-markably in value."

On the same occasion Mr. Locke of Dublin read before the Statistical Section a very interesting analysis of the purchases in the Encumbered Estates Court, from which it appeared that 772 estates had been sold to 2355 purchasers, so that the number of proprietors has more than trebled. The fol- landlords in the west have also induced skilful

life and property in that unhappy country, showing the amount and distribution of in the perpetual outbreaks and disturbances | English capital that has lately been invested in Ireland :

ACREAGE AND AMOUNTS PURCHASED BY ENGLISH AND SCOTCH ARRANGED ACCORDING TO PRO-VINCES.

Provinces.			Acre	ag	e.	Purchase	-Mo	nev.
			A.	R	. P.	£	8.	d.
Leinster.			31,012	0	34	 222.395	0	0
Munster,			54,342	0	9	 362,399	12	6
Ulster,			7,385	0	2	 85.922		0
Connaught,	•	•	310,326	2	9	 454,420	0	0
Total,			403,065	3	14	 1,095,126	12	6

" The fourth table shows the localities from whence the purchase-money came: London and its vicinity, £720,641, 19s. 2d.; Lancashire, (including £39,276, 13s. 4d. from Liverpool and Birkenhead,) £56,526, 13s. 4d.; Buckinghamshire, £1,220; Cheshire, £53,205; Derbyshire, £2,525; Devonshire, £14,445; Durham, £7,750; Gloucestershire, £11,830; Hampshire, £21,400; Hertfordshire, £11,000, Lincolnshire, £5,490; Norfolk, £16,500; Oxfordshire, £6,280; Pembrokeshire, £3,820; Suffolk, £5,730; Shropshire, £7690; Sussex, £7,610; Staffordshire, £57,450; Somersetshire, £2,550; Warwick-shire, £5,750; Yorkshire, £3,517; Scotland, £46,220; Calcutta, £24,250; Isle of Man, £1,406; America, £2,320; total, £1,100,126, 12s. 6d. The fifth table shows the number and comparative amounts of English and Scotch purchasers-£1000 and under, 24; £1,000 to £2,000, 18; £2,000 to £5,000, 26; £5.000 to £10,000, 21; £10,000 to £20,000, 13; £20,000 and upwards, 12; total, 114. Of these, one purchaser was from Calcutta, amount, £24,250. Three from the Isle of Man, all under £1,200; and eight from Scotland, viz. one between £2,000 and £5,000, and seven between £5,000 and £10,000.

" The sixth table exhibits, as accurately as can be ascertained, the classification of these purchasers: Gentry, including 8 titled persons, 52; manufacturers and merchants, including 8 firms, 36; insurance and land companies, 6; farmers, 20; total, 114.

" Of the eight purchasers from Scotland, two were gentry, and six farmers. It is a fact of con-siderable importance, as affecting the improvement of the far west, that English and Scotch purchasers, and tenant farmers also, have usually settled in groups. Thus, 63,000 acres of Sir R. O'Donnell's Mayo estate have been purchased by English capitalists, led by Mr. Ashworth, whose work, entitled 'The Saxon in Ireland,' has been of great service to this country. And now a large portion of Eriis and the northern shores of Clew Bay is in the possession of Englishmen. Again, in Galway, nnother set of English purchasers, Mesars. Twining, Eastwood, Palmer, and others, are grouped on the shores of Ballinakill Bay, and in the vale of Kylemore. Many tenant farmers also from the other side of the channel have settled in the western counties within the last three years. Large tracts have been taken on the Marquis of Sligo's estate by English and Scotch gentlemen, and many other

and enterprising agriculturists to settle on their order, and justice. But when the proporlands, by granting long and beneficial leases at low rents; but I have no means of arriving at even an approximate estimate of their number; however, it will be observed, upon examination of the foregoing tables, that the greater extent of English and Scotch purchases is in those western districts where the population has been most diminished, and where capital and improvement are chiefly required, three-fourths of the total average being in Galway and Mayo, and two-fifths of the total amount being invested in the same counties. The immigration, too, is confessedly not of an expulsive character, abundance of unoccupied land, perished from water, or the surface of which has been only scratched in scattered patches for centuries, being in the market, and inviting the advent of a more pro-ductive system of culture. The number of English and Scotch purchasers, as well as the amount of their purchases, is also steadily on the increase. Up to January 31st of this year the purchases were one-twenty-fifth as to number, and one-tenth as to the total amount of purchasemoney. On referring to these tables, we shall find that up to July 31st the proportion as to number is one-twentieth, and as to amount about one-sixth of the total purchase-money."

When this infusion and substitution of a new race-this Celtic exodus and Saxon immigration-shall have continued long enough and proceeded far enough, a large portion of the anomalies which now afflict Ireland will cease, or be reduced within manageable compass. Her present wretchedness and difficulties all spring originally out of two sources-race and religion. A population consisting of seven millions Celts and one million Saxons-seven millions of the conquered and one million of the conquerorsseven millions of dispossessed cultivators faneving, rightly or wrongly, that they were entitled to, and had been wrongfully deprived of, the land held by the single residuary million-might well be difficult to govern. A population-four-fifths of whom looked upon the law as their ruthless oppressor and their natural enemy, who sympathized with the criminal and abetted the crime, who held no oath as binding when the interests of their Church, their race, their party, or their family, could be served by setting it at nought-might well baffle and drive to destair rulers who endeavoured to control and curb them by institutions which can suffice and flourish only among a truth-loving and a law-loving people-by jury-trial, of which the very essence and basis is reliance on the word and oath of jurymen and witnessesby legal technicalities which seem contrived to secure the escape of the guilty-by a eonstabulary force which must be nearly powerless when not aided by the general sympathy of the community with peace, following in 1850 :-

tions shall have been adequately changed .when instead of a population of eight millions-of whom seven millions are Irish, we have to deal with four or five millions, of whom half are Britons or of British extraction, the case will be wholly altered, and our difficulties will cease as by magic; the remaining aborigines will not only be controlled by, but will take their tone of feeling and opinion from, the more energetic and right-minded fellow-citizens with whom they are intermingled; as they cease to be criminals and outlaws, the law will become their protector and their friend; it will be easy to find witnesses who will dare and wish to speak the truth, and jurors who will be both able and willing to convict according to the evidence; and for the first time the government of Ireland by British institutions will become a matter not utterly hopeless or impossible.

Another source of grievous embarrassment will also be cleared away. The Irish emigrants are nearly to a man Catholics as well as Celts. The Established Churchwhich, in its actual proportions, was an indefensible enormity when it was the church of one million out of eight-will lose much of its colossal monstrosity when it has become the church of two millions out of four. And if judicious reform should mitigate even this disproportion, it may well be that as the hostility of race dies out under the process of improvement, juxtaposition, and amalgamation, that of religion may also fude away, and the process of conversion which has already set in at the west of Ireland, may continue with accelerated pace. Those who remain may, with changed circumstances, abandon their old religious creed, as we know is the case with a large proportion of those who have sought a new home in a new world. The Irish who have emigrated to the United States are not fewer than two millions: it is calculated that they and their descendants now number about three millions; * the French,

[.] These are subjects on which it is impossible to speak with absolute certainty. We are pretty cergone to the States in the last twenty-five years. Professor Tucker in 1830 analyzed the white inhabitants of the Union thus :-

English	541		4	٠		u	"		u	ď.			**	. 9	٠	•	-		۰				۰	۰	٠.						
Scotch																		۰		٠	۰							De	PU.	э,	ρŲ
lrish																										. 2	٤,	00	10	.0	Ю
German,																										1		(1)	16	(f)	Ю
Dutch.																												3/	H(I	•	M1
French.																												30	30	- 6	H
Swedes.	8	11	9.1	sj	ť	h		å	c	١.	٠.																	2	00	,(Ж

Another writer, taking the same view, gives the

Spaniards, and Italians, are estimated at above one million; many of the German emigrants and their descendants are Catholics; yet the total number of Catholics in the Union did not probably in 1850 exceed 2.000,000.*

ps We confess we have no fear of the emigration from Ireland being carried too far or continued too long. As soon as the inducements become sufficient, English capital, enterprise, and industry, will flock in to fill any gap that made be made, provided only peace and security be established. Englishmen and Sootchmen would seek Ireland as a field both for investment and for speculation, in preference to more distant lands, if ill and property were once fully protected.

Anglo-Saxons	11.000.000
& Lowland Scotch	
Scotch and Anglo-Saxon Irish,	1,500,000
Celtic Irish,	2,000,000
Welch,	300,000
German,	2.000,000
Dutch	800,000
French,	1,000,000
Others, va.	350,000
and the state of t	
	19,650,000

While this article was passing through the press, we have received from America, by the kindness of Mr. Ticknor and Dr. Chickering, (to whom we take this means of expressing our acknowledgment), a number of documents bearing on this interesting question, from one of which (the New Englander) we extract another analysis of the American population, evidently made with great care and from the best materials.

Anglo-S:	xo	ns by	birth	and	blo	od,	15 000,000
African,							3,594,762
Irish.							2,269,000
German,							1,990,000
French,	cc.	&c.					499,736

23 263 498

We are satisfied, however, that this writer underestimates the number of Irish, and probably also of Germans. For example, he gives the total number of immigrants, from all countries, from 1700 to 1830, at 2,759,329 Dr. Chickering, a first authority, however, shows them to amount, in the 33 years ending October 1852, to 3,212,385, of whom 1,597,897 arrived in the last five years.

*On this point, however, we cannot speak with positive certainty. There is no official return of the numbers of different religions. The Catholic Archibishop Hughes, of New York, estimated the number of Catholics in 1550 at 3,000,000. On the other hand, the Catholic Almanac, published under the auspices of Archbishop Eccleston, estimates them only at 1,650,000. The only certain fact is, that their own organs and dignitaries lament bitterly the constant falling away from the old faith of both residents and new arrivals. We have heard of another Archbishop who states the number of Catholics at 1,200,000, (the rame as ten years ago), whereas they ought by immigration and natural increase to be at least 5,000,000. The Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge published at Philadelphia, gives the number of Catholics of the Union at only 800,000. Again, the Freeman's Journal gives a fifth estimate, also a Catholic one, on the authority of a priest, Mr. Mullen, who has lately visited the United States to obtain subscriptions for a Catholic College. He states the number who one Catholic at 1,500,000, and the number who are Catholic at 1,500,000.

The want of this security and this protection has hitherto been the curse and privation of that unhappy country. But Government is, we believe, more alive than it has yet been as to the necessity of performing this, its first duty, at whatever cost; and every emigrant ship that leaves the shores of Ireland makes the task more easy. The first effect of this immigration, then, will be, to raise the wages of labour: hitherto the scarcity of hands in many districts, consequent on the exodus, has not had this effect, because the capital in the hands of the employers of labour was so miserably insufficient. The labour-market was scantily supplied, but the labour-fund was scantier still. Hence we have seen the strange anomaly, of a great outery for workmen, while wages remained at fivepence a-day. The second effect will be a vast increase in the produce of the soil: the old barbarous inefficient modes of tillage will be abandoned, and new ones, at once cheaper and more productive, will be introduced. The early reports of the Poor Law Commissioners stated, that though in Ireland twice the number of men were employed per acre, yet that the acreable produce was only half what it was in England. When this state of things is rectified, and Irish is assimilated to English agriculture, Irish wages will rapidly approximate to those of England; for the Irish, as we well know, can work as hard and as efficiently as Englishmen or Scotchmen, when mixed among them, and directed and stimulated by them. British labour, too, as well as British capital, will flow in to give fresh impetus and introduce a higher standard of exertion. And when the land has become prosperous and peaceful, when wages are at two shillings a day, when labour is at once efficient and well rewarded, and the Poor-House is no longer the only prospect of the peasant, we have no fear that those who then remain will not prefer old Ireland-in its renovated stateto the chances of transatlantic emigration, which by that time may have met with many discouragements. It will be, therefore, with no sorrow or alarm, but, on the contrary, with hope and gratulation, that we shall see the exodus continue at its present rate at all events till the next census-till in fact circumstances have so changed that Ireland has become more attractive than America.

So much for the case of the sister island. Let us now inquire whether the extensive emigration which has set in from Great Britain to the colonies is really such as to afford us any rational cause for alarm, or whether it is not rather a matter for cheer-

half of 1852 as the groundwork of our calculation, we find that the total yearly number of emigrants from England and Scotland, (allowing for the Irish who have sailed from Liverpool and the Clyde, and the Scotch who have gone by way of Liverpool,) has reached about 116,000, viz., about 96,000 English and 20,000 Scotch. But the annual increase, or surplus of births above deaths, have been in England, on the average of the five years ending 1848, (the last of which we have the returns by us.) 165,000, or nearly one per cent. on the population. we assume that the same rule holds in Scotland, the annual increase in Great Britain by natural multiplication will be about 206,000. If emigration then continues at its present rate, more than half our annual increase will be exported, leaving us, however, an annual augmentation of our numbers, of 90,000 souls. Let us tabularize the whole case :-

	England and Scotland.	Ireland.	United Kingdom
Annual Surplus of Births over Deaths, An. Emmig'n accord- ing to 1st 6 mos, 1852.	206,000 116,000	259,000	206,000 366,000
Increase of Population, Decrease,	90,000	250,000	160,000

In other words; whereas during the last decennial period Ireland lost a million and a half of her population, in the next decennial period she will have to face a loss of two millions and a half; whereas in the last decade our total increase in Great Britain was above two millions, in the next decade it will be less than one million; and whereas in the last decade the entire United Kingdom increased in population nearly half a million; in lion and a half.* The British Isles have

• It is, however, scarcely probable that the emigration from Great Britain will continue quite at the extreme rate of the present year. Last year it was only 75,000 against (apparently) 116,000 this year. The chief increase has been to Australia—simulated mainly no doubt by the gold discoveries—as will be seen from the following Table. It may well be, however, that the Saxon emigration to Ireland will counterbalance any diminution of that to Australia:—

Total Emigration from the United Kingdom during the first Six Months.

	U. Slates.	British N. America.	Australia.	Other Places.	Total.
1847	92,478	86,398	3.448	1,274	183,588
1818 1849	95,651 132,046	21,496 27,691	7,773 16,639	2,693	127,061 179,069
1850 1851	111,292 140,336	20,326 24,160	8,564 8,473	1.871	144,501 174,860
1852	136,264	19,453	25,810	1,519	182,986

fulness and congratulation. Taking the first! reached and passed their maximum—in half of 1852 as the groundwork of our cal: numbers. Such a result may well startle us, culation, we find that the total yearly num-land assuredly demands careful consideration.

Nevertheless we look upon the fact as one of no sinister augury, but the contrary—if we are wise and know how to use the golden opportunity. This, however, we are aware, is not the general impression. Many fear that we shall be unable, in such an altered state of things, to find recruits for our army, or sufficient labourers for our fields, or manageable servants for our households, or cheap and efficient artisans to maintain our manufacturing superiority. Let us look at our prospects in these respects seriatim.

And first as to our supply of soldiers. These, it is said, have hitherto been chiefly supplied from Ireland and the distressed districts in Scotland, and it is precisely from these quarters that the emigration is the greatest. The allegation is not true. Even in the last war it was well known that many of the Highland regiments had comparatively few Highlanders in their ranks. we have now lying before us returns of the recruits who were inspected in 1845, (an average year,) and we find that of 13,370 7145 were English, 4009 Irish, 2061 Scotch, and the rest Welsh or foreigners. England, therefore, still furnishes more than half, and Great Britain more than two-thirds of our land forces, and nearly all our naval forces.

The total number of British troops may be taken in round figures as averaging 140,000 men-(fewer considerably, we believe, than will in future be found desirable; but let that pass.) The number of recruits annually required appears latterly to have ranged from 10,000 to 20,000say about 15,000. It is feared that out of a population of twenty-seven millions, which ours now is)-still more out of a population of twenty-five millions and a half, (which we are assuming it will be in 1861,) we shall be unable to keep up this army, or to procure this number of recruits. But let us look at what we did in 1806 and 1813, when our population was only eighteen millions. In those years our army numbered from 234,000 to 267,000 men, besides which we kept 83,000 regular militia constantly on foot, in addition to the local militia, which numbered from The annual wear 200,000 to 300,000.* and tear of the army was then calculated at 15,000 men in peace, and 25,000 to 30,000 in war; and no difficulty whatever was found in raising the number required by voluntary enlistment. The same facility of finding voluntary recruits con-

^{*} Alison's History of Europe, x. 172; xviii. 13. † Ibid. x. 173; xviii. 14.

into cultivation.* In the same period our purposes they can be procured. £37,000,000 to £45,000,000. raise 30,000 and 40,000 fresh volunteers of our southern counties. is true enough, no doubt, that with trade treatment, of promotion, or of pensions; but the article is still there, if only we are willing to purchase it at its now enhanced value. An improvement in the condition of our troops, and a material increase in their cost, we may unquestionably anticipate.

Secondly, as to agricultural labourers. It is true that it is principally from this class that emigration has hitherto proceeded, and mainly also from this class that our army is

tinued during the whole period of the war; habitually recruited.* Still a little reflection nor can it in any degree be attributed to will shew how groundless is the alarm now want of demand for labourers in agricul- felt by many, and professed by more, as to tural and manufacturing occupations. The the possible insufficiency of the remaining very contrary was the fact. During nearly hands for the adequate cultivation of the the whole of that period, agriculture was soil. In the first place, we must remind notoriously flourishing, and the demand for the alarmists, that even if the emigration labour may be in some degree estimated from Great Britain should continue at its from the fact that from 1804 to 1814, up-present rate it would still leave us an annual wards of 1000 Inclosure Acts were passed, increase of nearly 100,000, so that if more and nearly 2,000,000 acres were brought hands are annually wanted for agricultural manufacturing industry had also been de-second place, we may remark, that the rural cidedly though not rapidly on the increase. population in Great Britain generally is at The official value (or quantity) of British this moment actually redundant, (notwithproduce and manufactures had risen from standing the inconvenience said to have £22,000,000 in 1804 to £34,000,000 in been felt in some localities at harvest time,) 1814; and the declared or real value, from as may be plainly seen, both from the Now, if number of able-bodied labourers still wholly under such circumstances, and with a popu- or partially dependant on parochial aid+ lation of only eighteen millions, Great -greatly as this number has of late years Britain was able to recruit an army of been diminished—and still more from the 250,000 men, besides militia, and often to miserably low wages still current in many every year, we cannot possibly fear that number of hands required for the cultivawith a population of twenty-six millions, tion of the soil appears to diminish rather and such numberless inventions for econo- than increase as the style and efficiency of mizing labour, notwithstanding the enor- agriculture improves. The census returns mous increase that has taken place in all for 1851 have not yet been analyzed, and departments of industry,-we shall find those for 1841 were made out in a manner any real difficulty in keeping up an army which precluded comparison with any for-150,000 strong, or in finding 15,000 re- mer year. But if we can trust the returns cruits annually, provided only that we for 1821 and 1831, there was an actual really want them, and are willing to offer diminution in the number of families emthem adequate inducements to enlist, It ployed in agriculture, in England from 773,732 to 761,348, and in Scotland from brisk, and agriculture flourishing, and the 130,699 to 126,591; and this diminution colonies clamorous for hands, we shall not took place although 200 inclosure Acts had be able to procure soldiers so cheap as been passed, and about 400,000 acres of we used to do: the greater the distress, the fresh land had been brought into cultivaeasier of course is always the task of the tion. It appears then that we have alrecruiting sergeant. But it will be a mere ready more hands than are needed in agriquestion of inducement-pecuniary or other- cultural occupations; that the number wise. Our officers will have to compete needed is further progressively diminishing; with a higher rate of wages and more invit- and that if more were needed they could ing and numerous occupations and outlets still be had. It is true, no doubt, that than formerly: they will have to bid higher when the various crops ripen simultanefor their men, either in the shape of pay, of ously, some difficulty may be experienced

* Occupation Husbandm	en, Laboure			8,277
Mechanica		.,		4,083
Shopmen a	and Clerks,			952
Profession				28

[†] On January 1, 1850, 172,800. On January 1, 1851, 147,500.

^{*} Porter's Progress of the Nation, i. 156, 171.

[†] Ibid. ii. 98.

t The number of individuals given in the census returns of 1841 as engaged in agriculture in Great Britain in 1841, was 1,500,000, to which M'Culloch adds 800,000 as engaged in subsidiary trades, making a total of 2,300,000. But we cannot regard these figures as very reliable.

| Porter's Progress of the Nation, i. 52, &c.

-which was not felt formerly-in procur- market, and to undersell all competitors, in ing the extra hands necessary to harvest consequence of the abundant supply of lathem; but what does this mean but that bour which we have been able to command. hitherto we have maintained a large popula- The whole increase of the rural districts has tion in costly idleness for eleven months in flocked into our industrial towns; Ireland the year, in order to have their labour in the one remaining month, and that in future we shall not be able to do so-a result which is surely a matter for congratulation in both an economical and a philanthropic point of We know well that scarcity or dearness of labour is the great stimulus to the introduction of improved processes and not be progressively diminished as other mechanical contrivances; and when the farmer finds that he can no longer have so many hands as he wants, exactly when he competitors are everywhere treading close wants them, and nearly on the terms which upon our heels. Now, mechanical improveit may suit him to pay, labour will be ments have gone on and are going on in all economized and rendered efficient, reaping branches of our manufactures (unlike the machines and thrashing machines will soon case of agriculture) as fast as avarice or come into general use, and new and im- ambition could stimulate our ingenuity; proved tools will be substituted for those we can hope for no accelerated advance in which have so long satisfied that stationary and unenterprising race. That wages will our rivals participate as fully as ourselves. rise in the rural districts there can, we find the rural districts there can, we find the rural districts there can, we should be grieved one of a cheap and abundant supply of lafit were not so; the fact of heads of fabour—precisely the thing which the whole milies receiving only 7s. and 8s, 6x week, sale exodus you are rejoicing over threatens (and that not regularly,) is precisely one to destroy. of those monstrous evils and anomalies for quality.

Thirdly. duction, to force our productions into every already lost lt; secondly, in greater concen-

has poured her superfluous numbers into Lancashire and Lanarkshire, and even Yorkshire has had her share. On the cost of manufacturing production depends the whole question of our successful commercial rivalry with other nations :-- if that should be materially enhanced-nay, if it should producing nations diminish theirs, we shall be defeated in the contest; and already our

We will concede at once that the effect which emigration is the appointed cure. of emigration will necessarily be to enhance But it by no means follows that the farmer the general wages of labour, and to dimiwill suffer in consequence, or that the cost nish the supply, or rather to prevent those of raising agricultural produce will be en- wages fulling as they must otherwise have hanced thereby: we believe the contrary done. Pro tanto, and as far as it goes, it will be the result. For not only will the will counteract the operation of the repeal labour of the well-paid man be more of the Corn Laws, which was, first, to efficient and valuable than that of the pau- equalize (or approximate) the wages of perized and ill-fed rustic, (as is even now labour here and on the continent; and, found to be the case by the more skilful secondly, not indeed to lower them here at and energetic farmers of Leicestershire and once, but to make it possible to lower them, Lincolnshire,) but the improvements con- if at any future time the relation between sequent upon the necessity of economizing demand and supply in the labour market labour will give a stimulus to agriculture should render such reduction just and neceswhich it has long wanted. Moreover, the sary. The effect of emigration will, theresame operation which makes labour scarce fore, probably be to keep the rate of wages and dear will make the poor rates light; permanently higher here than in those con-and if the opportunity is used as we trust timental countries which have not our fait may be, the heaviest and most irritating cilities of outlet for their increasing popula-burden of the farmer may be removed, tion; and moreover, there can be no doubt He will pay his labourers higher, but will that the rate of wages is one of the most employ fewer of them; his outgoings (in important elements in the cost of manurates) will be much less than now, and his facturing production. But it is only one; crops will be improved both in quantity and and it is precisely that one in which we have never had an udvantage-in which It is feared that our manu- we have been always at a disadvantage;facturing progress will be arrested, and our in despite of our disadvantage in which our manufacturing superiority be jeopardized manufacturing superiority has been earned by the enormous emigration from our and maintained. Our advantages have Hitherto, it is alleged, we have been, first, in more excellent machinery: been enabled to keep down the cost of pro-this we are fast losing, if we have not tration; this we still maintain; -thirdly, in the greater energy of our people; which diminishes yearly as other nations improve; and fourthly, in our abundance of capital and our low interest of money, and the consequent low profits for which our capitalists are willing to work; an advantage which certainly there is at present no appearance of our losing. It is only of late that as foreign competition has become closer and more menacing, and as the hours of labour have been reduced by legislative enactments, that we have begun to look anxiously to the possibility of reduced wages of labour as necessary to enable us to hold our ground. Moreover, it is worthy of remark, that our most formidable rivals, the Americans, are precisely the only ones who have no advantage over us in the price of labour; and that our most formidable European rivals, the Swiss, are those who have least advantage over us in this item of expense,

But again: Is there any reason to fear that the annual increase of our united population left at home-amounting, be it remembered, to nearly 100,000-will not be sufficient to supply the demands made upon it by the supposed annual increase of our manufacturing industry? We have no certain knowledge of the actual numbers now employed in the various branches of manufactures in Great Britain; * but the following is Mr. M'Culloch's estimate of the principal ones, and we have no reason to believe it is far from the truth. It relates to the year 1845.

Number employed in the coal trade and manufacture, 177,000 Iron.

2435	61	00	Tin, copper.	&c.			70,000
	99	**	Lead (say co	onje	cture	.)	60,000
	80	99	Woollen,				300,000
10000	20	**	Cotton.				550,000
a Ding Ta	**		Silk, .				35,000
	99	99	Linen				65,000
		99	Hardware,				275,000
	99	**	Leather,				290,000
forir.	-						
							1,932,000
- 2 -		Add for	sundry manufa	clur	os.		68,000

Add for sundry manufactures.

2,000,000

2.300.000

300,000

Add increase for seven years at 2 per cent., say, Number now employed in manufacturing occu-

Now, we have no accurate means of knowing the rate of annual increase in the number of hands employed in our various manufactures, nor even in the production in any one. It is, however, generally believed, that the cotton trade is that which increases most rapidly, and it is that also whose increase we can most exactly ascertain, as all the raw

material used up is imported, and therefore accurately registered. Now, on an average of a number of years, and in round numbers, the quantity of raw cotton imported into Great Britain has increased at about the same rate as the negro population of America, (whence our chief supply is derived,) or three per cent. But, as is well known, both labour and machinery are much more efficient than formerly; a given weight of raw cotton does not require nearly the same number of hands to manufacture it as it used to do. If, therefore, we assume two per cent, as the increase in the labour required in the cotton trade, we shall probably be up to the mark; and if we assume that the other manufactures increase as fast as the cotton, we shall certainly be beyond the Now, two per cent. on 2,300,000 persons is 46,000 a year. If, therefore, all our manufactures should increase as fast as that of cotton, and if the cotton manufacture should increase as fast as it has done for the last fifteen years,-altogether they would only require half the annual increase that remains in these islands after emigration has done its worst.*

But further :- is it necessary that our manufactures should increase in the same ratio as hitherto, or is it likely that they will? If indeed England could become, what it has always been her ambition to be -the great workshop of the world; if even it were at all probable that she could remain so much as she is at present,-we might then rationally enough look with some uneasiness upon the expatriation of so large a number of those sons through whom she was to maintain her manufacturing supremaey. But those who are intimate with the condition and history of our industrial progress, have long been aware that these hopes are utterly delusive. It is true that till now we have gone on increasing our production and our exports, because the world has been growing wealthier, our customers have been

^{*} The census of 1841 gives 3,110,000 as engaged in commerce, trade, and manufactures, but this will in-clude all shopkeepers, merchants, &c.

^{*} It will, we hope, be borne in mind that we give these figures and calculations only as conjectural estimales, and with a strong impression of the uncer-tainty of all similar data; but they will at all events aid us in our search after the truth. Many will be startled by the reflection, "if our manufactures have starried by the renection, "In our manual cures have hitherto absorbed only 46,000 a year of our annual increase of 200,000, what has become of the re-mainder?" We confess our inability to answer this question; we can only observe that whereas we have estimated our manufacturing population to increase at the rate of two per cent, our total popula-tion has increased at the rate of little more than one per cent. per annum. Our impression is very strong, that 100,000 additional persons every year are quite as many as we shall be able to find occupation for at home, without overstocking still further trades and professions that are already overstocked, and keeping the standard of living at an undesirably low point.

multiplying, and new markets have been States meet us in Brazil and in China. We opening to us as fast as old markets have formerly sent yarn to Russia: we now closed,—but this cannot always continue at send cotton-wool. We formerly sent chiefly the same rate as formerly. We have now plain and printed calicoes to Gernany: we many rivals, where thirty years ago we had now send mainly the yarn for making them. none; we formerly supplied nations which All these countries produce more cheaply now partially or entirely manufacture for themselves; we formerly had the monopoly of many markets, where we are now them. Partly by our old restriction sysmet and undersold by younger competitors. tem, partly by the natural effect of an in-To several quarters we now send only that creasing population, they have been driven portion of their whole demand which our from the plough to the loom,-or have been rivals are at present unable to supply. A driven to add the loom to the plough; and far larger proportion of our production, now henceforth our manufacturing production can than formerly, is exported to distant and increase only, not by underselling or successunproducing countries. A far larger proportion, now than formerly, is exported to our own Colonies, and our remote possessions. More relatively is sent to Asia and America, and less to Europe. Countries tures: it is pre-eminently the case with our which we formerly supplied with the finished chief manufacture, the cotton. The followarticle, now take from us only the half-ing tables relating to our cotton manufacfinished article or the raw material. Austria meets us in Italy; Switzerland and just made:-Germany meet us in America; the United

Table I.—Shewing the Exports in 1840 and 1851, to European Producing Countries, now our rivals, of the half-manufactured, the manufactured, and the finished article, i. c., Cotton Yarn, Plain Calicoes, and Ornamental or Finished Calicoes.

COUNTRIES	COTTON Y	ARN—Lbs.	PLAIN CALIC	oss-Yards.	PRINTED A CALICORS	
COUNTRIES	1840.	1851.	1840.	1851.	1840.	1851.
Russia,	16,884,000	3,073,000	1,655,000	1,501,000	428,000	439,000
Germany,— (Prussia, Holland,	63,591,000	62,232,000	27,673,000	32,173,000	46,443,000	39,948,000
Germany, Belgium,)) France,	76,000	72,000	1,152,000	1,348,000	1,656,000	1,713,000
	80,551,000	65,377,000	30,540,000	35,022,000	48,527,000	42,100,000

This Table shews, that, in spite of a considerable increase of population and consumption, the chief countries of Europe, now become manufacturers themselves, take from us less than formerly.

Do.

Consumption of Raw Cotton by the following Countries-given in millions of ths.

	1836-7-8.	Fer cent. of the whole.	1819-50-51.	Per cent. of the whole.	Hate of Increase since 1837. Per cent.
Great Britain,	1154	56.6	1859	52.6	61
Russin, Germany, A	176	86	411	11.6	133
Other continental	449	220	711	20.1	58
Cnited States,	260	128	551	15.7	112
Total,	2039	100-	3532	100.	73

The comparison of 1852 will be still more against

Something of the same process seems to be going on in the wool trade. The Belgian manufacturers are now competing, on more than equal terms, with the Leeds clothiers; and the following figures will give us an idea of the increase of the continental manufacture :-

Export of Foreign and Colonial Wool from Great Britain.

6.575 000 lbs

0,203,000 "

1850,		:			14,054,000 "
	E_{r}	port o	f Bri	tish	Wools.
1848,					3,978,000 lbs.
1849,					11,200.000 ,,
1850,					12,002,000 ,
1851,					8,517,000
In this ye	arani	mme	nse ir	crea	se has taken place.
First 8	monl	he of	1851		5.215.000 lbs.

1852,

^{*} The following comparison, taken from the circucular (Oct. 1852) of Messrs. Dufay and Co., (quite the first authorities on such matters.) will shew how far other countries are treading on our heels in the cotton manufacture.

TABLE II.-Shewing the proportion of our Cotton Exports taken by Europe, Asia, America, and our Colonies.

	Cor	COTTON YARNS-LDS.		PLAIN	PLAIN CALICORS-Yards.	ds.	PRINTED AN	PRINTED AND DYED CALICORS-Yards.	-Yards.
	1840.	1851.	Increase per cent.	1840.	1851.	Increase per cent.	1840.	1851.	Increase per cent.
Europe,	94,013,000	88,295,000	(Decrease)	99,347,000,	99,347,000, 126,838,000	58	107,304,000	94,878,000	(Decrease)
Greece, Turkey, Levant, and N. Africa,*	4,630,000	10,239,000	(increase) 121	41,015,000	82,776,000	101	26,586,000	47,784,000	(Increase) 80
East Indian Territories,	16,014,000	23,772,000	48	115,217,000	284,205,000	147	29,866,000	38,227,000	28
China, Java, Sumatra, &c.,	2,651,000	5,882,000	119	23,015,000	150,563,000	920	6,867,000	33,300,000	385
United States,	265,000	181,000	32	8,827,000	16,864,000	91	23,246,000	47,263,000	108
S. America and Foreign West Indies,	440,000	391,000	11	99,041,000	150,094,000	23	97,503,000	159,715,000	64
Our own Colonies, out of Europe,	000'999	277,000	14	44,966,000	45,627,000	13	62,093,000	60,705,000	(Decrease)
Our own Colonies, excluding the West Indies,	490,000	563,000	(Increase) 15	19,132,000	29,685,000	22	29,600,000	40,280,000	(Increase) 36

This Table shews an actual diminution in our exports to Europe; an increase to more distant quarters, and newer markets, varying from 48 to 550 per cent.; and an increase to our own colonies (excepting the West Indies, which we have wilfully thrown to the dogs) of from 13 to 55 per cent.

· Including Malta and lonian Islands.

| Including West Coast of Africa.

Table III.—Shewing the declared value of British Exports to different quarters of the world in 1830, 1840, 1845 and 1850, and the proportion of total Exports sent to each division.

QUARTERS OF THE WORLD.	1830.	Per Centage.	1840.	Per Centage.	1845.	Per Centage.	1850.	Per Centage.
Europe.	£14,415,000	38	£19,713,000	391	£22,651,000	39	£23,150,000	33
Greece, Turkey, Levant, &c.,	1,507,000	4	1,785,000	3	3,600,000	6	4,470,000	6
East Indian Territories.	3.270,000	8	6,023,000	12	6,704,000	111	8.022,000	111
China, Java, Sumatra, &c.,	670,000	2	1,200,000	21	3 026,000	5	2.275.000	3
United States of America	6,132,000	16	5,283,0 0	10	7,148,000	1:2	14,805,000	21
South and Central America and For-	6,128 000	16	6,202,000	123	6,443,000	11	7,925,000	11
British West Indies.	2.838.000	8	3.575.000	74	2,769,000	43	2.213.000	3
Our other Colonies (out of Europe,) !	2,965,000	8	5,718,000	11]	6.311,000	10	7,674,000	11
Total,	£38,115,000	100	£ 19,499,000	100	£58,672,000	100	£70,437,000	100

[·] including Malta, Ionian telands, and N. Africa.

† Including West coast of Africa.

Now, a careful consideration of these Tables will shew, that unless we could continue to extend our distant and colonial markets as fast or faster than we have done of late years, which even the most sanguine among us could scarcely hope for, we should ere long have been driven to seek some other provision for our increasing population than that which our manufactures have hitherto afforded them. We should have been compelled either to create new markets, or to lessen the numbers (or forbid their increase) who worked for the supply of foreign mar-The advantage of emigration is that it effects both these operations-more especially when directed to our own colonies. It diminishes or tends to check the increase of the number of producers at home, and it augments the number of consumers abroad. It ehecks production and multiplies markets. It increases the demand and checks the increase of the supply. The weaver, who at home was obliged, in order to maintain himself, to make calicoes for which it was often difficult to find a customer, now goes to Australia and becomes a customer himself. He consumes instead of producing: a shirt more is wanted, and a shirt less is made. Hence emigration is a double safeguard against those periods of glut and "over-production," of which we have seen so many in the last twenty years. The following Table is interesting, as showing how much better customers for British productions our own colonists are than foreigners. We cannot guarantee its minute correctness, because it is difficult to obtain with perfect accuracy the population of different states for particular years; but we believe it will be found a pretty fair approximation to the truth, and it is compiled from the most authentic documents.

	TABLE	E IV.	
COUNTRIES.	Population in 1849.	Consumption of British Produce and Manufac- tures in 1850.	Consump- tion per head in shillings.
China,	250,000,000	£1,575,000	12
E. Indian Ter.	150,000,000	8,023,000	1.06
Lurope,	230,000,000	23,000,000	2-0
United States,	23,000,000	14.802,000	12-9
N. Amer. Col.	2,280,000	3,235,000	28 3
Australian Col.	380,000	2,600,000	137-0

But, finally, even supposing that the emigration from these islands should continue so extensive as altogether to change the eouditions of the labour market, to check our manufacturing increase, and endanger our manufacturing supremacy, is not the alarm felt at this prospect rather a consequence of mistaking the means for the end, than well-grounded and rational? No one imagines that there will not always be an ample supply of bands to maintain existing establishments: the evil apprehended is that, by draining off in a different direction the crowds which have hitherto pressed into the labour market, the rate of wages in this country will be materially enhanced, so that our manufacturers will no longer be able to produce as cheaply as formerly, nor therefore to extend as rapidly, or compete with rival nations as successfully as of yore. But what is the object of our manufacturing industry? What hitherto has made the steady increase of that industry a matter of vital and first-rate moment to us? Clearly, to provide employment and subsistence for our advancing population. But if that necessity no longer exist-if that object is provided for in another way-if our working-classes find clsewhere more lucrative employment and easier subsistence,-where, in a national point of view, is the reason for regret or fear? The increased rate of wages, which

is the real object of our alarm, can only | wool at the antipodes, at 20 per cent. profit, arise from the improved prospects, the en- and £3 a-week wages.* If the whole of larged openings, the raised condition, of our our emigrating capital and labour went to labouring poor :- it therefore simply indi- our own colonies, there could be no doubt cates that they have obtained, through ano- about the matter: the aggregate comther channel, the advantages which it was munity would be benefited and enriched ther chainer, the advantages which it was many processed in the degree in which the new activity to secure to them. The increased rate of wages, which channes the cost of our productions, and therefore etteris paribus, limits the markets for them, is the convenient of the result? The British capital, up-that moment will wages naturally fall, the cost of production be again reduced, and be inconvenienced; this or that branch of business with British capital. our industry may be temporarily deranged; great changes may take place in the distribecomes a national evil, labour will immediately and inevitably cease to be-or rather will have ceased to be-either scanty or high priced.

Why, in the vast majority of cases, do wages rise? Because labour has become more productive. Why are hands difficult to be procured for one trade? Because they are in greater demand-more highly tempted-that is, more productive in another. If, indeed, depopulation were going on to such an extent that manufacturing capital, already invested and fixed, were in danger of being thrown idle for want of hands to work it, then an actual loss of property might be deplored. But no one conceives that this will be the case. All that is feared is that we shall not be able to invest more capital or find more hands (on the old terms) for an increase of our production. But why? Simply and obviously because this capital and these hands find more tempting occupation elsewhere, and in some other line. Instead of producing calico here at 7 per cent. profit, and 10s.

sequence of a state of things which makes which otherwise would have employed them here, partially and with difficulty, will folextended markets, pro tanto, less necessary here, partially and with difficulty, will fol-than they were. The moment that an extension of our manufactures becomes again productive occupations, and therefore at a wanted in order to afford employment for higher rate of profit at the other side of the our artisans-either in consequence of their Atlantic. Merchants are well aware of the multiplication, or of the new fields of em- enormous and increasing amount of English ployment closing upon them or being filled money now employed in America. At the moment we are writing we have received much enrious information as to the extent manufactured articles again force themselves to which Americans are endeavouring, (and an outlet. This or that manufacturer may succeeding,) as in 1836, to carry on their

So far, then, from being disposed to anbution of employments; but as the sole gur fil to Great Britain from the extent of object of industry is to carn the necessaries this Modern Exodus, we augur from it the and comforts of life-as the sole benefit of greatest and the widest good. We see in brisk and advancing trade is to afford ample it an opening for a splendid and a happy and regular reward to those engaged in it, - future such as has rarely, if ever, been then if these objects are already present and vouchsafed to an old country. We see in attained-as the fact of high wages show that it the solution of most of our social diffithey are—what more can we, as a people, culties, the cure of many of our social desire? As soon as the check given, or expected to be given, to manufacturing ac- and scatter to the winds all wild and foolish tivity, by scanty and high priced labour, theories for national regeneration, and render practicable many sane and sober ones. Viewed aright, and used aright, it should be the commencement of a new era, richer, lovelier, nobler, and grander, than any pre-vious epoch of our history. It is one of those critical "tides in the affairs of men, which, taken at the flood lead on to fortune"-one of those glorious opportunities which, if neglected, Providence offers not again; which, if promptly seized, and judiciously and diligently turned to account, need no second advent. Let us briefly hint at a few of the consequences which it will or may produce.

1. It will greatly check and reduce within

^{*} Many, we believe, fear that wages may rise so high that all the manufacturer's profit will be swept away, and he will no longer therefore be able to employ his people. But it is obvious that this can never be the case, (except partially and momentarily.) For it is only the manufacturer's profit that enables For it is only the manufacturer's profit final enables him to employ people or to pay wages at all. The moment that profit ceases, or falls so low as to be no inducement to carry on business, he ceases to be able to employ the people or to pay them. Employment then immediately becomes resulted, and wages necessarily fall, till the margin of profit is again large account to induce the removalor of each desire. a-week wages, they are producing corn or enough to induce the resumption of production.

beneficent limits, if not altogether terminate Irish Immigration into England. For half a century back the western shores of our island-especially Laneashire and Glasgow -have been flooded with crowds of halfclad, half-fed, half-eivilized Celts, many thousands of whom have settled permanently in our manufacturing towns, reducing wages by their competition, and what is far worse, reducing the standard of living and comfort among our people by their example-spreading squalor and disease by their filthy habits-inciting to turbulence and discontent by their incorrigible hostility to law-incalculably increasing the burden of our poor-rates-and swelling the registers of crime both in police courts and assizes, to the great damage of the national character and reputation. The abundant supply of cheap labour which they furnished had no doubt the effect of enabling our manufacturing industry to increase at a rate and to reach a height which, without them, would have been unattainable; and so far they have been of service. In every other respect the Celtic settlers in the west of England have been a source of unmixed evil. We have taken considerable pains to collect a few facts which may serve as a specimen of the extent to which Irish immigration really swells the burden of British panperism and the returns of British crime. Here are some of them :-

First, We have a carefully prepared document lying before us, from which it appears that in the three years, from November 3, 1848, to October 12, 1851, (omitting a period of nine weeks during which no account was kept,) the number of deck passengers arriving in Liverpool from Ireland, was 756,674, of which 531,469 were emigrants and jobbers, and 225,205, or nearly a quar-

ter of a million, were paupers.

Secondly. The number of paupers passed

back to Ireland by the Liverpool overseers, having become chargeable on that parish, 1847, . 15,008

7607 1848. 1849. 8012 at a cost of £1386. 1850,

1851, 8800 In addition to this, the Chairman of the Board of Guardians stated, (in 1851,) that

£15,000 was expended annually in relief to Irish paupers.

Thirdly. We have lying before us a report made to the Manchester Board of Guardians by their clerk, Mr. Harrop, from which it appears that while in five years, from 1846 to 1851, the English panpers in that union receiving out-door relief, have increased only from 2463 to 2624 families, or less than seven per cent., and in total cost only £7, 10s. a week, the Irish paupers have increased from 427 to 1478 families, or more than three hundred per cent., and in total cost £132 weekly, or £6864 per annum!

Fourthly. The number of cases relieved by the District Provident Society of Liverpool in 1843 and 1844, (before the famine, observe,) were 36,403, of which 19,102, or

more than half were Irish.

Fifthly. The returns of our assize courts do not unfortunately discriminate the native country of the criminals brought before them, but the police courts of Manchester and Liverpool supply us with a standard of comparison.

Return shewing the Number of Persons taken into Custody for Offences committed in the Borough of Manchester in 1850.

Country) F	0	P' 3-1	084	* EC (K	Males.	Females.	Total.	Per cent- age of the whole.
England,			-			2393	795	2168	GP 64
Ireland, .						778	416	1224	2673
Scotland,						64	29	9.3	2.04
Wales,						32	21	83	1.18
Foreigner	i,		٠			13	7	20	184
T	oti	il,			-	3280	1298	4578	100.00

A Return shewing the Number of Prisoners brought before the Magistrates for the Borough of Liverpool, distinguishing the different Countries to which they belong, during the following Years :-

		1848.			1849.			1850.	
COUNTRY.	Males.	Fomales.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.
Liverpool, .				2.862	1,607	4.469	3.013	1.776	4.819
English,	7,138	3,650	10,788	3,228	1,401	4,629	3,237	1,403	4,610
Irish	5,280	3,514	8,794	4,823	3,301	8,124	4,550	3,432	7,982
Scotch	644	243	887	617	207	824	620	225	843
Welsh	519	265	784	455	231	686	533	261	794
Manx	128	25	1.53	60	52	112	79	37	116
Foreigners, .	607	23	630	618	25	643	637	18	65
Total,	14,316	7,720	22,036	12,663	6,824	19,487	12,699	7,152	19,85

Sizthly. The number of low lodging-shape, as at once a salutary stimulant, a houses in the borough of Manchester (sinks natural check, a trustworthy and self-operaof vice and crime of every sort) are 358, ting guide. We shall no longer be inuncontaining 1017 rooms, and 1953 beds, and dated with well-meant but ill-digested tenanted, on an average, by 3544 lodgers schemes for setting artificial contrivances to every night. The persons who keep these check-mate natural laws, and for purchasing lodging abominations are,-

English, . . 91 Irish, 252 Scotch, 5 Foreigners, . 10 358

2. Of the effect which our wholesale emi-them a moment's currency; the axe will gration will produce on the long depressed have been laid to the root of the tree; the agricultural population, we have already evil, which could never have been checked spoken. If the a vance in their earnings, by assaults on its secondary and symptoma-and the improvement in their position, tie operations, will have been assailed and should, as we trust it will, raise their stand extinguished at its source, and of comfort and of wants, instead of 3. The diminution of our population, and that "unrestricted competition," which it

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a bureaucratic utopia by the sacrifice of individual free action. Socialism, Communism, elaborate and magnificent schemes of association-le droit au travail-will all disappear with that disordered condition of "the demand and supply of labour," which alone gave birth to them, or could secure

merely inducing them to add recklessly to the consequent lightening of the pressure in their numbers, their condition may be per- all branches of industry, will probably go manently and incalculably elevated. The far to rectify what has been pointed out as effect will be still more marked on the a very serious evil by our first living politi-classes dangereuses—the distressed, reproach cal economist, J. S. Mill, viz., the disproful and criminal classes—of our great towns. portionate and needless numbers employed Numbers of those tailors, bootmakers, and in the work, not of production, but of distrincedlewomen, of whose redundant multi-bution of the productions of others. The tudes and severe sufferings we have of late number of retail traders and shopkeepers is years heard so much, will no doubt emi out of all proportion to the requirements of grate themselves. Many have already done so, some through Lord Ashley's aid, and classes. There are in nany places ten some through that of Sidney Herbert's shopkeepers to do the work which one society. Numbers more will emigrate out would suffice for—such at least is Mr. of the class from which these superabundant Mill's estimate. Now these men, industrilandieraftsmen have hitherto been recruited.

By the combined operation they will, we may fairly hope, soon cease to be too numay fairly hope, soon cease to be too numity: Fifteen thousand tailors may find full proportion as they are too numerous, do ould only become slaves of the "sweaters," They live, it is true, many of them, by or crush each other in the internecine strife. "snatching the bread out of each other's We shall no longer hear—at least we ought mouths;" but still they do live and often not—of thousands driven into habitual theft, make great profits. These profits are made, from the impossibility of finding any honest it is obvious, by charging a per centage on means of maintenance; of thousands more the article they sell. If therefore there are compelled to seek in prostitution the re- two of these retailers to be supported by a quired addition to the scanty earnings of the community, when one would suffice to do needle. That "unrestricted competition," the work, the articles they sell must cost so beneficent in its healthy and natural rethat community more than need to be the sults, so crushing to the weak when the la- case, and so far the country is impoverished bour market has become filled up, and yet by supporting an "unproductive labourer" when labourers persist in crowding into it too many. Any one who examines into the as before so hateful to benevolent theo subject is surprised to find how small a porrists, who regard it only in its more super-ficial workings, and its more anomalous re-any article goes to the producer or importer, sults, and have not insight enough, or faith and how large a portion is absorbed by the enough, to trace "a blessing in disguise,"—distributor.* But these retailers are pre-

* "I think any one who has had occasion to inhas been of late the fashion so passionately quire, in particular cases, what portion of the price to denounce, will again appear in its true paid at a shop for an article really goes to the percisely the class of partially educated, a committed wrong. Now, this unquestionato thrive there.

4. Emigration will give us such an opportunity as probably no nation has ever yet been blessed with, of retracing our many fatal false steps on the subject of pauperism, and placing, once for all, our entire Poorfensible foundation. fecklessness and self-indulgence have kept abured our blunders, and retraced our steps, poor—is, considered per se, a curse to a country, not a blessing—a sin, not a virtue, in those who have enacted it. To compel the man who has kept binuself above poverty the man who has kept binuself above poverty by abstaining from marriage to maintain the titude of children. We have removed all by abstaning from marriage to maintain the littude of children of the man who by mar-wife and children of the man who by mar-riage has sunk himself in destitution, is a monstrous injustice—a clear and crying in-policy. One only circumstance can make such a poor-law as ours not unjust as well out, and the superabundant population we as an inherent right, but as compensation for

son who made it, must have been astonished to find how small it is. It is of great importance to consinow small it is. It is of great importance to consider the cause of this. . . It does not arise from the extravagant remuneration of capital. I think it proceeds from two causes: one of them is, the very great, I may say, the extravagant portion of the whole produce of the community which now goes to mere distributors; the immense amount that is taken up by the different classes of dealers, and especially by retailers. Competition has, no doubt, some tendency to reduce this rate of remuneration : still I am afraid that, in most cases, and looking at it as a whole, the of each, than to lower the scale of what is obtained by the class generally." "If the business of distri-

shrewd, energetic men, to whom a new bly has hitherto been our case. By our colony, as soon as colonization has been corn-laws, which enhanced the price of food made attractive and customary, will be -by our restrictive commercial policy, most inviting, and are peculiarly well fitted which curtailed the demand for labour-by our old legislative and administrative follies, which stimulated multiplication, and thus unnaturally increased the supply of labourby our false doctrines and neglected duties which taught the people error, and did not educate them till they could perceive the Law system on a sound, innocuous, and de- truth, on subjects which directly bore upon A poor-law which their social condition-we wronged them, taxes the industrious for the support of the and made ourselves responsible for much of idle-the frugal and provident for the sake their poverty and incapacity. As far then, of the wasteful and improvident-those who and as long, as we had caused or aided their have accumulated property by diligence and panperism, we were morally bound to enself-denial for the behoof of those whom dure it and relieve it. But now we have fecklessness and self-indulgence have kept abjured our blunders, and retraced our steps. as not unwise; and that is where it is obli- have tempted into life shall have been abgatory upon us as a compensation for pre- sorbed,-the only claim of the poor upon vious injustice. Where destitution has been caused by the sole fault or misfortune of the cancelled. And of the mischievous and destitute, a poor-law-i.e. compulsory cha- demoralizing effect of a poor-law, when no rity-is, we conceive, wholly indefensible, longer demanded by justice, nearly every But where pauperism and destitution have man with whom we need to reason is painbeen caused or stimulated by bad laws, by fully convinced. As soon, therefore, as the unjust social arrangements, by the sin of the demand for labour has overtaken the supply, community in short, then the indigent and and there can, in consequence, be no ableincapacitated have a claim on public aid, not bodied pauperism which is not voluntary and wilful, the moral claim of the ablebodied to relief ceases, and their legal claim should cease also. But with the claim of the able-bodied, the claim of the aged and infirm ceases too. For they are a natural and providentially ordered burden, not upon the community, but on their relatives. The able-bodied man ought by the law of Nature, and is enabled by the power which Nature has given him, to support not only himself, but those dependent on him. And that, in most cases, and looking at it as a whole, the the moment ample work and wages are at professional people, rather to divide the amount the command of the able-bodied, that moment among a larger number, and so diminish the share ment does the maintenance of his children, his sick, his disabled, devolve upon him. by the class generally." "If the business of distribution, which now employs, taking the different classes of dealers and their families, perhaps more than a million of the inhabitants of his country, could be done by a hundred thousand people, should think the other nine hundred thousand could be dispensed with."—I. S. Mill: Evidence before a committee of the House of Commons, 6th June, 1550. longer on inevitable circumstance or on anecstral fault, will lie a terrible responsibility who now monopolize such situations as

and an ample penalty.

5. The great stimulus that our extensive emigration will give to every branch of the shipping interest must not be overlooked. According to M'Culloch, (British Empire, ii. 71,) the registered amount of British and Irish tonnage (above fifty tons, and such vessels only are used in ocean voyages) was in 1845, 2,856,000. It is certainly now not less than 3,000,000. Now, since each ship carrying emigrants to America can make about three voyages in the year on an average-and each one sailing to Australia can make one voyage, out and home, every year; then since the Passengers' Act limits the number to be taken to one person to every two tons; and since, in round numbers, about 50,000 go to Australia and 300,000 to America, we arrive at the fact. that the emigrant business alone gives full employment to 300,000 tons of shipping, or ten per cent. of our whole mercantile navy, independent of the coasting trade.*

6. The effect of emigration in relieving the overstocked professions-the Church, the Bar, the Army, and the Medical Profession-seems at first sight scarcely likely to be so powerful as its operation in other directions. But we are disposed to think that this is merely a question of time and directness. It is very true that comparatively few of those now engaged in, or intended for, the learned professions, are likely to emigrate, or to make good emigrants. On the other hand, some of the most energetic and successful emigrants have been officers of the army and navy. And though many physicians, clergymen, and lawyers may not go out, yet as soon as, under proper management, the colonies become as attractive as they might be made, ought to be made, and, we believe, soon will be made, numbers of those whom the lack of any other eligible outlet now forces into the learned professions, will direct their prospects into the more hopeful channel of colonisation. They will early be taught to look to that as their line of life, and will qualify themselves for it accordingly; and thus the professions will yearly become less crowded, not because many will leave them, but because fewer will flock into them. In addition to this, the vacancies made by the emigration

who now monopolize such situations as clerkship, railway officials, &c., will make an opening for them. On the whole, we are inclined to hope that the higher and middle elasses may ultimately feel the relief as sensibly as every other section of the community. Even now they emigrate in considerable numbers. We have no means of stating precisely how many of these classes are now leaving the mother country, but the number of cabin passengers returned by the Emigration Commissioners give us at least a good approximation. These were, in 1851, 16,616, or just one twentieth of the whole emigration,-of whom 9979 went to the United States, 1111 to the North American colonies, and 2401 to Australia, or one-ninth of the total number who went there. Surely these numbers are encouraging enough.

Further, all this emigration causes a certain, inevitable increase of our commerce, by which the upper classes in this country, if they are not too foolish and languid, cannot fail to profit.* Every emigrant becomes not only a customer for what England can produce, but a producer of what England wants and can purchase. Every man who goes to Canada grows corn and wants calico. Every man who goes to Australia sends us wool and takes from us broad cloth. He becomes a purchaser to the extent of £6 or £7, and a producer to probably ten times that amount.

But our higher classes must prepare themselves for this change in the future career which lies open to them: the education

which fitted them for the liberal professions will not fit them for the active ones—the education which sufficed while elegant indolence was their destined lot, will be fatally inadequate when they are to strive and struggle in conflict with nature and in com-

Struggle in conflict with nature and in competition with their fellows. They must brace up their energies, and prepare and resolve to do their work in life; and then, to them as to all other ranks, the MODERN EXODES may be an incalculable blessing

and a noble opportunity,

^{*} A previous Table (p. 158,) shews that our present emigration cannot fail to increase the demand for our productions less than half a million yearly. Thus.

275,000	Emigrants to	United State	134	n-hend.	£178,750
40,000		North Amer			es,
		nt	28s.		86,000
50,000	**	Australia, at	£6	**	300,000
					£131.760

^{*} The demand for vessels for the purposes of emigration is now so great that the passage money to Australia has risen from £12 to £21 per head.

NORTH BRITISH REVIEW:

No. XXXVI.

FOR FEBRUARY, 1853,

ART. I .- 1. Tableau général de la Com- and the long foreseen 2d of December, 1852, merce de la France. 1841-1851.

- de l'Algérie. 1853.
- 4. De L'Expatriation. Par Dutor.
- 5. Thoughts on the National Defences. Admiral Bowles. 1852.
- 6. Defenceless State of Great Britain. SIR F. B. HEAD. 1851.
- 7. The Perils of Portsmouth; or French FERGUSSON. London, 1853.

state of France, it was at a moment when goria of changes is run out? a Republican form of Government and re-President for ten years, with unlimited power persist in no illusion on this head. VOL. XVIII. 12-B

when it arrived, was felt to be only the fitting Annuaire du Bureau des Longitudes, sequence and the natural completion of the 2d of December 1851. For four years 3. La Révolution Sociale démontrée par le France has been firm and unchanging in her Coup d'état. Par Proudnos. Almanae decision, and to all appearance not only faithful but increasingly attached to the man of her choice; six millions elected him Pre-By sident; seven millions made him Dictator; nearly eight millions have named him Em-By peror. The dynasty of Napoleon again sits upon the throne of France. Like all its The Perils of Portsmouth; or French predecessors, the Imperial régime has had its Fleets and English Forts. By James restoration. The old race of Bourbons was restored after an exile of twenty-one years; the Republic after the lapse of forty-eight; When, exactly twelve months ago, we the Empire after an abeyance of thirty-called the attention of our readers to the seven. Who believes that the phantasma-

Meantime there is no doubt that the presentative institutions had just been over-present Government is decidedly and genthrown by one of the most and cious and erally popular in France. If we would unscrupulous usurpations of which history rightly estimate either the position of our makes mention. By naming Louis Napoleon neighbours or our own, we must indulge and to frame a constitution-by raising him on election of the Emperor we believe to have the bucklers of seven millions of voters- been in the main a fair one. There may the nation sanctioned the usurpation, and have been undue influence; there may have adopted the usurper. By passing such a been gross ignorance; there may have been prompt and ample bill of indemnity, ac scandalous misrepresentation; there may have cording to one point of view, France made been bribery ; there may have been intimidaherself a particeps criminis, an accessory tion :- undoubtedly there were all these; after the fact; according to another, she there are all these in every country where declared that Louis Napoleon, by his high- popular elections are known. Some may have handed attentat, had only forestalled her voted in terror; some may have been urged designs, and interpreted her will aright. No by self-interest; the priests may have perone, however, believed that the last act of suaded some; the prefects may have bullied the drama was played out: in spite of all more;—but all these considerations com-protestations of moderation, of all disclaim- bined, still leave it impossible to believe ers of ulterior ambition, it was obvious that that the result of the voting just terminated the Empire was "looming in the distance;" does not in the main truly and faithfully

represent the real wishes and opinions of that he can excite it ;-but because there is but we must accept the fact-as one to be of things. deplored, if we like, and to be explained, if we can-but still to be received and laid to pire is popular only with the ignorant peaheart as the basis of our reasonings, if we santry and the ambitious army. from what it would be were he a mere bold abound in most communities, and whose ulterior designs he may entertain against the opinion of Englishmen; and it is quite foreign enemies and rivals.

please the populace, he appears to us to have ilar system in France. merited failure. ers: he has carried them too far even for Guizot, Thiers, De Tocqueville, De Beauthe childish and meretricious taste of that the childish and meretricious taste of that splendour-loving people; he has overshot his mark, and created even among his popular allies an uneasy feeling that he is treating them rather too much like barbarians or babies. He is popular, not because he has dazzled the excitable imaginations of the commands or can arouse any of that loyalty or devotion which the Highlanders felt for Charles Edward, or the old veterans for Napoleon the Great—it is a blunder on his part to pretend that he has it, or to fancy

nine-tenths of the French nation. We may a general, cool, deliberate, motivé conviction be amazed that it should be so; we may that the man and the régime are those best despise the French because it is so; we may suited to the actual position, and possibly to grieve that a people who have once tasted the habitual character of France:* that no the pleasures and the dignity of self-govern- hand less resolute, no form of government ment should be willing to abdicate their less dictatorial, would be competent to deal functions into the hands of a supreme and with so shattered, wearied, and demoralized irresponsible Ruler; we may moralize as a country; and that only out of the strengthwe please over the blind insanity of a nation ening, recreating, reorganizing rest which a whose notions of the national summum bonum despotic rule can ensure and enforce, can be are so strangely at variance with our own- hoped to dawn a healthier and better state

It is a mistake to imagine that the Emwould not run into perilous and fatal blun-ferent motives and in different degrees it is ders. For, be it observed, Louis Napoleon's popular with nearly all classes,—except the position is a very different one, both as re- Ronges, who for the most part are enemies gards his stability, and his power of acting of all government, and comprise the wild upon other nations, if he be the welcome, turbulent fanatics, the sanguinary ruffians, chosen, and accepted Emperor of the French, and the hopeless, incorrigible rascals who adventurer, who had usurped by stratagem party, though still numerous and restless, and force a throne from which an oppressed has been too effectually beheaded to be as and outraged people were watching for a formidable as it once was, -and the Doctrinfavourable opportunity to hurl him. In the aires and their followers, who naturally, and one case his whole strength must be reserved perhaps justly, are furious at having been for and concentrated upon the preservation jockeyed, defeated, gagged, and reduced to of his ravished sceptre from his numerous insignificance. It is the hostility of this secinternal conspirators and foes ;-in the tion which weighs most strongly against other, it will be all available for whatever Louis Napoleon and the imperial regime in natural that it should do so. This section But though his rule is popular, there is no includes nearly all of those politicians whose enthusiasm either for the Government or names are known in England; it includes for the man. Neither his manners nor his the dynastic opposition, as well as the princharacter are fitted to excite enthusiasm. cipal ministers of Louis Philippe; it includes The official attempts to create it, and to rep- most of the literati whose reputation has resent it as existing, have been both injuri- crossed the Channel; and its members ous and unsuccessful. In all his grand dis- were nearly all admirers of the Parliamentplays, his splendid shows, his gorgeous pro- ary constitution of England, and the persegresses and parades, intended to dazzle and vering advocates of the introduction of a sim-All these things made a great mistake, and to have incurred naturally give the opinions of this party He has carried these overwhelming influence in this country; and spectacles so far as to annoy and disgust the it is difficult to believe that a Government more rational and thoughtful of his support- which ignores, banishes, or repels at once

mont. Broglie. Molé. and Dufaure. can Revolution. Mere relationship to him is a really be welcome to, or fairly represent the tower of strength, Secondly, The French French nation. We have long been accus- peasantry, as proprietors and peaceful cultitomed to regard those men as the most able vators of the soil, feel the want of steadiness and enlightened politicians in France, and to and order as distinctly as any part of the consider them as the defenders and promo- community : they had been kept in a perters of a constitutional freedom somewhat petual state of disturbance and uneasiness like our own; it is their writings we have by the changes and rumours of change which been accustomed to admire; it is from them succeeded one another for so many years with that we have been accustomed to take our such bewildering rapidity, and the political notions of French interests and French motives and causes of which excited in them opinions. They formed a galaxy of political no interest, and were altogether beyond their and literary talent which shone in the eyes comprehension; and they believe that Louis of foreign nations with a lustre which ob- Napoleon has the strong arm and the iron scured and put out all lesser but more na. will needed to secure for them the rest they tional lights. For the truth we believe to sigh for. Moreover-and this is a point be, that these eminent men, with all their which has been almost entirely overlooked brilliancy, never had any strong hold on the -they do not, it is true, love despotism, or nation; they were beyond it, above it, apart deliberately wish to place over them a wholly from it, rather than its leaders and repre- irresponsible or autocratic master, but they sentatives; their ideas and objects of admi- comprehend the rule of one man; they do not, ration were English rather than French; and never did, comprehend the government their talents, as writers and speakers, gave of a mob of masters—a numerous, divided, them vast influence as long as Parliament and wrangling Assembly. We may deplore ary government prevailed; but they have this incapacity on their part; we may desnever inoculated the people with their views; pise their ignorance and their proclivity to their party was select, but their followers servitude; but we must accept the fact, and were few. Partly from their merits, but reckon on it. During the only period when still more from their faults; partly from the they were without a sovereign, they were Parliamentariness and therefore the ungoverned and harassed by the Clubs, the frenchness of their notions; partly from the Communes, the Revolutionary Committee, party from the notorious and awful cortory: and we can scarcely wonder that they ruption of the government which they ad-shrink from anything which reminds them ministered in turn; and partly from the de-in the least of those gloomy, anarchical, and plorable, disrespectable, and clumsy catas-sanguinary times. Thirdly, The influence of trophe in which they finished their career, the priests, a great part of them at least, has they are now with five-sixths of Frenchmen been diligently exerted on behalf of the prethe most utterly damaged, discredited, and sent régime, and this influence is very great unpopular party in the country; and were in many districts, and has of late years been they to join the Emperor and become his steadily, and to some degree deservedly, inministers, such a step, which we in England creasing. Their control and direction would should regard as his sanction and his safe- often, according to our views, be exerted for guard would, in France, probably be fatal to mischief; they are in many places as igno-his power. This position and situation of the rant and prejudiced as their flocks—blind Doctrinaire party, in their own country, leaders of the blind: but still it is said, that must be fully understood before we can ever since the revolution of 1830 they have udge of the actual posture of French affairs. unremittingly performed their duty among The present Government, as is universally the poor, administered to them the consolal to the poor is popular with the peasantry, especially with that preponderating part of their ness, advised and assisted them in trouble, with that preponderating part of them ness, advised and assisted them in the hour of death, and First and foremost, on account of the name kept up in their hearts the much needed sensitive and foremost, on account of the name kept up in their hearts the much needed sensitive that the name is the name indelibly upon the fluence—much as we may regret that such a soli of Fernal and as subscripts where he name is not provided by the property of the such as the name indelibly upon the fluence—much as we may regret that such soil of France, and no subsequent ruler has power should be wielded by such unenlight-left any impression there at all. His me-mory is still venerated, not only as the great Whether Louis Napoleon will ultimately representative of military glory, but as the turn out to be either the sturdy friend or the strong and skilful reorganizer of the nation obedient son of the Church which the priest after the calamities and confusions of the hood hope that he is and will remain, may

well be doubted; but at present, throughout aspirations of numbers who bear that prozealous and efficient allies.

Napoleon defeated and imprisoned Cavaig-nac. Then Louis Napoleon hates the bour-geoisie, whom the Rouges also hate. So that if the President and the anarchists do not love each other, they have at least the bond permanence-are generally friends to the of union of having most of their enemies in duration of the present Government, and posed workmen have many solid reasons for clear of war, which would be fatal to his poadhering to the new Government. They pularity among them. These classes and look to employment from the public works those whom they employ have been enorwhich the President is carrying forward on a monsly prosperous ever since the coup d' great scale. At present, not only the regn- étât; and the proclamation of the Empire lar workmen of Paris, but numbers who seems like a seal set upon that stability have been summoned from the country, are which has already done so much for them, in receipt of ample, even large earnings. They are everywhere extending their trans-Then the Empire is, or is believed and sus-actions, embarking in longer and more dissave money and retrench. Hence the tailor, the grocer, the shoemaker, the armourer, the coachmaker, the saddler, the watchmaker, speaking indication of the condition and the jeweller, are all Napoleonists, where no state of feeling among the industrious ranks be for long, forgotten.

he imprisoned one bourgeois he imprisoned a ly founded in May 1851, and, on December hundred Socialists: it is true, that Socialism hundred Socialists; it is true, that Socialism is still the bugbear which his advocates hold up before the upper and middle classes as the mysterious horror against which he is their control to the special state of the special states and the special state of the special states and the special state of extent, they are identical; but the objects and p. 75.

the rural districts of France, they are his scribed name are social rather than political; and it is believed, and we think with reason, zealous and efficient allies.

The present Government is popular among that Louis Napoleon is strongly imbued with a great proportion of the ouvriers of most of the towns, of Paris in particular. Many of the these, no doubt—the idle and dissipated of them to a man—belonged to the Ronges that he is busy with some scheme for its exwhom Louis Napoleon seourged and desimated with such stern severity; and these, as it is ripe and he is firmly established on we must suppose, nurse against him a bitter the imperial throne. He has all along spirit of animosity and revenge. But the spirit of animosity and revenge. But the shewn a disposition to base his throne rather Assembly were as hostile to the Ronge as in on the support of the masses of the peo-Louis Napoleon himself, and he suppressed and ontwitted the Assembly. Cavaignae and many of the former are in the habit of slaughtered and deported them even more saying, "Ah! Louis Blane and Louis Napomercilessly than Louis Napoleon, and Louis leon are both Socialists, but the former was

But the industrious and well-dis- will remain so as long as the Emperor keeps pected to be, order and stability; and order tant adventures, and even fixing capital and stability are to the workmen the syno- which, since 1848, they had kept in realisanymes of plenty and comfort. In times of ble securities or in actual cash. They know quiet and repose men make money and spend that a change would be fatal to all their it; in times of anarchy and disturbance men plans, and they will discourage everything

personal feeling, arising out of the death or than is afforded by the Savings Banks acdeportation of a Rouge relative, interferes to counts. Now we find that in the Caisse des overbear the dictates of material interest. Rétraites, as it is called, in the quarter end-The paralyzing effect of 1848 upon Parisian ing last October, the deposits amounted to and Lyonnese industry is not, and will not 22,000,000 francs, and the sums withdrawn to only 3,000,000 francs, shewing an actual Again: strange as it may seem, a conside- accumulation of capital, on the part of the rable portion of the Socialists are, for the industrious classes, to the extent of 19,000,moment, adherents of the new Emperor, It 000 francs, But what more especially meis true, that it is from them he is said to rits remark, is the extraordinary progress of have "saved society:" it is true, that where the Caisse des Rétraites for old age, It was on-

31, had only accumulated 1,212,000 francs. won by gradual encroachment from a mo-On the 30th of September last it possessed narch, than ingrafted upon anarchy, or a capital of 22,565,000 francs. Out of created by a stroke; and who hope that the 15,431 depositors, 6602 are work-people, present darkness may be a starting-point for properly so called, of whom 2966 are women, the dawn of a better day. And, to sum up 771 artisans or petty dealers, 611 servants, and conclude the whole, the continuance and 2105 employés in humble situations, 363 soldiers and sailors, 718 persons exercising desired by those politicians who feel with liberal professions, principally priests, and 4361 without professions, half of them if he were now to be cut off he could have minors.

Further: the new régime is popular with a very large portion of the Legitimists, and present no third alternative. The honest this portion comprising the most energetic, Republicans are surprisingly few and feeble; wise, and far-sighted of that party. They believe that Louis Napoleon is not ill-disposed to the Comte de Chambord, and that, if he has no children, he will not be adverse to look upon the Compte as his successor. The gentle and almost respectful tone in which the recent manifesto of the Compte was spoken of in the Moniteur goes far to confirm this impression. At all events, the Legitimists feel that every year that Louis Napoleon can hold sway in France will make the mauvais sujets) out of the thirty-six miltheir future advent and power more probable lions of the French nation, a hundred men and more easy, if he should not succeed in could be found who did not deliberately befounding an hereditary dynasty, and living till its consolidation. They feel that he will settle the disturbed and suppress the turbulent elements of French society,-that he will accustom the French once more to a firm and autocratic rule,-and that not improbably he will re-establish an aristocracy which may ultimately blend with and reinforce their own. They believe also, that, while doing all this, he will fall into blunders and create enemies which will make many persons willing to exchange him for Henri V. Finally, they feel and admit that he is a fitter man for the present posture of affairs than the Compte de Chambord would be; Compte better than the Compte could do it for himself:-for the one is soft and yielding, the other stern, inflexible, and, unrelenting. Few among the Legimitists are anxious for an immediate restoration.

Lastly, The new régime is popular among all who want repose; among those who are weary of perpetual turmoil, and those who lax much of that despote gripe which is clueate their countryment to a perception of endurable only in a crisis of peril and transition; among those real and deeply-thought ful friends of true freedom—and there are such—who know from history and from reflection that civil liberties can be more easily the wings of freedom, under the regis of a

stability of the new Emperor are earnestly deep anxiety that he has no rival, and that no successor,-who believe and know that between Louis Napoleon and anarchy lies at the old politicians of the Chambers are loathed and scouted by all but their own small following; the country has not yet received the idea of the possibility of a Bourbon restoration; and the sins and shortcomings of the Orleans princes must have time to be forgotten before their chance can become a hopeful one. We doubt, from the best information we have been able to obtain, whether (putting aside the Reds and lieve that the destruction or discomfiture of Louis Napoleon would be the most awful calamity that could happen to the country in the present posture of affairs.

But though the restoration of the Empire is thus generally welcome and popular in France, it is not to be denied that it has inspired profound disgust and melancholy among many of the better and more aspiring spirits of the nation. Few even of these, indeed, would be prepared to overthrow it, or to wish it overthrown; but they are cut to the heart that their country should so cheerfully acquiesce in such an oppressive rule, and by that acquiescence should confess its that the Prince is doing the work of the suitability. It is not that they resent the tyranny as a violent and wrongful imposition: they admit that France has resigned her liberties unreluctantly, if not voluntarily; but they feel grieved, disappointed and discouraged by the unfitness for more advanced institutions implied in this ready submission to a despot. They are for the most part men to whom the free constitution of England are sick of repeated failures; among those has long been an object of unbounded admi--and there are many of them-who believe ration; who dreamed that it might be acclithat as soon as he feels himself firmly seated mated in France; who have toiled in faith on the imperial throne, Louis Napoleon will and hope during the best years of life to diseard some of his worst associates, and remarks it strike root in their country, and to

Parliament.-but she would not! have sold everything to purchase a pearl of sane to seek it, and whether even the reof love, before trampling feet and unappre- and its inauspicious birth, with all the corciating eyes. They laid, as they conceive, rupt and all the sanguinary and all the tyra real treasure on the altar of their worship annical preliminaries of its inauguration, ped country, and she has spurned the gift, may not be designed by Providence as the and cursed the givers. They feel hurt, avenue—sure though long—gloomy, ignowounded, and disheartened. They look to minious, and full of tribulation, but still dithe past, and they see every party in succes- rect and unavoidable-to a quieter heaven sion tried, and found wanting; every form and a brighter sky. of government in turn adopted and in turn cast aside as unsuitable, or falling to pieces in feverish changes of posture, the ease which of life to all increasing populations. If numhis internal malady denies to him in any. military usurpation sanctioned by popular acclaim; the higher classes ignorant, preju-erty and distress generate discontent; and diced, and apathetic; the bourgeoisie corrupt, selfish, unpatriotic, and material; the working-classes victims of delusive theories, and The uneasy class is always a restless, and ready to abjure their political existence. As closed and their occupation gone; as writers they are fettered and warned away; as parecommend. Some have sought refuge in expression in explosive action, which only of voluntary exile, that at least their children may be citizens of a free land, and inby in patient vigilance, waiting for whatfuture, and speak of one military revolution Empire, as the only prospect before them.

augured well of the Republic, and were never are closed, or if they should not increase as sanguine as to the success of Parliamentary fast as numbers, and energy require, the vig-Government, do not now despair as it is na- our which ought to be spent in pursuit of inditural for those to do who were accustomed vidual fortune will assuredly be directed to to look in that direction only for the realiza- creating difficulties for the community and tion of their patriotic hopes. Last year, and for its rulers, the year before, we explained at some length those features in the national character and of the great permanent social difficulties of moral condition of the French which made France arises from the fact that the openings free political institutions so unworkable and outlets for her increasing population, among that peculiar people; it is worth and especially for the middle and upper while now to give a glance at some of those classes, are still inadequate, notwithstanding social facts which make liberty so difficult their decided augmentation in late years. and so unstable, and an autocratic rule so com- We do not intend to weary our readers with paratively easy; and to inquire whether the statistics, though we have volumes of them dawn of a better day ought not to be looked at hand; but we will ask them to give a

They for in a very different direction from that in feel as men may be expected to feel who which alone it has hitherto been deemed great price, and cast it down as an offering stored Empire, with all its bad antecedents

I. The power of expansion-a field to exfrom its inherent weakness; they see France patiate in-is a necessary of life to all enerslavish under a despotism, restless under a getic races. The multiplication of lucrative constitution, turbulent and unmanageable occupations, of means of livelihood, of prounder a republic,-seeking, like a sick man, ductive channels of industry, is a necessary bers increase, and remunerative branches of They look at the present, and they see a judustry do not increase in an equal ratio, poverty and distress must ensue; and povdiscontent thus generated inevitably makes the task of government difficult and thorny. generally a turbulent and formidable one, orators and statesmen their mouths are If the activity and energy of the middle and educated classes, from want of objects, openings, and outlets, is compressed and denied triots they scarcely know what to wish or a vent, it will find an irregular and dangerous mere literary studies; some have abjured the strongest government can successively politics and public life for ever; some speak deal with. So long as each young man, as he arrives at manhood, finds scope and field for his powers and aspirations in some occuheritors of a more hopeful future; some sit pation or enterprise within his means and suited to his class-so long as employment ever faint possibilities of amelioration may is waiting for the peasant, commercial income to light in the next turn of Fortune's dustry for the merchant and the clerk, the wheel; some-and these among the most service of the state for the ambitious and thoughtful-are utterly despondent of the the roving, and a political position for the wealthy and the noble, there is comparaafter another, like those of the late Roman tively little to disturb or menace the stability of government or the peace and good We, who, as our readers well know, never order of society. But if any of these vents

Now, we believe it will be found that one

comparative glance at the condition of Eng. in the numbers employed cannot be much land and France with regard to the relative number and expansibility of their respective

The population of the United Kingdom may be taken at about 27,000,000, and its annual augmentation, by the surplus of births over deaths, at 230,000.* The population of France is now rather above 36,000,000; and its annual augmentation (which varies enormously from year to year) has averaged for the last eight years on record, about 135,000, reaching, however, sometimes as high as 200,000 and upwards. That is, we have to provide outlets or occupations for 230,000 persons annually, and our neighbours for 135,000, on pain of discomfort, discontent, and possible disorganization.

Now the openings or débouchées for these numbers are, for Great Britain, the military, naval, and civil service of the State, commerce, manufactures, railways, India, and emigration to the colonies,-for France, the service of the State, commerce, manufac-tures, railways, and Algeria (which corresponds to our India), but no colonies. The army of France is far greater than ours, and her marine is said to employ nearly as many as ours, t but in time of peace the increase nage of vessels employed,

greater with them than with us; and it is with the absorption of the annual increase of the population that we are now con-cerned. The civil employes in France are nearly twenty times as numerous as those of Great Britain, 1 but their army of employés can scarcely be augmented; and, as a more liberal commercial policy, and a freer system of intercourse are adopted, it will have a tendency to diminish; whereas the tendency with us is rather towards an increase.

The increase of manufactures, and their power of absorbing the annual augmentation of the population, we have no means of ascertaining with statistical accuracy for either country. We know, however, that this increase has been very great in France, and still continues so, though there is no reason to believe that it advances with a pace as rapid as with us.§ The foreign commerce of a nation may, however, be taken as a generally fair, though not always a perfectly accurate measure of its productive activity. Let us cast a glance at the relative progress of French and English commerce, measured by their exports and imports, and the ton-

I _ HATTEN KINGDOM

	Imports. Official Value.	Exports of British Produce. Official Value.	Exports of British Produce. Declared Value.	(Foreign and Home. Tonnage entered in Port.
1830	£46,245,000	£61,140,000	£38,272,000	5,800,000
1835	48,911,000	78,370,000	47,372,000	6,635,000
1840	67,432,000	102,705,000	51,406,000	9,439,000
1845	85,281,000	134,600,000	60,111,000	12,076,000
1851	103,579,000	190,398,000	74,213,000	13,471,000
		IL-Fra	NCE.	
1830	£25,533,000	£22,906,000	(No returns, but	1,638,000
1835	30,429,000	33,376,000	the French offi-	2,046,000
1840	42,091,000	40,436,000	ed values do not	4,870,000
1845	49,605,000	47,497,000	diverge as ours	4,662,000
	46,320,000	65,160,000¶		4.987,000

^{*} The average surplus in England and Wales, during the five years ending with 1851, was 173,000. Of Scotland we have no account, and in Ireland, we believe that there has been no surplus at all. The last two years, however, the increase in England has been much greater than this average. In 1851 it was 220,000.

[†] The French army numbers 393,000 men; ours, 130,000. The French marine 27,000; ours, 40,000. ‡ French civil servants, 535,000; ours about 25,000.

I The real difference, too, it must be remembered, between the number of civil servants in the two countries is by no means as enormous as it appears genuine test of increase of production or even of com-many of those who hold under the crown, in merce,—i. e., whether it may not be in some measure

France, holding under the people or the local authorities in England.

titles in Lagiand.

§ It is, however, very important to bear in mind
that as the tendency is always towards an economy of
labour in manufacturing productions, any given
amount produced represents yearly fewer hands employed, i.e. a smaller amount of absorbed labour and
population. Two persons now produce as much as three or four did twenty years ago, in many branches of industry.

It may be doubted whether the sudden and rapid increase of exports since 1848 be altogether a genuine test of increase of production or even of com-

III.—STATE	AND	PROGRESS			AND	ENGLISH	MERCANTILE
			7	TARINE.			

	FRE	NCH.	BRITISH.				
	Ships.	Tonnage.	Average size.	Ships.	Tonnage.	Average size.	
1830	14,852	708,880	48	23,721	2,531,820	106	
1841	13,383	590,262	44	30,052	3,512,480	116	
1851	14.557	704,429	48	35,000	4,332,085	124	

to be about 30,000, of all classes, workmen, ment of India employs 808 English civilians engineers, clerks, and superintendents;* and in the colony, and about 200 at home; and

and nearly 20,000 Jews; the unsettled

accounted for by a diminution in the home consumption. The imports have for many years not increased at all. Thus they were (in millions of francs) — In 1842. 1142 In 1847. 1343

1843. 1197 1848. 862 1844. 1193 1849. 1142 1850. 1174 . 1257 1851. 1158

French public offices any complete account of the railway employes; but the Rouen and Dieppe line of open in England gave regular occupation to 55,968 open in Engage Persons. From these data we calculate that the is said to be fertile and well watered; inc 3000 miles of French railway will employ about climate similar to that of the most favoured 30000. The length of lines open at the beginning of 1850 was 1720 miles, with 1270 more in process parts of the south of Europe; and the processing a great proportion of which is now ductions many, various, and all excellent of a contract of the eve of being 80.

The introduction of railways has, in recent | Arabs are about 3,000,000; and the Euroyears, supplied to France a most important pean population in 1852 reached to 133,000, opening for the industry both of the labour- of whom however only 67,500 were French, ing and middle classes, and has done much and 42,500 Spaniards. During the last towards finding a harmless and beneficial eight years the Europeans have increased vent for the restless energy and active am- about 74,000, of whom half may be French; bition that would otherwise have gone to but as part of this is natural augmentation, swell the social elements of turbulence. Of we cannot assume that Algeria affords an the number employed in the construction of ontlet of permanent colonization to the morailways we have no account; but it must have ther country for more than about 4000 perbeen great. The number to whom the rail- sons annually. Compare this with the openways now completed (or about to be so) will ings for English enterprise and energy which furnish permanent occupation we estimate her colonies afford her. The Civil Governwe shall not be far wrong if we anticipate the Government of our other colonies proan increase to this number, as railways bably gives occupation to about as many spread, of about 1000 a-year.

The relative number of merchants Algeria is to France what India is to us, and their dependents engaged in the colonial and more; for though its soil is far less trade of the two countries we have no means productive, and its commerce incomparably of comparing: the extent of the trade itself smaller, yet it employs a much greater num- we have. The exports from France to Alber of European troops, and attracts a much geria in 1851 reached to £2,650,000, and her larger proportion of permanent colonists of imports thence £660,000. Of our imports the middle and labouring classes. It is, in from our colonies there exists no official fact, a colony as well as a military settle- record: We know, however, that twenty ment. The number of civil employés of the years ago they had reached the value of upper classes (exclusive of clerks, policemen, £6,338,000 from India alone, and that since &c.) in Algeria are now about 250; and that time the amount of most of the chief the military force employed varies from articles of produce has greatly increased. 60,000 to 80,000 men. The native population But our exports to our colonies reached in resident in towns and villages, amounts to 1850 £18,000,000. Then, while in the last about 85,000, of whom 4000 are negroes, twenty years France has transferred to Algeria only about 60,000 of her people, and is now sending about 4000 a year, we have sent to our colonies (exclusive of the vast emigration to the United States) in the same period, just a million of our population, and are now supplying them at the rate of more than 80,000 a-vear!

Notwithstanding this comparison, how-* We have not been able to procure from the ever, there can be no doubt that Algeria is to France a possession of great value, and will probably become more and more so 174 miles, employed 947 persons, exclusive of engine every year. The country now under French to the 30th of June 1849, 5447 miles of railway then rule is about two-thirds the size of France, and contains 39,000,000 hectares; the soil

their kind. The wheat, oil, and tobacco are France constituée est eneore trop agitée; tel said to, be of the finest quality, and iron, meme pour qui elle est trop calme;—ceux enfin zinc, and copper are among the exports, qui ne peuvent se faire à des egaux, et ceux activit au sur qui elle est trop calme;—ceux enfin au sui qui ne peuvent se faire à des egaux, et ceux au sur qui ne peuvent se faire à aucune dépendance." at our Anglo-Saxon rate : culture is extending, irrigation is much attended to, and many of the public works of the ancient possessors of their own relieve themselves of their employed in Europe.

from one of the most profound and far- sented one of the hardest problems a governa Memoir which Talleyrand read before the supports him, are perfectly aware of the Academy of Sciences in 1798.

tères inflexibles qu'aucun revers ne peut plier, ces wealth ;-and the spring which industrial imaginations ardentes qu'aucun raisonnement undertakings have exhibited since the coup, leurs noms à des découvertes, à des fondations ways, which, both while constructing and

are being cleared out and made available, superabundant numbers by emigration to The French fondly look forward to the time foreign lands. The Germans, as we showed when, by the help of Algeria they will in a recent Article, are flocking to America become altogether independent of foreign at the rate of 100,000 a year. But this commerce, or (as they, in their ignorance of expatriation to alien countries where a different solence, express it) when "they ferent language and different habits prevail will be able to free themselves from the is distasteful to a sociable race like the tribute which they now pay to other nations.' French, and if we except a few who go They expect, too, gradually to extend their to South America, Algeria remains their afficient resistors, by the ultimate absorption and years. If then we add to the feet of African territory by the ultimate absorption only vent. If, then, we add to the fact of of Morocco on the one side, and Tunis on the their slowly developing commerce, of their other; they believe, and with reason, that stationary marine, of their only moderate they will be driven to this extension, as we progress in railway communication, and of have been in India, by a sort of inevitable the scantiness of their colonial resources, the fate-i.e., by that train of natural events further consideration that, with them, women which almost invariably succeed one another engage in many of the occupations which when a strong and intrusive race are side by are exclusively confined to men with us, side with feeble but aggressive neighbours. (as clerks, accountants, &c.,)—and that, If we are wise, we shall offer them no hinder- while many rush into speculation, the slow ance in this fated career, which will occupy gains, and the laborious, obscure, and unexthem probably for generations, and may citing employments of regular commerce drain off energy, wealth, and numbers that are still despised by the great majority of might and would be otherwise mischievously the educated classes,-we shall see ample reason to conclude that the various outlets and To a country like France, and to a people careers which France at present provides are like hers, shattered, fretted, disappointed, insufficient for the absorption of her rising full of restless activity, and morbid ambienergies can find vent is a necessity. We arises one of the greatest dangers a governcannot forbear quoting the following passage ment can have to encounter: in this is presighted statesmen France ever produced, ment can be called upon to solve. Now, there -on account both of its substance and the is good reason to believe that both the Emsingular beauty of its language. It is from peror and many among the party which serious nature of the difficulty which is "Et combien de Français doivent embrasser lest to meet it; though imperfect education best to meet it; though imperfect education here presented to them, and will do their arec joie cetto idée! Combien en est il chez qui, ne fut ce que pour des instans, un ciel and confused ideas of political economy nouveau est devenu un besoin! Et ceux qui, may often lead them to seek a solution by restes seuls, ont perdu sous le fer des assassins illegitimate means and in a wrong directout ce qui embellissoit pour eux la terre natale; tion. Still he may do much, and his ted eeux pour qui elle est devénue inféconde; et eeux pour qui elle est devénue inféconde; et adherents expect that he will. He may, ceux qui n'y trouvent que des remords; et les hommes qui ne peuvent se resoudre à placer l'espérance la où il séprouvèrent lo malbeur; et oette multitude de malades politiques, ces caracte est en ultitude de malades politiques, ces caractes est en la contracte de malades politiques, ces caractes est en la contracte de malades politiques, ces caractes est extende de malades politiques, ces caractes est en la contracte de malades politiques, ces caractes est extende de malades politiques extende de m no ramène, ces esprit facines qu'aucun èvène, ment ne désenchante;—et eeus qui se trouvent trop reserves dans leur propre pays; et les spéculateurs avides ; et les spéculateurs avides ; et les spéculateurs avides qui brulent d'attacher de les honnes qui brulent de les honnes que les honnes qui brulent de les honnes qui des villes, à des civilisations; tel pour qui la when constructed, not only give employment to so many of all ranks, but open notions of Louis Napoleon on this head. new channels of adventure, and aid pros- They were most ingeniously exposed in the perity and progress in a thousand ways; -and we know that he is anxious to do this. He may, both by the multiplication of railways and by the many channels which are open to a centralized and interpenetrating administration like that of France, spread among the provinces the knowledge of new modes of investment and easy access to them, and thus, by shewing to the people other and more lucrative ways of employing their savings, mitigate that inordinate competition for land, and that irrationally high price for it, which now create so much mischief and embarrassment among the peasant proprietary. Ignorant of shares and funds, and suspicious of the risks of trade, the industrious provincial has at present no conceptions of any other way of disposing of his cash except by purchasing some field adjoining to his own, which will probably yield him only two per cent., while perhaps to complete the purchase he borrows from some notary at eight per cent. The new Banque du crédit foncier, questionable as are its principle and management. shews that the Government has its eye upon the evil. Lastly, Louis Napoleon may do something to make commercial occupations honourable, by honouring and respecting those engaged in them; and he may do much to mitigate one of the greatest difficulties of French enterprise and industry, by insuring and maintaining that tranquillity and order which alone is able, and is alone sufficient, to induce foreign capital to flow in torrents into the country. Want of capital is felt throughout France, and peace will not only attract it from abroad, but enable it to accumulate at home.

The subject of the condition of the working-classes is known to have occupied the mind of the new Emperor for many years;* he is believed to be engaged in meditating some schemes for raising that condition, almost socialistic in their tendency; and he is certainly more fully alive than most of his predecessors on the throne to the vast importance, as regards the stability and comfort of Government, of securing ample employment and a low price of food for the people. Some recent mysterious and most costly operations in the corn market, which have been, with much appearance of probability, traced to his Government, and which intermediate constitutional barrier is remust have been undertaken with a view of moved; and the people and its chief stand keeping down the price of wheat in France, throw considerable light upon the views and strength.

II. One of the peculiarities in the present state of French society, which is most hostile to the stability of political institutions and the extension of regulated liberty, is the absence of an Aristocracy-of a permanent, powerful, and wealthy class, which could act both as a connection and a barrier between the subject on one side, and the monarch on the other: which could at once maintain the throne against the discontent and turbulent aggressions of the populace, and protect the people against the encroachments of despotic power. The privileged and influential body which we have found throughout our history such an invaluable bulwark both of liberty and authority, exists no longer as a class in France. Many of the old noble families remain, but shorn of their influence, impoverished in their means, and shattered in their organization. Though the distinction of feeling between a noble and a roturier exists nearly as marked as ever, the order is gone. The law of equal inheritance destroyed it, far more effectually than the decrees which abolished a privileged Peerage by direct enactment. We are not going to discuss the relative merits of the law of primogeniture, and the law of equal subdivision of the patrimonial property: such an argument would require an entire treatise to do it justice. We are concerned now with only one or two of the social consequences of the latter system as it prevails in France. Primogeniture creates and maintains a class whose large possessions make them essentially conservative; whose ancestral traditions make them too proud to surrender, without a tenacious and prolonged struggle, any of their privileges to assaults from below, or any of their liberties to encroachments from above; whose mutual jealousies prevent them from combining to oppress the people, whose organization and common interests prevent them from succumbing to the unconstitutional ambition of the throne. The law of equal inheritance, by dissipating the wealth, dividing the estates, and dostroying the feudal influence of the noble and the great, at once relieves them from the political obligations of nobility, and renders them powerless to fulfil them. The face to face, each left to his own unaided

Further: The case of equal division cre-

Economist two months ago. *

[.] He is the author of a work on the Extinction of Pauperism.

^{*} See the Economist newspaper for 13th November, 1852.

ates great numbers who have just enough to therefore involved in expenditure which nelive upon: enough to command many of the cessitates some supplemental source of inenjoyments of life-not enough to impose come. Hence, not only the constant habit upon them the duties which large property, of French politicians of jobbing in the pubespecially in land, almost always brings with lic and other securities, but the ready absoit. They do not, like our younger sons, who lution given by general opinion to conduct have little or nothing, set to work to become which, in England, would stain a statesman's the architects of their own fortune, and the reputation past redemption. It is felt that creators of a new name; they live upon their in the majority of instances, a man who bescanty income, and the energy that ought to comes a minister in France, must job, in orhave been spent in earning a livelihood, is der to make both ends meet. diverted into the public channels; the excitepolitical intrigue and party strife. They mischief wrought by this law of equal diviennui, and ennui seeks refuge in exhausting culation of capital, and in prohibiting the passions and intrigues of the Parliamentary wealthy class,-but a strong impression that stantly drawn upon and never augmented, dare even to propose its abrogation or alterlishman or an American would endeavour to a despotic government might brave the first enterprise : a Frenchman, unaccustomed to by the proposition of a change; and in a few labour, and habituated to despise it, seeks months the popular indignation would have for his rehabilitation in the chapter of political spent itself, and would die away. The accidents. It is true enough that we in England, especially in those classes most prone vails as to the extent to which it is desired to need excitement and to suffer from ennui, that the Emperor should, and expected that have numbers of indolent and unoccupied he will, modify the existing regulation. One men; but the great difference between the party thinks that, considering how small the cases of the two communities is this: our families generally are in France, it would be idle men are generally rich; the diele men of sufficient to allow the father two child's por-Paris are generally poor. The men about therefore essentially conservative and aristocratic: in France they are, in overwhelming proportion, needy and embarrassed, The men who came to the surface in 1848, and who guided if they did not make the revolution, were, with scarcely an exception, over head and ears in debt.

Besides the danger to Government arising from this source, the standard of public morality suffers in a deplorable degree. The habits of the actual Parisian society involve all public and prominent men in an amount of expenditure which only ample fortunes could supply. But exceedingly few men in

Now, we found in France, among reflectment which the pursuit of wealth might have ing politicians of nearly all parties, not only furnished them, they are driven to seek in a general and increasing conviction of the can afford to be idle; but idleness brings sion in preventing the accumulation and eirdissipation, in the strife of journalism, in the formation of a powerful, permanent, and arena, or (it may be and has often been) in the present ruler of the country would and conspiracies, émeutes, and revolutions. More-ought to attempt some modification or repeal over, their moderate share of a divided pa- of the law in question. The Emperor, they trimonial inheritance, laid up in a napkin, in- say, may do this: no one else could. No stead of being put out to profitable use, con-popular or representative government would is, in many cases, soon spent, and often lost; ation: the passion for equality among the and when thus reduced to poverty, they be- French people makes them cling to this law come, not diligent, but desperate. An Eng- with a morbid and irrational tenacity. But retrieve his fortune by energy, industry, and opposition which would certainly be aroused town in England are either wealthy, or closely connected with those who are so, and which it would be safe or possible to attempt. The Legitimists, many of them, hope that Louis Napoleon will go much farther than this, and leave the matter entirely at the option of the parent, in which case they imagine that most of the noblesse, and many of the wealthier bourgeoisie, in order to found or to maintain a family, would revert to the custom of primogeniture, and endow an eldest son. Others, again-and these we believe to be the best informed as to his intentions and opinions-suppose that he will compromise the matter by authorising the creation

^{*} The existing law enacts that the property shall could supply. But exceedingly few men in the strain of the supplies that the property sufficient to sustain the luxury of lofty station, and of these few only a small portion enter into five five few only a small portion enter into five five few only a small portion enter into five five few one of the many give to any one he choses, not one-fulf, and so on one-fulfind, but few-fourths, or one-fulf, and so on.

of majorats, for which step he would have cratie peut être compatible avec le principe de the sauction of his nucle's example. The l'egalité, à deux conditions: premièrement, que the sanction of his nucle's example. The mode of operation, it is imagined, would be this :-He would enact that any man of a cuns urous particulate, et que les distinctions certain rank-or perhaps without any limitation as to rank-possessed of a certain amount of wealth, might create a majorat; i.e., might set apart a specified portion of his income or his property, landed or funded, as an endowment for his eldest or his chosen son, (the remainder to be divided among the children in equal proportion,) which endowment should descend undivided and entailed in the direct course of primogeniture. Thus, if a marshal of the Empire, or an old marquis, or a millionnaire banker, had a property, say of two million of francs, he should be authorized to set apart one million as an endowment for the majorat, which should deseend unbroken from eldest son to eldest son, through future generations, while the remaining million should be divided among all the children according to the provisions of the actual law, By this means a race of men would be created of ample and of certain incomes, who by that circumstance alone would not only become a stable class, but, as with us, would naturally form the class out of whom statesmen would be chosen, inasmuch as their wealth would give them means of studying the art of government and preparing themselves for taking part in it,-would exempt them from the low temptations to which needy politicians are exposed, and would render them too influential to be lightly neglected or alienated by any the power and discharge many of the functions of an aristocracy; and they might form a body with which the old noblesse-now so ignorant, proud, prejudiced, and indolentmight amalgamate with advantage, and in which it might in time be merged.

One great reason for believing that Louis Napoleon will do something of this sort is, that his nucle, of whom he is the fanatical imitator, did so before him. The account of Napoleon's establishment of majorats is given by Thiers in his "Consulat et l'Empire," l. xxviii.

" Il voulait, avec ce qu'il donnerait à ses généranx, fonder de grandes familles, qui entourassent le trone, concourassent à le defendre, contribuassent a l'éclat de la sociéte Française, sans nuire à la liberte publique, sans entrainer surtout aucune violation des principes d'égalité proclames par la révolution Française. L'experience a pouvré qu'une aristocratie ne nuit point à la liberte d'un pays, car l'aristocratie Anglaise n'a pas moins contribué que les autres classes de la nation à la liberté de le Grande Bretagne. La raison dit encore qu'une aristo- form the peaceful functions of citizens, and

les membres qui la composent ne jouissent d'aupurement honorifiques, accordees à une classe, soient accessible à tous les citovens d'un meme état, qui les ont achetées par leurs services ou leurs talents. . Napoleon profita donc de la gloire de Tilsit, et du prestige dont il ctait entoeur en ce moment, pour accomplir en-fin le projet qu'il méditait depuis longtemps, d'instituer une noblesse. . . Il établit par un senatus-consulte que les dignitaires de l'Empire, à tous les degrés, pourraient transmettre n leur fils aine ue titre, qui serait celui de due, de comte, ou de baron, suivant la dignité du pere n la condition d'avoir fait preuve d'un certain revenu, dont le tiers au moins devait demeurer attaché au titre conferé à la descendance. Tel fut l'origine des majorats. Les grands dignitaires durent porter le titre d'altesse. Leurs fils ainés durent porter le titre de ducs, si leur père avait instituté en leur faveur un majorat de 200,000 livres de rente. Les ministres, les senuteurs, les conseillers d'Etat, les Présidents du corps legislatif, les archéveques, furent autorises à porter le titre de comtes, et à transmettre le titre à leurs fils ou neveux, sous la condition d'un majorat de 30,000 livres de rente. Enfin les présidents des collèges électoraux à vie, les procureurs généraux et évêques, et plu-sieurs autres, furent autorisés à porter le titre de barons, et à le transmettre à leurs fils aînés, sous la condition d'un majorat de 15,000 livres de rente. Les simples Membres de la Légion d'Honneur purent s'appeler Chevaliers, et trans-mettre ce tittre moyennant un majorat de 3000 livres de rente."

Such is the example which it seems probruler. They might not be a titled or a pri- able that Louis Napoleon will follow, if his vileged class, but they would enjoy most of power lasts till matters are ripe for the attempt.

> III. Some of the most formidable difficulties which the present or indeed any Government has to contend with in France, arise from the mode in which the army is recruited. The soldiers there do not, as with us, choose the military profession as a career, enlist voluntarily and enlist for life; but every year a list is made up of the young men in each department who attain their twentieth year, and out of this number (about 250,000) 80,000 conscripts are selected by ballot. These serve in the ranks for seven years, and then return into the mass of citizens. The evil consequences of this system are manifold. In the first place, as all conscripts are rejected who are under size, who are feeble in health, or who suffer under any bodily defect or incapacity, the troops consist of the élite of the nation's youth, physically speaking, and those who are left at home to cultivate the soil, per-

perpetuate the race, are the inferior and re-just sufficient to give them a distaste for the jected portion. To this circumstance, it is humble and useful occupations of their pasaid, much of the physical deterioration of rents, a desire for intellectual excitement of lieve, with much truth. these conscripts, after having passed the careers and professions which demand a seven most active and impressible years of really liberal and comprehensive education. their life in the idle, dissipated, roving carreer of the garrison and the camp, are disbanders in the social scale are instructed together, and professional skill which early practice a little money, his son receives his training can alone give. They commence industrial in the same seminary as the son of the proavocations often with distaste, always at a prietor whose land he cultivates, whose disadvantage; and the sentiment of superi- sugar and coffee he supplies, and whose coat ority which they must in many respects he makes. The boy who ought to be a feel as compared with those around them, labourer or a petty tradesman, sits on the increases and fosters their discontent. Third- same bench and learns the same lesson as proportion of the French people trained to bune, or the civil service of the State. This regular and desultory warfare, but the army and fosters it in turn. The result is, that consists of young soldiers and the people of each one naturally learns to despise his own veterans; the enrolled troops are (comparadestination, and to aspire to that of his tively) the raw levies; the disbanded troops more fortunate school-fellow. The grocer's are the experienced soldiers. The result is, son cannot see why he should not become that in any insurrection, *imeute*, or street an advocate, a journalist, or a statesman, as fighting, the insurgents not only can readily who was often below him in the class, whom do consist of these very men. The best troops are on the side of the revolutionary Hence unmbers who might have remained mobs. In England, a handful of soldiers useful, respectable, and contented citizens in are a match for thousands of undisciplined their own humble line, are tempted to civilians. In France, rebels and regiments meet on nearly equal terms. It is said—those whose wealth and social position give we cannot say with what truth—that Louis them most advantages in the race. Dewithout rendering it one whit less efficient.

literary and too little industrial and utilita- liners.* rian, and it is too uniform for all classes.

The great proportion of those who attend it the great proportion of those who attend it the great proportion of those who attend it the great proportion of those who attend it the great proportion of those who attend it the great proportion of those who attend it the great proportion of those who attend it is too uniform for all classes. acquire, it is said, a smattering of literature, tinental ones, less literal and more practical.

the people is to be ascribed, and we can be- a miscellaneous and often of a low descrip-Secondly, when tion, and a conceit of their own fitness for ed and mingle with their fellow-countrymen, in the same schools, in the same mode, and they are without any trade or occupation, on the same subjects, to a degree of which little disposed perhaps to learn one, and at we have no example here. If the peasant, all events untaught and without the manual the grocer, or the tailor can scrape together ly, By this arrangement, not only is a vast the boy who is destined for the bar, the tri-Napoleon is fully alive to the dangers and feated competition with those of higher mischiefs arising from this source, and that rank becomes in their ill-regulated minds he intends to reorganize at least a portion conspiracy against the rank itself, and the of the army on the footing of voluntary en-state of society to which they attribute listment for life, or for twenty years. If he their defeat. Instead of following their padoes this he may largely reduce the army rents' carcer, they aspire to that of their companions, and their parents' ambition often stimulates them to the unequal strife. IV. Those who have watched the interior They go to Paris or some large provincial workings of society in France long and close town, become students of Medicine, or of at hand, are inclined to attribute much of Law, or, if still more ambitious, and gifted that uselessness and discontent which is one with any superficial eleverness, attempt the of its most striking features, and which is ruinous and disappointing channel of the despair both of the friends of order and Press. They fail from incapacity, indethe friends of freedom, to the national sys- lence, imperfect education, dissipated habits, tem of education. This is considered to or want of means to continue the struggle; ombody two characteristic errors, both of they become hommes manqués, and degenewhich are dangerous, and both of which rate into ementiers, cheeuliers d'industrie, operate in the same direction,-it is too (Anglice, sharpers,) or malignant penny-a-

The following picture from a French | confondu de tant de vanité unie à tant de writer of great talent is well worth perusal: pauvreté. Quant aux hommes — "La démocratie sociale se reerute princide lettres pris en masse, ma surprise à eté palement à Paris dans deux professions : les avocats et les gens de lettres. Le corps des avocats et la cohue des gens de lettres forment deux sociétés souterraines qui sont très peu connues du peuple, Français luimême. Ce sont les deux professions qui sont les plus faciles quant au titre à obtenir, et les plus difficiles en même temps, si l'on songe aux obstacles sans nombre qu'il faut traverser pour arriver par elles à une position sociale fixe et stable; et comme ces deux professions sont les plus larges de toutes, comme ces titres d'avocats et d'hommes de lettres sont les plus indéterminés de tous, ce sont aussi les professions et les titres qui cachent le plus de misères. On n'imagine pas le nombre de ceux qui à Paris se décorent de ces titres et qui usent le pavé en attendant une révolution : il y a des avocats qui ne donnent que des leçons d'Allemand, et des hommes de lettres qui n'usent d'autre papier que le livre de comptes de leur estaminet habituel. Je me rappelle que, dans les premiers temps de mon séjour à Paris, je me rendis un jour Rue St. Jaques, chez un avocat qui prétendait donner des leçons d'Allemand, langue que je désirais alors beaucoup apprendre. Je demeurai consterné en apercevant tant de misère unie à une vanité aussi niaise et Au dernier étage d'une aussi déplacée. maison étroite et dont les escaliers rappellaient ces cauchemars où l'on se sent pressé entre deux murs qui se rapprochent toujours, comme pour vous étouffer, habitait l'avocat maitre de langues. Pour arriver jusqu'à lui, il fallait traverser tout un détritus de chaises cassées, de meubles vermoulus, de paniers défoncés, de bouteilles sans goulot, et d'autres, instrumens pareils; car le malheureux habitait au-dessus de cet étage qui à Paris sert aux portiers à déposer tous les ûtensiles de rebut, et remplace les greniers. Pompeusement il avait écrit au-dessus de sa porte: M. D. Avocat. Cette chambre n'indiquait pas la misère, car elle était la misère elle-même; les murs nus n'y étaient pas même en haillons; le plafond était depuis longtemps absent. Une robe de chambre innommable recouvrait les membres du malheureux accordé sur un table à laquelle manquait un pied, et dont un have approved and sanctioned this repressecond était prolongé au moyen de deux sive action of the authorities. Charles X. briques cassées. La conversation s'engagea endeavoured to put down the freedom of the et comme je jetais les yeux sur les sales press by illegal ordinances, but the attempt papiers qui encombraient cette table : cost him his throne. Louis Philippe sucnier discours d'ouverteure que M. la Prési-dent Dupin m'a envoyé. Je demeurai

plus pénible encore. . . .

"Nous répétons que, par la dislocation que les uns opèrent dans les intelligences et par les manœuvres tortueuses des autres. par la vie souterraine qui leur est commune, ces deux professsions d'avocat et d'homme de lettres exercent dans la société Française une influence fatale, et qu'elles sont les deux dissolvans les plus actifs de leur pays. Natures pleine de vanité, sans res-sources morales pour purifier l'irritation qu'une gêne incessante jeta dans leur vie, il se retournent et mordent,-ou bien ceux qui ont le plus de force morale s'occupent à miner les principes du pouvoir incessament, sans rélâche, froidement, et sans que les douleurs qui les harcèlent les arrêtent un noment."*

The last remarks throw some light upon a subject which has always been one of great perplexity and surprise to Englishmen -the state of the press in France, the mode . in which it is treated, and the light in which it is regarded. We have never been able fully to comprehend, in a nation so enlightened and unrestrained as the French, either the ceaseless war which every Government, whatever was its origin and constituent elements, has always waged against journalism, nor the quietness and apparent satisfaction with which its despotic and mereiless repression by Louis Napoleon has been received and acquiesced in. Napoleon the Great always declared, that if the press were left free, as in England, it would not only destroy every administration and every party, but would render all government impossible in France; and every successive ruler or ministry which has held the reins of power has, either avowedly or implicitly, confirmed his statement. Legitimate monarchs, despotic monarchs, monarchs by popular choice, administrations composed of journalists and men of letters, assemblies chosen by universal suffrage,have all vied with one another in the severity of their laws for gagging and muzzling the press, and in the rigour with which they have prosecuted editors and newspaper-writers. And what is strangest of all is, that, of late years, at least, the people seem to

Je M. la Prési-Je demeurai ques et Sociales. Par Emile Montégut.

ceeded him, and called to his Cabinet the the noon-day of activity and strength, and very men whose fame and fortune had been laboured to inoculate the country with their made by journalism; but no sooner was he principles in the columns of the Globe, the firmly established on the throne, than he Constitutionnel, and the National. found or deemed it necessary to turn round reading public multiplied, and the fame and upon the power which had mainly contri- power of journalism increased, new papers buted to his elevation, and both Thiers and were set on foot, but these were unavoidably Guizot supported him in restrictive laws conducted by men of less ability and knowland constant prosecutions. Juries were ge-edge, supplying an inferior article, and satis-nerally ready to convict, and judges always | fied with a lower remuneration. The Revoready to inflict the severest penalties. When lution of 1830 carried many of the writers Louis Philippe was replaced by a Republic of the highest genius and reputation into the an assembly elected by universal suffrage, Ministry; from journalists they became acnot only required a very heavy cautionne- tive and practical statesmen, and of course ment to be deposited as security for good had to abandon their previous vocation. The behaviour before any one was allowed to es- consequences were twofold: -First, Their tablish a journal, but struck the most fatal places had to be supplied by men of far blow ever aimed at the influence of the lower attainments and capacities and less press, by the law which enacted that every fixed and sincere opinions, who endeavoured writer must affix his name to his articles,thus depriving him both of the shelter and wanted in solidity and value, and, like bad the weight of the anonymous. Moreover, cooks, attempted to disguise by unlimited during this time of popular government, salt and pepper the poverty of their mateof a newspaper prosecution. Lastly, the of writers, whose pens had gained them nation: some deplored the impossibility which resulted of obtaining accurate inforthought the repression needlessly stringent; but of the wisdom, the justice, the necessity, measure, at all events as a temporary one, we scarcely heard two opinions among the leaders and respectable men of all parties in France.

The truth is, that by little and little the newspaper press, with a few exceptions, had fallen from the high position and character it once enjoyed to a state of the most unbounded and merited contempt and aversion. It had ceased to be a public protector, and danger. It respected nothing, and was remen of earnest convictions, resolute purpose,

to make up in piquancy what their articles there was, we believe, only one instance in rials and the imperfection of their workmanwhich a jury refused to convict in the case ship. Secondly, The success of the first class very first act of the President after the Ministerial portfolios, inflamed to the utmost coup d'état was to destroy all remains of degree the ambition of every smart Parisian freedom and independence in the daily or aspiring provincial who imagined himself press; and no one of his acts assuredly met endowed with any literary talent; the friends with such general, cordial, or prompt appro- and relations of those who had been thus sucval. Some were indignant at being denied cessful implored them to introduce them into a channel for the expression of their indig- the career of journalism; new journals were established which had to force a circulation as they best might, by universal dénigrement, mation as to public occurrences; some by spicing highly, and attacking indiscriminately; the class of contributors became worse and worse, and newspaper writing and the beneficent operation of some such from being an honourable profession, sank to the ignominy of a trade. Then one of the chief of these competitors for public favour (Emile de Girardin, we believe) set the example of lowering the price of his paper, in the hope of securing a wider circulation than his rivals. This obliged him, first, to lower the rate of remuneration to his contributors, and of course to be contented with an inferior set; and, secondly, to write down to a lower audience, and pepper had become a public enemy and a public more coarsely still. Political articles were not always stimulating enough for appetites spected by no one. After the Restoration that had long fed on garbage and on poison, and up to 1830, it was chiefly in the hands so the feuilletons of Eugene Sue's stamp were of able, instructed, honourable men-often introduced, and completed the degradation ambitious, sometimes unscrupulous, but still and denaturalisation of the public taste. Things went on thus till a considerable porand high attainments. About 1829, it had tion of the press got into the hands of mere reached its highest glory and its widest influ- literary bravos, assassins, panders, and adence. Chateaubriand and Benjamin Constant venturers, without principles, without conwere gone from the stage; but Thiers, Mig-net, Guizot, Villemain, Cousin, Salvandy, Armand Carrel, and many others, were in manufacturers for money, who would often write at the same moment for two hostile thoughtful of the French politicians, and the papers, we shall have a pretty fair idea of permanently deprived of free discussion. the sort of political excitement which was Journalism had lost its character, but not its power. It became a discredit to men of France that the Emperor has before him a commotion.

journals, and on opposite sides of the same belief of many. The present restrictions, question, and who respected neither the de- they say, are only fitted to a state of crises cencies of private life nor the duties of a and transition, and are to be judged of only public station. Of course there were jour- as provisional and temporary. If, when orhals to whom these observations would not der is fully re-established, they are not judiapply; but with these exceptions, if we take clously and gradually relaxed, discontent our "Satirist," "Northern Star," "The Na- and resistance will ultimately ensue. France tion," and other of the more violent Irish cannot, ought not, will not submit to be

real ability and reputation to be connected rich harvest of splendid possibilities if he with it. Much of it sank to what it is now has the talents, the judgment, and the pa--a common sewer-un véritable égout, as triotism to see them and to strive for them. we heard one leading minister describe it. His position is one of enormous and almost Still it exercised influence over the hasty unparalleled advantages. He has the pow-and fiery temperaments of Frenchmen which our cooler and more phlegmatic spirits cannot tion of the almost unanimous choice of the adequately estimate. It still acted as a fire-people. He has no rival and no opposition. brand and a poison; it still had power to He has arrived at supreme authority at a arouse the passions of that excitable people, moment when France, worn out with strife just as a drain can madden and intoxicate, and tumult, and alarmed at the prospect of though known by the drinker to be noxious anarchy which a year ago menaced them so and adulterated;—and when Louis Napo-fiercely, is elamorous at once for a master leon put it down with so relentless a gripe, and a protector. One point in his character the nation thanked him, as we might thank is especially relied on; people are satisfied a despot who withheld "fire-water" from the that he will shrink from nothing which is re-Red Indian savages around us, or who shut quisite to maintain order, and suppress in-up gin-shops iff a time of popular fury and surrection; that he will not, like Louis Philippe, east down his power from want of The death of journalism in France was nerve or resolution to maintain it. We probably necessary to its resurrection in a found that the burden of conversation on purer spirit and a healthier frame. The every side was the same-" We are weary time will come, sooner or later-the adhe- of ceaseless and purposeless strife; we are rents even of the new Emperor avow their sick of politics; we can no longer bear to expectation of that time—when a period of live under the harass of perpetual alarms expectation of that time—when a period of live under the harass of perpetual flarms—peace and quiet shall have calmed the furi-alarms which those who know what fearful ous passions which revolution after revolution has engendered and nursed; when France, restored by fasting to a sound and healthy appetite, shall be anxious for some wholesome food; and when the desire for the discussion of political and social interests, natural to an intellectual people, will revive, and may be safely and moderately indulged. May according to the recommendation of the properties o Men qualified to instruct and guide the peo- unlimited as his, and with a resolute and un-Men qualified to instruct and guide the peo-ple, may then, without discredit, engage in relenting will, the Emperor may do much— periodical literature, without the fear of be-everything for France. Will he? Has he ing dishonoured by low associates, without be-ing compelled to lower their style to the taste of pallid or blass' readers. Iteviews, in the first instance, and then weekly papers will, it fill observers (who, however, are seldon is hoped, recommence the political education very numerous in France) reason thus, in of the nation and the regional and reflective is tone which is some is little more than of the nation, and the rational and reflective a tone which in some is little more than criticism of the Government; and when the wish, and in others rises into sanguine antitone and character of the newspaper press cipation, and almost into prophecy:-that the has been restored, daily journals may follow present tyranny is only transitional, adapt-with comparative safety and hope of patriotic ed to a dangerous crisis and a deep-seated service. These are the hopes of the more malady, and must be judged as such; that a

period of stern and iron rule is absolute-thave gathered round it and attached to it on a stable Government, and gradual liber- mination. ties may be wrung out of a despotic one; but that all history, and French history most of all, too clearly shows that from the overthrow of authority, neither freedom nor order can arise, and that revolution can only, after much tribulation and many sufferings, commercial propensities, shall pass away Legitimists, and that he in his turn dying passions of those nearer to the scene of ac-without progeny, the crown shall naturally tion, and, therefore, most favourably placed pass to the Compte de Paris, who will regapass to the Compute de Fairs, wind will regar-ther the Orleanists under his wings. In this scheme, each party in France will have had like most official ones in France, must, we fear, its restoration; one by one the throne will received with hesitation. 13-B VOL. XVIII.

ly necessary in order to crush into absolute all rival sections, the Imperialists, the Bourhopelessness all insurrectionary and revolu-bonists, and the adherents of Louis Philippe's tionary parties, and to give time for the tur-bid and muddy elements of society to settle to be important, will alone have been left down into calm stagnation, and for the great out. Moreover, at each successive change of central ideas of religion, of duty, of patriotism, of family, to take root again in the mind knows how, obtain an extension of its poliism, of family, to take root again in the mind knows how, obtain an extension of its political histories; and with the Compte de repose, to recovery, to the pursuit of national prosperity, must be allowed before France is ready again for the efforts and the sacrifices of titzenship; that, in fact, an interval of calm as rigid and unbroken as the grave, is an in- and whose offences the nation shall by that dispensable vestibule to a better, a serener, time have forgiven. The cycle of changes, and a healthier life. They urge, moreover, that gradual improvements may be ingrafted on a stable Government and gradual liber.

> Republic - (1793.) Empire - - (1804.) Republic - (1848.) Empire - - (1852.) Restoration - (1814.) Orleanism - (1830.) Restoration - (Orleanism - (

But for the working out of this euthanasia terminate in restoration. The nation has of revolutionism, time, quiet, and the life of twice, at least, had carte blanche as to its own future, and both times it has failed to of the future may be marred by three posconstruct anything fitted or desirable to last. sibilities, war, bankruptcy, or assassination. They affirm, too, that Louis Napoleon has a The last-an accident on which it would be clear perception of the needs of France, and vain to speculate-would of course cut short has planned several reforms which will be all hopes. Bankruptey might be fatal to abiding blessings to the country, long af him by the universal indignation it would ter he and his dynasty shall have passed excite among all that is respectable or away. Finally, they declare, and we believe wealthy in the nation, and how to equalize with perfect truth, that there exists now in the revenue and the expenditure, without France a strong reactionary tendency, an some such disgraceful catastrophe, is one of increasing and spreading conviction that the knottiest problems he has now to solve. something of the past must be recalled be- Retrenclment and an income-tax combined fore an enduring basis for any political system can be laid; that whatever of loyalty, denial for the other—nay save him. Lastly, of chivalry, of religious sincerity yet remains in France must be satisfied, embraced, momentous one for us, for France, and for and enlisted, in any Government that is to all Europe. Without peace, the calm and remain. Their hope and wish, therefore, consolidation requisite for the reorganization the solution of affairs which alone seems to of the country cannot be obtained. Does them to offer a rational and vivid prospect Louis Napoleon intend, and will he be able, of permanent good and ultimate tranquillity, to keep the peace? To answer this question—is, that the Emperor, having done his we must consider carefully, first, his characwork of pacifying, consolidating and com- ter; secondly, his professions; thirdly, his pressing France, and laying broad and deep obvious interests; and fourthly, the necessithe foundation of an aristocracy of statesmen, ties of his position. These are difficult and a bourgeoisie of prosperous habits and problems for solution; on this subject, as on most others, accurate knowledge is not without direct lineal heirs; that he should easy of attainment in France. "Truth (as be succeeded by Henri V., who will rally to Barrow says) cannot be discerned amid the the re-established throne the clergy and the smoke of wrathful expressions;" and the

for observation, are still so violent and whether or not their arguments have made the angry, that their statements and opinions least impression upon him, but revolves his are rather misleading than informing. Ne- plans in the gloomy recesses of his own brain, vertheless, having had opportunities of ascer- and brings them forth matured, homogenetaining the sentiments of most parties in ous, and unexpected. The minutest details of France respecting the new Emperor, and the coup d'état were arranged by himself. All having, it is fair to state, conversed with those from Changarnier and Thiers down to five of his enemies for one of his friends, we Faucher, who have endeavoured to lead, shall endeavour to lay before our readers drive, or govern him, have all been baffled, what, in our judgment, is the real state of outwitted, and cast aside. When he rose

the case. is now beginning to be admitted, even by Minister for Foreign Affairs, who sat next his bitterest enemies, that Louis Napoleon him-"Now I am going to astonish you is not the foolish imbecile it was so long the not a little." When he announced his intenfashion to consider him. Those who aided tion of visiting Abdel Kader at Amboise, in recalling him to France, and elevating General St. Amand expressed his hope that him to the Presidency, under the impression Louis Napoleon would not think of liberatthat one so silly and borné would be rendered ing him, made a long speech, expository of a pliant tool in their hands, soon found that all the evils that would result from such a it is true, is neither capacious, powerful, nor President quite satisfied that he had sue-well-stored; but his moral qualities are of a ceeded in banishing any such scheme from moderate intellect, when that intellect is guage or conduct of the new Emperor, must concentrated upon a single object, and linked be credited to himself alone. with unbending and undaunted resolution. But we shall greatly and dangerously mis-Moreover, his mental endowments, though conceive Louis Napoleon, if we regard him

at the table of Bordeaux to make his re-In the first place, it is quite certain, and cent colebrated speech, he observed to his they reckoned without their host. His mind, piece of Quixotic generosity, and quitted the most rare and serviceable kind. His talents his thoughts. Nor was it till he actually are ordinary, but his perseverance, tenacity, heard Louis Napoleon announcing to his power of dissimulation, and inflexibility of captive his approaching freedom, that he will, are extraordinary. He is a memorable was aware how much good argument he had and most instructive example that great thrown away. Whatever, therefore, of saachievements are within the reach of a very gacity or wisdom is displayed in the lan-

neither varied nor comprehensive, are very as a man of shrewdness, reflection, and calvigorous. He is naturally shrewd, secret, culation only. The most prominent feature and impenetrable. He has the invaluable of his character is a wild, irregular romanfaculty of silence. He has, too, been a esque imagination,-which often overrides patient and a wide observer. He has all his reasoning and reflective faculties, and studied polities in Switzerland, in America, spurs him on to actions and attempts which and in England: he has devoted his mind seem insane if they fail, and the acme of to that one subject. He is, too, a deep splendid audacity if they succeed. The thinker. He ponders much; which few abortions of Strasbourg and Boulogne, and Frenchmen do. His six years' captivity the coup detat of last December, were in Ham matured and strengthened, by si- equally the dictates-alike the legitimate lent meditation, whatever natural capacities progeny—of the same mental peculiarity, he may have possessed. He writes well He believes, too, in his "star." He is even and speaks well; and all his writings and a blinder and rasher fatalist than his uncle. speeches, even where they betray the nar- From early childhood he believed himself row limits of his knowledge, indicate an destined to restore the Dynasty of the Buoneminently thoughtful mind. He has brooded apartists, and the old glories of the Empire. over the history, politics, and social condi- He brooded over this imagined destiny durtion of France, till on these subjects he is ing long years of exile, and in the weary probably one of the best informed men in days and nights of his imprisonment, till it the country, though, like most of his coun-acquired in his fancy the solidity and dimentrymen, wedded to many absurd and im- sions of an ordained fact. He twice atpracticable crotchets, which a better know-ledge of political economy would explode. His ludicrons failure in no degree discour-It is certain, also, that whatever he does and aged him, or shook his conviction of ultisays is his own. He acts and speaks for him- mate success. He only waited for another self, without interference and without assist- opportunity, and prepared for it with more ance. He listens to every one, asks advice sedulous diligence and caution. He "bided from no one, gives his interlocutors no idea his time:" the time came: he struck and

won. After such success-after having risen | memory of Waterloo: is he likely to shrink in four years from being an impoverished from the adventure? It is said that he adexile to being Emperor of France-after mires England and her institutions, and that having played the boldest stroke for empire he is grateful for the kindness and protection known in modern history—after having dis-comfitted, deceived, and overpowered the to be true; but when did considerations of cleverest, the most popular, the most emi- this sort ever restrain a politician who benent, and the most experienced men in lieves in his "star?" France,—we may well believe that his faith in his "destiny" is confirmed and rooted almost to the pitch of monomania, and that no future achievement, no further pinnacle of greatness, will seem wild or impossible to him after a Past so eventful, marvellous, and demoralizing.

Another peculiarity of his character is, that he never abandons an idea or a project he has once entertained. If he meets with difficulties and opposition he dissimulates or postpones: he never really yields or changes. Cold, patient, and inscrutable, he waits and watches, and returns to his purpose when the favourable moment has arrived. History affords few examples of such a pertinacious, enduring, relentless, inexorable will. This, of itself, is a species of greatness of the most formidable kind. If, then, to this delincation we add that, reserved and silent as he is, he has the art of attracting warmly to him those who have been long about him, and who have lived intimately with him; that, like most fatalists, he is wholly unscrupulous and unhesitating as to his agents and his means; and that he entertains and has deliberately matured the most extensive, deep-laid, and magnificent schemes of foreign policy, we have exhausted nearly all that we can speak of as certain and reliable regarding this remarkable man; and assuredly we have said the sagacious calculator and the headstrong fanatic-with a large navy, an unrivalled army, and a prostrate and may not attempt, and might not achieve?

One other feature of Louis Napoleon's mind must be noticed before we can be in a position rightly to estimate the probabilities of his future career. He is a close and servile copyist of his uncle. He has studied profoundly not only the history of the first Napoleon, but his opinions on all matters of policy and administration. He believes, and we think justly, that Napoleon understood more thoroughly than any Frenchman of his day, the nature of the government which France needed, and the degree of self-government which she could manage and would bear; that his sagacity and justesse d'esprit on nearly all subjects of administration approached to inspiration; and that, if he treads in his footsteps, he may aspire to emulate his glory. This is a sentiment eminently misleading, and full of danger. The talents of the two men are so wholly different, the internal condition and, to a great extent, the character and feelings of the nation have been so changed by thirty-five years of peace and free institutions, that maxims and modes of proceedings sound and expedient then, may be utterly inapplicable now. The dazzling fame and the wonderful sagacity of Napoleon I. may be the ignis futuus which will lure astray Napoleon III. to discomfiture and ruin.

The words of Louis Napoleon-that is, his public announcements and professionsunhappily can never be relied on as indicaenough to satisfy our readers that France tive of his intentions; but if regarded at all has given to herself a master whom it must be interpreted by the rule of contraries. concerns all European statesmen-those of By repeated and most flagrant perjuries he this country more especially—to study has forfeited all reasonable hope of being closely, and to watch unrestingly. Cool, daring, imperturbable, cunning, and product truth. Hence when he proclaimed, has forfeited all reasonable hope of being foundly secret-a perplexing compound of "L'Empire, c'est la paix," we are reluctantly compelled to put the announcement aside as conveying no meaning, and giving no clue to his real views and purposes. Other words, approving nation, what is there which he however, spoken and written at earlier times, and when there existed no direct or imme-He never abandons an idea or project; he diate motives for deception, may afford us recoils from no rashness; he believes in no the indication we desire of his habitual ideas, impossibility. Why should he? After and his fixed, permanent, and long-matured the marvellous past, why should he doubt designs. Now we know that long ago, at the future? He succeeded in the coup d' Ham and before, he repeatedly declared his ttat-why should he fail in a coup de main belief, that he was destined to restore the extérieur? He believed himself destined Empire, and to recover the old boundaries to restore the Empire: he has restored it. of France. We know that before the Cham-He believes himself destined to recover the ber of Peers he said, that "he represented imperial boundary line, and to wipe out the a principle, a cause, and a defeat: the principle, a cause,

the deteat, Waterioo." We know that very forth more than a year ago when urging up-recently he held up as Napoleon's strongest on him a pacific policy, viz., that war would title to the gratitude of Frenchmen, that he be a suicidal folly in a civilian like himself; abdicated rather than consent to her dis-memberment—i.e., her confinement to her him, and that the fruits of a successful one former limits. We believe, too, (we cannot would be reaped by the general who led it, say we know, because our information is at If, therefore, Louis Napoleon is guided by one remove from first authority,) that he has his own interests, or by his own clear perdetermination to have a page of history to tarily and deliberately engage in war. himself, and his idea of realizing his ambitious dream by an achievement which no Louis Napoleon's interests, but his passions. one since William, Duke of Normandy, has Now, it is notorious that his anger is veheattempted. So much for his language.

and private expenditure which now causes their prosperity. The commercial classes hate Now let us cast

ciple, the sovereignty of the people as op-posed to legitimacy; the cause, the Empire; than once repeated the argument we put the defeat, Waterloo." We know that very forth more than a year ago when urging upmore than once avowed to his intimates his ception of those interests, he will not volun-

But we must take into account not only mently excited against both England and His immediate and obvious interests all lie Belgium, and for the same reasons. Both on the side of peace. With the great mass countries harbour his personal enemies and of the French people of all classes any war the refugees from his tyranny; and the press would now be most unpopular. They want in both countries has been unmeasured and rost; they want properly; they want time unceasing in its abuse of him. Both countries has been unmeasured and to devote to the restoration of their shattered fortunes, and the advancement of industry plots against his government; and if he supation which war would inevitably bring, a sudden inroad, like that by which his uncle The more reflective among them—and in obtained possession of the Duke d'Enghien, The more reflective among members and provided this class might be mentioned some of the we greatly question whether any motive of first military men in the nation—deprecate decency or prudence could restrain him from a war, because they believe it would be a making the attempt. In the case of Belgium, war of aggression; therefore, probably, a too, his irritation is shared by a great numwar against combined Europe; therefore, in ber of persons in France; and with the the end, an unsuccessful one, and likely to French nation the strongest motive for an be visited with heavy retaliation and certain attack on Belgium would not be the territodismemberment. The ourriers know that rial aggrandizement, but the hunting out of war would put a stop to much of the public what they regard as a nest of calumniators

Now let us cast a hasty glance at those pewar instinctively as well as rationally. The culiarities of Louis Napoleon's position which war instinctively as well as rationally. The cultarities of Louis Napoleon's position which may leave him no free choice as to the line have encouraged, and the extensive interpartiages, connexions, and interlacing of interests which this intercourse has brought about—all cry out loudly and powerfully for peace, especially for peace with England. The turbulent and unprincipled journalists, who used to be the great clamourers for war, and the mischief makers who strove to fan formalists in the deficit is large, and the public expenditure on a most extravagant scale. The unand the mischief makers who strove to fan formalists, the deficit is large, and the public expenditure on a most extravagant scale. The unand the mischief makers who strove to fan formalists, the deficit is large, and the public expenditure on a most extravagant scale. The unand the mischief makers who strove to fan formalists, the deficit is large, and the public expenditure on a most extravagant scale. The unand the mischief makers who strove to fan formalists, the deficit is large, and the public expenditure on a most extravagant scale. The unand the mischief makers who strove to fan formalists, the deficit is large, and the public expenditure on a most extravagant scale. The unand the mischief makers who strove to fan formalists, the deficit is large, and the public expenditure of the deficit is large, and the public expenditure of the deficit is large, and the public expenditure of the deficit is large, and the public expenditure of the deficit is large, and the public expenditure of the deficit is large, and the public expenditure of the deficit is large, and the public expenditure of the deficit is large, and the public expenditure of the deficit is large, and the public expenditure of the deficit is large, and the public expenditure of the deficit is large, and the public expenditure of the deficit is large, and the public expenditure of the deficit is large, and the public expenditure of the deficit is large, and the public expenditure every trifling misunderstanding into a bloody safe, and it is scarcely likely that a loan quarrel, are now effectually silenced. The could be easily negotiated, at least in the Emperor is well aware of all this; the enjoen market of the world. Embarrassed thusiastic reception of his pacific speech at finances, though in one point of view they Bordeaux must have confirmed his previous may make war difficult, may, on the other knowledge of the pacific desires of the peole hand, drive the Emperor into some rash and ple; and we have had ample opportunities desperate step to rehabilitate them. A war of ascertaining that his own friends and supof ascertaining that his own friends and sup- in an enemy's country can be made to supporters of all ranks of civilians, deprecate port itself; and a triumplant army abroad,
war in the most earnest manner. Louis Napoleon is, we believe, sincerely desirous to
poleon is, we believe, sincerely desirous to
poleon is, we believe, sincerely desirous to
cost less than an unemployed but fully
aware that a war would be most inimical to
equipped army at home. This may not be
those interests. He also perceives clearly a very wise or sound speculation; but we
how dangerous and impolitic it would be for know that men in pecuniary difficulties are notoriously adventurous and wild; and some- perial régime. Louis Napoleon knows all thing must be done soon to bring expendi- this well. He will not like to be forced or

ture and revenue to a balance.

But the real difficulty lies with the army. Res dura et regni novitas may compel the must play. His only security, and ours, Emperor to do what, if left to himself, and would be in a disbanding of 70,000 of the if omnipotent, he would most desire to avoid. Though it is not true that he relies solely on the army; though his hold over the affections and wishes of the nation is general and look out for the only other resource. strong; yet it is unquestionably to the army power. It is exceedingly numerous, reachof the military profession long, in addition, brilliant in its failure, it would give him a for prize-money, and promotion, and advennew lease of power:—if otherwise, it would, ture. Only a very limited number of them as he well knows, dazzle the excitable and can be satisfied and kept quiet with decorations and pecuniary advantage; the others sort of lurid and grandiose lustre to his fall. become only the more restless, envious, and At all events, if a landing were effected, and stored to and retained in its allegiance by the lucrative and tempting prospects which war holds out. If the President reduced the army to such a number as could be fully employed in Algeria, Italy, and at home, he might keep his hold upon it without war, but he would make irreconcilable enemies of the officers who were thus reduced to halfpay. If he retains the army at its present or nearly its present magnitude, he must, in order to satisfy it, and to regain and enforce his hold upon its affections or adherence, employ it. He must engage in war, whatever be its dangers, at home or abroad. When placed, as he must soon be, between the alternatives of disgusting the people by war, or disgusting the army by peace, he must choose the former; for the army might defend him against the people: the people could never defend him against the army. The people would be passive; the army would be active.

The army is even now notoriously restless and dissatisfied. The Algerine regiments are inclined to the Orleans family; many of those at home are strongly infected with war, would at once rally them all to the im- or Hungarian revolutionists; nor would be

hurried; and war may probably be his last card, but it is one which, sooner or later, he most disaffected troops, and the suspension or freat reduction of the conscription for the next two years. . If he does not do this we may

But Louis Napoleon may not only be in the first instance that he owes his cleva- driven to war as a matter of necessary poltion; the army is now the active agent in icy, which, if successful, would consolidate all political movements; and he must con- his throne, and even if not immediately or tent the army if he wishes to retain his brilliantly so, would postpone his dangers; -he may be driven to it, if his fortunes ing to nearly 400,000 men of all arms. Of become gloomy, and failure and destruction these, Algeria employs at the outside 80,000, threaten him at home. If he sees his power and Rome 20,000. The remainder are slipping from under him, he is exactly the either employed as policemen, or are not man to make a desperate, even an absurdly employed at all. Now, the members of wild attempt to recover it, by a sudden atevery profession wish for occupation: no tack upon England. If such an attempt man likes to rust away; and the members should be temporarily successful, or even ambitious. If we except a few of the older a serious amount of injury inflicted, (as could and wiser generals, the army as a whole scarcely fail to be the case,) he would have desires war. It cannot be otherwise: it is gratified one passion of his morbid mind, natural: it is notorious. Part of the army and have gained a gaudy, though a stained is already disaffected, and can only be reand disgraceful "page of history to himself."

To sum up the whole. All the obvious and well understood interests of Louis Napoleon dietate to him the preservation of peace, and the direction of all his energies to the development of the commerce, in-ternal industry, and general resources of France; and he himself is perfectly, coolly, and avowedly aware of this. But he believes that, sooner or later, his destiny is war; he is conscious also that the necessities of his position may leave him no choice in the matter; and, finally, desperation may drive him to do what prudence would

peremptorily forbid.

If, then, the new Emperor of France should be driven into a war, either by his restless ambition, or his imagined "destiny," or by the necessities of his position, what will be the situation and what the prospects of Great Britain? It is scarcely possible that French aggression should take a shape or direction which will not, mediately or immediately, involve this country in hostilities. Louis Napoleon has too completely played the game of despots, too completely declared himself the unrelenting enemy of Republican or Socialist opinions; -a war, patriots and insurgents at home and abroad, especially a sudden, dashing, and successful to identify himself with the cause of Italian

be trusted by them were he to do so. The mate monarchy and settled government spirit of liberal propagandism, which for against revolutionary propagandism and merly made France so formidable to the popular sovereignty, as represented by settled monarchical governments of Europe, France. They had a common interest and has been crushed out of her by the repression and discomfiture of the Republican trary Monarchy, and therefore the natural would incur most serious peril to herself.

party in the nation. She is now no longer ally of the other arbitrary Monarchs of the but their bulwark and ally—no longer the of popular government and liberal ideas, hope and champion of trampled rights, but their most ruthless and resolute oppressor. known to be the friend and favourer of con-In case of a quarrel with Austria, Louis stitutions and free institutions in other Napoleon might, indeed, employ or excite countries. The position, therefore, of France the Liberals among the different nationali- and England is wholly reversed. England ties she treads down to make a flank or alone of all the great powers has retained rear movement in his favour; but so arbi- her Constitutional Government; and that trary a temper, and so close a copyist of government has become far freer and more his uncle will not voluntarily embark in popular than it was. Belgium and Piedsuch a scheme. He wishes, no doubt, for mont are her only real active wellwishers, such a scheme. He wishes, no doubt, for more are ner only real active weitwishers, the annexation of Savoy, but this for personal reasons we believe there is no likelihood of his attempting, unless by such an arallies.) There can be no doubt that Russia, rangement with other powers as would Austria, and Prussia, in their secret hearts enable him to indemnify the Sardinian Gorard both Belgium and Piedmont with vernment in another quarter. The seizure arrogance and dislike, and would not be of Belgium and the frontier of the Rhine, or sorry to see them both destroyed as constian attack upon England, are, therefore, the tutional states, if change could end there. alternatives between which he will hesitate. There can, we fear, be little doubt either, Now, if he flatters himself, as he did a short that these powers would, as a matter of time ago, that he can offer such inducements feeling if not of policy, rejoice to see Engto the three great continental powers, as land weakened, humbled, and baffled, if no will make it worth their while to permit ulterior consequences were to follow. Puthim to extend his frontier to Antwerp and ting aside, therefore, for the moment, the Mayenz, and if he has reason to surmise obligations of treaties which Royal ambition any such connivance on their part, his first can generally find excuses to break through movement will no doubt be in that direc- or evade, the question lies in this nutshell: tion: He will pick a quarrel with Belgium, which do the three great Continental powers which in the present state of affairs would dread most—the military ambition of France, be a matter of no great difficulty, and pro-ceed to overrun and annex her. This, land? Will they be most likely to ally England could not tamely submit to; she themselves cordially with a nation whom is bound by treaty to defend her ally, and they know to be the steady friend and earwould probably feel that her interest as nest promoter of those free institutions and well as her duty engaged her in the cause; popular rights which they have everywhere though, if alone and unsupported, she could crushed, and which they instinctively feel to offer to King Leopold no effectual aid, and be their deadliest and most undying foe; or with a chief whose interests, as against the Now, we have no means of knowing whe- people, are identical with theirs; who, like ther the three great powers, Russia, Austhem, is the foe to constitutional freedom, tria, and Prussia, will be true to their en- who may, they will imagine, be kept in safe gagements with this country, and are pre- bounds during his life-time, and who will pared bona fide and heartily to stand by probably be succeeded by a legitimate the settlement of Europe as made at the dynasty, from whose aggression they will Congress of Vienna, and subsequently modi- have nothing to dread? In a word, will fied by the erection of Belgium into a separate they regard the army of France, or the kingdom. But in the absence of knowledge. revolutionists of Germany, Italy, Poland, let us look at probabilities. England and Hungary, as their most formidable France bear a very different relative posi- enemies? The only link we have with the tion to the other great powers from that great powers is the fear of French aggreswhich they held during the last European sion; all other considerations tend to link war. Then Russia, Austria, Prussia, and them with France against us. America, England, were fighting the battle of legiti- Belgium, Piedmont, and the patriots and

best; Austria hates us with a perfect hatred; and Russia has long fretted under the control which our maritime superiority gives us over her, as long as she has only one port and one available sea-board, and that one so easily blockaded as the Baltie. Whether these considerations will suffice to overweigh the memory of Bonaparte, and the dread of a possible revival of his policy, we cannot determine; but assuredly, they are considerations of the greatest moment.

On the supposition, however, that the three great powers combine to forbid to Louis Napoleon the desired extension of his frontier, and the absorption of Belgium and Savoy, he will be driven to his other alternative-an invasion of England. This, we can well imagine-especially as it need not, and probably would not, involve an European war-Austria would look on with delight, and Russia with suppressed and decorous complaisance. They would feel that there was no fear of the subjugation of England, and would not be averse to watch the two neighbours weakening themselves by mutual hostilities. The invasion of England, too, would, beyond question, excite unbounded enthusiasm in the French army and navy, and be undertaken with the most passionate alacrity. It would be enticing under every aspect; it would offer a prospect of restoring the balance of glory between the two nations; its success or failure would be the affair of a few days; in a word, it would be a gigantic and splendid gambling transaction. Moreover, Louis Napoleon might regard an invasion of England as his best card, on another view of the game. If he saw an European war to be inevitable, or if he meditated an aggression which would necessarily bring about one, it would be an object of immense importance to him to commence by erippling his most powerful, and impoverishing his wealthiest antagonist; and a foray upon our shores, if he succeeded in destroying several of our arse-nals and burning our dockyards—even if every man of the invading force were ultimately cut off-would put us hors de combat, for at least the first campaign. Whether, therefore, the Continental powers are true to the treaties of Vienna or not, an attack upon England seems to be the most probable contingency of a warlike future, unless at least, our state of preparation should be such as obviously to render it a hopeless and a mad adventure.

insurgents of every land are our only real view meriting the gravest attention of our friends and cordial allies, in the present statesmen. The aggressive and domineer-position of the courts of Europe. Prussia ing spirit of Roman Catholicism has of late is a commercial rival and a slippery ally at re-appeared in a daring and vigour which, a while ago, many among us never expected to see again. In Rome, in Austria, in Tuscany, in Piedmont, in Ireland, in England, and even in France, a disposition has been manifested, in no obscure or hesitating way, to play a bold and resolute game for the recovery of the old influence of St. Peter's Chair. It is impossible to doubt that each act of oppression or encroachment is a part of a deliberate, deep-laid, and systematic conspiracy against the spiritual, and therefore and thereby against the national, liberties of Europe. France has restored and still supports the Pope. The clergy in return support Louis Napoleon with all their influence, which is still great and most unscrupulously used. Now, not only is the Pope, we believe, willing enough, if not anxious, to urge on the French Emperor to hostilities with England, as the centre and bulwark of Protestantism, but the Emperor is well enough disposed to enlist priestly influence and religious fanaticism on his side in his meditated attack upon us, whenever he shall deem it expedient to strike. He looks to the welcome and assistance he expects to receive from the ultramontane party in Ireland, when his troops shall land there with banners blessed by Pius the Ninth, as one of his most powerful instruments of success. By representing an attack on England as a sort of holy crusade, he hopes to obtain the good wishes and, at all events, the passive countenance and aid of the Catholic party in every European State, whether the State itself be, on other grounds, inimical or friendly to us. Now, Spain, Portugal, Belgium, and Sardinia are even more Catholic than they are constitutional; and the introduction of a religious element into the question, if the Pope makes skilful use of the weapon, may greatly endanger our alliances with these powers, or at least cool their interest in our behalf. And when Louis Napoleon shall offer the army the hope of glory, booty, and revenge; and to the people the prospect of such plundered wealth as shall relieve them from the immediate pressure of taxation; and to the Catholics of Europe the opportunity of striking a mighty blow for the triumph of their ancient faith; and to the Catholies of Ireland retaliation, supremacy, and spoliation,-is he likely to want enthusiastic volunteers for the adventure?

One powerful and cordial ally in the d a mad adventure.

There is yet another consideration, in one have or ought to have. In a contest for she would so combat, and in that case we need have no fear for the result. But we must remember that the Americans are a jealous, quiek-tempered, and eneroaching people, and that we are perpetually on the verge of some dispute with them, which circumstances might easily aggravate into a quarrel. We must remember also that the Cuban question hangs over us, and may at no distant time-unless American morality should be improved, or the American Government be firmer and more self-denying than it has sometimes been-involve us in a most painful and perilous collision. And, finally, we must remember that the sentiments of regard and consanguinity felt towards us by the United States, are no longer as vivid or as general as we could wish. For a generation back we have been pouring out upon their shores, by thousands -sometimes hundreds of thousands-every year, shoals of Irish malcontents, with inflamed passions and perverted minds, spreading their insane and malignant hatred against England through every city and parish of the land which has sheltered them, poisoning and turning away from us the affections of those who should have been our fastest friends, by their bitter diatribes, their fierce invectives, and their savage lies. Therefore, though we fully believe that in a real struggle for existence or for freedom, if it ever comes to this, England might confidently count on effective and zealous aid from America, we scarcely think that she could count on her active assistance in an European war, even if that war were waged, not for Empire, but for liberal institutions, for Hungarian or Italian emancipation, for trampled nationalities, or for religious

Such are our dangers as they appear on a deliberate survey of our position, and as depicted in no alarmist spirit. Now, what are our means of meeting them?

We do not propose to inflict upon our readers any detailed discussion of the National Defences, for several reasons. First, because our article has already reached to such unusual length. Secondly, because the subject has been already treated in all its bearings, present and prospective, by naval and military men of high capacity and long experience, both in pamphlets innumerable and in the columns of the daily press, whereas we have no professional claims to speak upon it. Thirdly, because it seems almost impossible to arrive at accurate conclusions, even as to facts, on this momentous are manned and in commission, and at

constitutional liberty in Europe, America | matter; one military member of the House ought to combat by our side. In a contest of Commons proving that we had at least for British safety and freedom, we believe 60,000 available troops in Great Britain in ease of necessity, and another proving that not above 10,000 could be brought into the field: one admiralty official declaring the number of ships that could be fitted out or summoned home to guard our coasts, to be deplorably inadequate and few, and another affirming that we could, on the shortest notice, fill the whole channel with war steamers fully equipped and stationed within signal distance (or hailing distance, for there was a difference in the reports) of each other. And lastly, because we have little or no information to give our readers beyond what has been already published, and if we had, it is obvious that we could not make it known without impropriety and breach of confidence. Whatever is doing in the way of preparation, is being done quietly; and over the actual state of our means for meeting aggression, Government has wisely thrown a veil, which we do not desire to lift. We shall merely mention a few facts, sufficient to satisfy Englishmen that whatever additional means of defence the Government may think it incumbent on them to ask for, the British Nation will do well to grant.

At the beginning of 1852 our entire naval force, according to the best estimate we can obtain, consisted of about 540 vessels, (of which 60 were ships of the line, and 150 were steamers,) and 40,000 men. At the same time the French navy consisted of about 330 vessels, of which 40 were ships of the line, and 114 were steamers; these were manned by 27,000 sailors and marines. Now, when we reflect that our colonies extend over the whole globe, and employ an immense proportion of our fleet, while France has scarcely a single colony except Algiers, which lies close to her shores, and that our commerce, which our navy is required to countenance and protect, is manyfold that of France, we shall see at a glance that in available force the French are far a-head of us. Our navy is scattered over the world-in the Indian and Chinese seas, on the west coast of Africa, at the Cape, in the West Indies, in North America, in Australia, as well as in the Mediterranean and in the Channel. The French fleet may be, and generally is, for the most part, concentrated in the Mediterranean, and at Cherbourg, Brest, and Toulon. Again, the number of vessels belonging to the respective countries is no measure of their respective means of attack and defence, unless we could know also how many of these ships home, or within reach. tell our readers. But Admiral Bowles said the protection of the United Kingdom. that "it very rarely occurs that we have and 35,000 scattered through Great Britain. even a single ship at home fully manned Our reserves, for garrison duty, &c., &c., in and disciplined." In February 1852, he case of need, consisted of 30,000 enrolled six ships of the line;" that " a squadron of manry, and 8000 of the Dockyard battalions. eight ships of the line, left by Sir Robert Peel fully equipped and manned, and in- even more disproportionate. ships, but that they were either unmanned or unequipped, or absent on distant service.

At the same date-that is, a year agothe relative military forces of the two nations stood thus. standing army of 393,000 men, fully equipped and admirably trained. Of these 20,000 Algeria, leaving 300,000 for home service or foreign aggression. Besides this, we must bear in mind that the regular army of France may be said to be almost illimittheir seven years of service,) of whom only men, perfectly disciplined, and in the prime of life, could at any time, under the stimulus of necessity or enthusiasm, be added to ago. Happily, a short time after the accesthe existing force. To defend ourselves sion of the present Emperor of the French, of it as could be employed against us, our of blind security, and to think that, even whole regular force amounted to about 130,000 men, of whom, in round numbers, state of unpreparedness was not creditable 30,000 were employed in India, and 40,000 to a country possessing such boundless

This we cannot in our various colonies, leaving 60,000 for in the House of Commons, in July 1851, these about 25,000 are stationed in Ireland, writes that " it requires six months to man pensioners, many quite worn out, 14,000 yeo-

The artillery of the two countries was The French tended by him for home service and the de- bad 30,000 artillerymen and 500 guns for fence of our coasts and commerce against field service, ready horsed and equipped; sudden danger, is either being reduced or the army of Paris alone, with less than dispersed;" that "our Channel squadron 70,000 men, had 120 field-pieces. We had has altogether disappeared: we have one in Great Britain 7000 artillerymen, and ship of the line and two or three frigates it is asserted (and we never heard it delying idly in the Tagus, but at home not a nied) only 40 guns fully horsed and presingle ship manned or ready for sea, and pared. If to these facts we add the stateany thing like instruction or exercise in na-ment of the Duke of Wellington, that "for val evolutions has become wholly imprac- the proper garrisoning of our arsenals and ticable, and is apparently entirely lost sight dockyards alone we should require 65,000 of." Two months after, the Admiral in- men," and that "as we stand now (in 1847) forms us, in a third edition of his pamphlet, not 5000 could be put under arms, if rethat "when Lord John Russell quitted quired, for any service whatever, without office we had not a single ship of force leaving without relief all employed on any manned and ready for sea in any of our duty;" and remember that since that date ports," and that the subsequent "recall of the regular army had been diminished rather the Lisbon squadron only adds one ship of than increased, - we have completed a the line and two frigates to a force previous- bird's-eye view of a state of things which ly nil, and that at least 5000 men are still might well have prevented any cabinetrequired to man and render effective our minister from smiling by day or sleeping home fleet, which is in all other respects per- by night, more especially if he had read and feetly ready for sea." The summary of the duly weighed the full import of the followwhole seemed to be that we had at that ing pregnant warning by the Duke of Weltime an ample, or nearly ample, number of lington :- "I have examined and reconnoitred, over and over again, the whole coast from the North Foreland to Selsy Bill, near Portsmouth, and I say that, excepting immediately under the fire of Dover Castle, there is not a spot on the coast on France had an actual which infantry might not be thrown on shore, at any time of tide, with any wind, and in any weather, and from which such a were at Rome, and 60,000 to 80,000 in body of infantry, so thrown on shore, would not find within the distance of five miles a road into the interior of the country. In that space of coast there are not less than seven small harbours or mouths of rivers, able. Every year, from 60,000 to 80,000 and without defence, of which an enemy, soldiers are disbanded, (having completed laving landed his infantry on the coast, might take possession, and therein land his about sixteen per cent. re-enter the army as cavalry and artillery of all calibre, and esremplaçants. Under this system 500,000 tablish himself and his communication with France."

Such was the position of affairs a year against this mighty army, or such portion this nation began to awake from its dream on the destinies of mankind. Our statesmen, too, of both parties, began to be uneasy, and to reflect upon the awful responsibility which would rest upon them, if any serious calamity, or even formidable menace, were to result from their strange apathy. We have not yet done enough to provide against possible contingencies, but we have done much. The change in our position, we believe, may be briefly summed up thus :-The fortifications of our military and naval arsenals have been carefully inspected and put in a comparatively fair state of efficiency. We have embodied and trained for twenty-one days a force of 30,000 militia, and have made arrangements for calling out 50,000 more next year. Volunteers have scarcely anywhere been wanting, and in most cases more offered themselves than could be accepted. spirit has everywhere been excellent, and the short drill to which they have been subjected has been more effective than could have been anticipated. They will form a valuable nursery for the reinforcement or support of the regular troops, and with the enrolled pensioners will suffice for all our garrison duty. Lord Hardinge has been indefatigable in augmenting the artillery. Instead of 40 guns, we have now 120 fieldpieces ready for service, and, it is said, shall soon have 200. Two thousand additional men have been voted for this service, and 1500 marines for the navy. Lastly, the Admiralty have not been behindhand. The extraordinary activity in the French ports and dockyards has stimulated their emula-Several large screw steamers are being rapidly pushed forward; and arrangements have been quietly made by which, in case of a sudden emergency, a formidable, if not an ample force of ships of the line and steamers can be sent into the Channel manned, to the extent of five-sixths of their full complement, with first-rate seamen and gunners, within a week of the receipt of warlike intelligence. It is true that this can only be done at the cost of great inconvenience to other services; but it is a satisfaction to learn that it can be done at all. The Admiralty authorities, also, are intent upon the preparation of a more just and popular system of manning our navy; and in future we are to keep in every one of our chief ports a sufficient force of men-of-war and steamers to secure them and the coast immediately around from attack. Every month puts our defences, both by land and sea, in a state of greater efficiency; and ere

wealth, and exercising so vast an influence our shores on a small scale, but to make it on the destinies of mankind. Our stateston, too hoth parties, began to be unleasy, and to reflect upon the awful responsibility which would rest upon them, if any large force, we may expect such ample serious calamity, or even formidable menace, were to result from their strange apathy, enormous resources.

But though we are unquestionably in a far safer condition than we were a year ago, we are far from thinking that enough has been done. We must render an invasion of our shores so hopeless that nothing short of insanity would undertake it. We must bear in mind that if ever it be attempted, we shall have to guard against three attacks at once: one from Toulon, directed upon Ireland, and two from Cherbourg and Brest, directed against the south coast,-the landing and even temporary success of any one of which, would be a calamity scarcely to be endured even in thought. Therefore, we earnestly desire to see not only the addition of at least 5000 men to the navy, but such an augmentation of our regular troops as will leave us always 50,000 men in Great Britain, exclusive of Ireland. We trust that no ministry will be deterred by the dread of debates on the Estimates from proposing this increase to our force. We trust that no House of Commons, from shallow and shortsighted parsimony, will, by refusing it, put to hazard our miracles of civilisation, our national honour, our as yet unviolated shores. We trust that the reekless advocates of Peace-at-any-price and Economy-atany-cost will not, by opposing what is necessary for our safety, sink themselves yet lower than they have done in public estimation. And, finally, we trust, that even if Ministers and Parliament and Economists should all shrink and be found wanting in this hour of crisis, the British People will arge them to their duty in language that cannot be mistaken, and with a unanimity which will not be gainsaid. From foreign aggression a nation of our boundless resources, if once fairly roused, has nothing ultimately to fear: from native apathy, haughty security, niggardly and narrow views, may come shame, ruin, and unavailing repentance.

upon the preparation of a more just and popular system of manning our navy; and in future we are to keep in every one of our chief ports a sufficient force of men-of-war and steamers to secure them and the coast immediately around from attack. Every on the puts our defences, both by land and sea, in a state of greater efficiency; and ere long we shall probably be prepared, not only to repel any attempt at a descent upon and is a bulwark against a worse alternative.

France has before her only a choice of evils, Abstract Philosophy—the expression of the and a navigation between two opposing dangers; and the chapter of accidents is always too rich with her, and her changes and vagaries too phantasmagoric and unaccountable, to induce us to venture on a prophecy as to how long she may rest in the one she has now embraced. In a despotism so stern, indiscriminate, and inglorious as this she cannot ultimately acquiesce: whether it will be relaxed by the wisdom of the Ruler, or overthrown by the impatience of the victims,-who can say?

ART. II .- Discussions on Philosophy and Literature, Education and University Reform. Chiefly from the Edinburgh Review; corrected, vindicated, enlarged, in Notes and Appendices. By Sir WILLIAM HAMIL-TON, Baronet. London and Edinburgh, 1852.

It seems a common opinion that there is little connexion between the subtle reasonings of recluse thinkers, devoted to abstract speculation, and the actions or even the discoveries which are important to mankind. Books of metaphysics are thus cast aside as void of human interest. The Philosopher, notwithstanding, pursues his vocation, without expecting to convert the multitude to his manner of life. In each generation we find meditative minds, struggling to obtain the most comprehensive survey of the boundaries of knowledge, the deepest insight of the foundation of human beliefs, and the truest interpretation of the life of man. when we look beneath the "shews of things," into the great heart of literature and social life, we find also that the intellectual agitation of these recluses has not really been unconnected, as it seemed to be, with the pulsations of that heart; that on the contrary those who have maintained the vitality of philosophical discussion have-as by a social law-contributed the force which has kept the sciences in movement. The small band of labourers on these remote mountain summits of thought have guided opinions and affairs among the busy multitude in the valleys below. Their adventures and in the valleys below. Their adventures and employments on the misty margin of human knowledge, whatever its success may have been in adding to the store of definite and immediately applicable information concerning the grand objects of the survey, will not be overlooked by a profound student of the literature and institutions of a generation.

deepest thought of the present, and the pioneer of popular opinion in the future-is a permanent intellectual want of the human mind. Its high speculations, even if conversant with an absolutely indeterminate problem, are always important in their effects, as a chief cause of the changes for good or evil in the literary, social, and ecclesiastical expression of the current tastes and tendencies. Philosophical labours, pursued amid colourless abstractions, deeply tinge the results of every other department of intellectual action. History, in short, goes far to confirm the profound remark of Coleridge: -"To the immense majority of men, even in civilized countries, speculative philosophy has ever been, and must ever remain, a terra Yet it is not the less true, that all the epoch-forming revolutions of the Christian world, the revolutions of religion and with them the civil, social, and domestic habits of the nations concerned, have coincided with the rise and fall of metaphysical systems."*

Those who possess these convictions, cannot fail to regard with interest the kind of stream which, in any given period, is issuing from this remote well-spring of opinion. They will recognise some connexion between the topic of Scottish Philosophy, and those literary, seientific, theological, and even political questions which more frequently occupy our pages. Scotland has, in the past, added not a few classic books to philosophical literature. Our country has produced some of the most eminent speculative workmen of modern times. A careful analysis of the present opinions-especially theological and political-of Western Europe and America might trace back some of the most remarkable and influential of them to the workings of these Scottish minds.

^{*} The Statesman's Manual: A Lay Sermon. By

S. T. Coleridge.

† The Literature of Scottish Philosophy, regarded and its history has still to be written. A valuable critical and historical essay might be founded on a review of that collective literature, including a sum-mary of its performances, and a report of its "deficiencies" after the manner of Bacon. But a work so ambitious, and which needs so much learned research,

is unsuited to an ephemeral Article.

We are glad to notice pleasing indications, even since this Article has been written, that our philosophical literature is in a state of growth. We refer that the state of the

related as Philosophy is, to a Journal which aims at an independent and thoughtful appreciation of human affairs and productions, more appropriately than through the academic avenue formed by the writings of Sir William Hamilton. Nor, as a national Journal, can we more suitably foster the old Scottish taste for that study, than by inviting the attention of our readers to some of the phases of our national speculation, in association with the most recent performances of the living representative of Scottish philo-sophy. No well-informed person needs to be told of the connexion between the name of Sir William Hamilton and the most elevated intellectual service of this age. During more than twenty years he has, by precept and example, recommended abstract speculation to a generation by whom such pursuits have been almost unanimously proscribed as valueless, and has laboured, in the isolation of his chosen walk, to redeem those products which are exclusively intellectual from the popular charge of uselessness. For many years he has been one of the chief philosophical powers in British literature, and he is now recognised as the solitary Scottish conqueror in the realm of speculation. The Discussions now before us, together with the Notes and dissertations conjoined with the author's edition of the works of Reid, of which in a former Article we gave some account,* contain more speculative thought and curious learning than has ever before been discharged into literature by any single Scottish mind.

The world is indebted to the Edinburgh Review, as the original channel of the most important British contributions to Philosophy of recent times,—the comparatively popular essays of Sir James Mackintosh, and these profound discussions of Sir William Hamilton. The present volume includes the celebrated papers contributed to tional speculation has assumed. the Review from 1829 to 1838; and a remarkable Appendix of new matter which now appears for the first time. Six of the sixteen republished Discussions, as well as a considerable portion of the Appendix, are devoted to Philosophy. In the present Ar-

countrymen. Without passing an opinion upon its critical and scientific judgments, we heartily appreciate the thoughtful, genial spirit, and freshness of observation which it manifests, as well as the inten-tion of its excellent author. Dr. M'Vicar has issued an ingenious and original essay, which contains some curious disquisition and much suggestive thought. We shall not do the able writer the great injustice of offering at present, or in this form, any detailed opinion upon the contents of his work. We recommend it emphatically to the attention of all our philosophical readers.

* See North British Review, No. XIX.

We cannot return to a region so nearly ticle we confine our attention to the philosophical parts of the volume. We make no allusion to very many important questions in theology, church history, and the theory and practice of education, which are discussed in its pages. We must, moreover, beg the special indulgence of our readers, while we try to conduct them towards the territory, hitherto almost unfrequented in Scot-land, in which Sir William Hamilton has pursued his intellectual work as a philoso-We do not ask them to take a part pher. in the remote labour of lonely metaphysicians. But we do wish to induce them to join us in an exploring journey in that direction. If, before that journey is done, we have witnessed, as in a sunny haze, the champaign country, which a slight historical survey of modern British thought may disclose, that more animating scene may perhaps make some amends for our having to pass through one or two metaphysical tunnels of more than usual length and darkness, which lie between us and a satisfactory view of the structure which has been reared by this latest labourer in the region of Scottish speculation.

In which degree, it may be asked, has the literary and social atmosphere of Scotland been charged with the elements of intellectual life, during the quarter of a century within which Sir William Hamilton has been giving his philosophical opinions to the world? The answer to this question, involving, as it does, some reference to the earlier Scottish and even British systematic thought, may carry us over a considerable part of our present journey. In offering it, we shall view the intellectual character of this cpoch in its connexion with the historical antecedents of which that character is partly the result, and then describe, in some of the doctrines of Sir William Hamilton, the most recent expression which our insular and na-

The opening Discussion of the work now before us was first published in 1829, when the sun of Scottish Philosophy seemed about to set. In the preceding year our country had lost in Stewart the most accomplished and least abstract expounder of the doctrines of Reid. Nearly ten years earlier, the brief and brilliant career of Thomas Brown was ended. Mackintosh still remained, his speculative ardour interrupted by the temptations of public life, although no narrow strife of party had defiled the purity or clouded the grandeur of a mind too capacious for mere sectarianism either in Philosophy or polities, and whose literary fragments excite regret only because they are so scanty and desultory. The eminent intellectual

his Scottish birth, more properly associated work of Ballantyne, nor the empiricism of the phrenologists, requires any exception to the statement, that with Stewart, Brown, and Mackintosh, Scottish Philosophy seemed,

twenty years since, to be passing away. Nor does a greatly different verdict seem called for, as regards the national life in intellectual pursuits, when we consider the productions of the country, either in general literature or speculative theology, now With the and in the intervening period. With the operations of Scott and Jeffrey, the most obtrusive and characteristic Scottish action upon modern literature ceased. Since Hume, there has been no Scottish movement among the principles of philosophical theology, of a diffusive influence extending over Europe. Chalmers introduced the vitality of a magnanimous and génial mind into doctrines in divinity, which, in the spirit of the national theological conservatism, tended, philosophically speaking, to assume a dogmatic rigour of the scholastic type; and, like Arnold in England, illustrated the suitability of Christianity to the ever changing social and intellectual condition of the successive ages of mankind. It is well if the watchmen of public opinion can still discover symptoms of Scottish progress in the career which he commenced,—congenial efforts of Christian manliness in the cause of high thought and expansive Christianity, which might guard our theology and ecclesiastical life, from the perilous isolation of a merely protesting, instead of an advancing and reconciling power. Must we say that Scotland, which in these years has been the scene of so much social, ecclesiastical, and religious activity, is in the calmer sphere of meditation and learned research, to follow passively in the wake of Europe or America, or, with abated mental energy and progress, to repose amid her old traditions? May we not put a more liberal interpretation upon the present phenomena of her intellectual life,-one which recognises the peculiar character of the nation, with its proper function in the history of opinions, and judge that, in an age of the dissolution of doctrines into their elements, it is good to find symptoms of the action of a law of doctrinal cohesion, even at the expense of the more enlarged philosophic sympathies? Whatever answer may be rendered to these questions, it must be conby an intellectual giant, who is all the more ferent from their state in the days of our fa-

ability of the elder Mill is, notwithstanding conspicuous and remarkable as he now stands so nearly alone, in the ebb of literary with South Britain, and neither the acute activity in Scotland which has been apparent during this generation.

We cannot affirm that a corresponding ebb has been going on in England. The condition of reflective studies in the southern part of the Island seemed hardly more propitious than in Scotland twenty-five years ago. English Philosophy had been a blank almost since the early years of last century. It was needful to look across the gulf of more than a hundred years, to discover in the distance the great monument of speculation reared by Hartly, Price, and Harris are in-Locke. deed eminent names in the interval. But for several generations, philosophic thought had lost its charm for the leading minds of England. It was expressly discouraged by her universities, where the Modern Philosophy was at no time regarded with special favour. Yet, on the other hand, a quarter of a century since, the Scottish mind exhibited chiefly symptoms of a speculative decline; while England was beginning to abound in the seeds of fresh thought, which have since produced no inconsiderable harvest, not only in metaphysics and logic, but in poetry, the social science, theology, and other de-partments cognate to Philosophy. It was then a period of transition. The aged Bentham stood almost alone, as the prophet of the worldly utilitarianism which was nourished by the philosophic teaching of a fornier generation. But England was summoned to a course of meditation, transcending her wonted mental experience, by the dreamy sage of Highgate; and invited to muse on the deep meaning and beauty of nature by the recluse of Rydal Mount. these two fountains, aided by some tributary streams, no small part of what is peculiar to the national thought and literature in this generation may be traced. But even with the help of Scottish gravitation towards the British metropolis, the generation has not . sent forth a master mind of mark enough to take a place in Philosophy in the ranks of the intellectual grandees of England, beside her own Bacon or Locke.

An important chapter in modern intellectual history might, however, be formed out of the materials presented in the social and literary history of South Britain during these years. Strange tides of opinion have been passing through many minds, moving old institutions and traditions, and gradually degenial to those who are interested in them, positing a literature as different in its characto study the character of the new type of ter from that to which the preceding period Scottish speculation, which has been in the was accustomed, as the external arrangecourse of formation in these twenty years, ments of life in this country now are difthers. It has been to England a period of in Germany; and Cousin was the centre of political, ecclesiastical, and theological ques- duced Bacon, and Locke, and Reid. The organization of labour, and of of the criterion of certainty and the rule of with some important peculiarities. opinion, in which the principles of the Refor- trate this statement. mation seem destined to undergo a more Western Churches revolted from Rome.

the revival of theoretic principles, good and the most brilliant and numerous circle of evil, into life, all over the substratum of the thinkers which France has known since the national mind. These principles, with their decline of the Cartesian school. Now, afterimplied logical consequences, have been a course of speculation the most active and struggling into practice, with not a little of extravagant which modern times have witthat force and consistency of purpose which nessed, Philosophy appears at last in a state earnest conviction directs against the seduc- of collapse in Germany, and political revolutions of ease and present expediency. The- tion has meanwhile silenced its voice in ories-the upheavings of the philosophic France. The dark cloud of civil and ecclemind, have risen in greater number and siastical despotism gathers over the nations force in England in these times than since of the Continent most prolific of letters. the great revolution. The present fermenta- We are reminded of the gradual decay of tion of opinions is, indeed, a signal illustra- Philosophy, when the universal mind of the tion of the power of general principles, to West was formerly wasting beneath the cormodify even the practices and institutions rupt rule of the Roman emperors, and of which are discovered to be at variance with the calamities of Boethius, in an age which the logical results of speculation; and to illustrated the connexion of intellectual deproduce an epoch which can least of all dis-eline with the departure of christian manlipense with those comprehensive minds, ness. For the valuable reflective research whose function is to guide wisely the revo- of the future, as for the other seeds of human lution needed to reconcile concrete social progress, we are apt, when we look around, institutions with abstract doctrines. Free to turn from the country of Leibnitz and reflection is directed towards the depths of that of Malcbranche, to the land which pro-

But symptoms of the action of recent national and international society, is discus- German and French Philosophy upon the sed in many quarters in a manner which British mind are notable in the present inforces the disputants within the province of tellectual literature of this country. The Philosophy, 'The recent history of ecclesias-philosophical methods and language which tical affairs suggests many applications of have originated in Germany, in the last sevthe meditative habit of mind to the prob- enty years, so fill the vision of some of the lems of the Church. Nowhere, perhaps, on minds devoted to this study in Britain and the ecclesiastical horizon, can the philoso- America, that they seem to have forgotten phic observer discover an object which bet- the fact, -concealed in the past behind the ter deserves his patient study than the cloud of German metaphysics, that we have Church of England, with its singularly com- a characteristic British philosophical litera. plicated and anomalous external and inter- ture of our own; and moreover, that many nal relations; and containing elements now of these foreign doctrines, in spreading galvanized into a mutually destructive life, among us, are only returning to the land of after the almost unbroken slumber of nearly their origin in a sublimated form. Modern two centuries. It is probably the region of Philosophy may, notwithstanding, be vaguetheological controversy which presents the ly described as developed according to the most obvious signs of the spread of a bold British and Continental type; and the old and novel intellectual life. The old questions Scottish was a modification of the British, faith, are raised in treatises by learned eecle- lowing paragraphs, in describing the rudisiasties, and in others, by philosophical reli- ments of English and Scottish speculation in gionists, all conducting towards a state of the early history of each, may in part illus-

When we ponder the deep convictions by searching scrutiny, by Romanists on the one means of which the majestic spirit of Bacon side, and Rationalists on the other, than they roused the mind of England, we find him have experienced in this country since the guiding men in another step of that series, alternating between dream and waking-Nor is the change in Continental less than notionalism and realism, which the history it has been in English thoughtful literature, of human intelligence presents. His works during the last quarter of a century, but it has gone in an opposite direction. In the carlier part of that period, Schelling and Hegel were conspicuous, among a host of changing appearances to the unchanging less notable names, as philosophical leaders generalities which mere phenomena may grees, and, as the servant of experience, surrender the luxuries of dogmatic hypothesis, Such was the spirit of Bacon. Instead of a cally offers a series of aphorisms and historic illustrations, which enforce the impossibility of exhausting Being in knowledge, the inferiority of the knower to the knowable, the broken intercourse in which the balance of this inferiority may with selfdenial be gradually reduced, and a true communion between man and nature established. We cannot now pause in his company. But the reader who wishes to absorb into himself the spirit of that philosophy of which Experience is the watchword, may profitably return often to the De Augmentis and the Novum Organum.

We pass down the stream of time wellnigh seventy years, to exchange the art and spirit of Philosophy-the principle of progress contained, in the form we have alluded to, in these works of Bacon, for the scientific theory concerning experience, presented in the writings of Locke. The triumphs of Experience were becoming illustrious in physical discovery. But the illusions against which Bacon warned had not disappeared, Man was still lorded over by preconceptions through which he vainly tried to conquer his way to reality. Even the current Philosophy of the age appeared to Locke to provide, in the famous dogma of innate principles, a refuge for notions which could not be traced back to what is real. Bacon had urged men to explore appearances in search of universal truths, and to abandon their preconceptions. But Descartes, Lord Herbert. and other leading thinkers seemed to say that universal truths might be found among human preconceptions, without the labour of a previous inductive scrutiny of appearances. The relation of human knowledge to Experience must itself, therefore, be scientifically determined. Their mutual adjustment, by

either conceal or conduct to. But this call of , con impelled men to search for a knowledge Bacon was addressed, so to speak, in the of the real through the seeming; and Locke national dialect; and in the tone of one con-offered an ambiguous solution of the onesscious that the function of man is patiently tion, whether experience is the only cause, to seek truth, rather than dogmatically to and its sphere the utmost limit of human assume that he has found, and may sys- knowledge. The grand glimpses of Bacon, tematically expound it. Man cannot, he and the solid thought of Locke, are the chief would say, ascend at once to the apex of excitement which the higher mind of Britain Being, and form an a priori science of exist- supplies, in the earlier period of its modern ence, as if the knower were the lord of the history, to the speculative tendencies of knowable. He must ascend by slow de- Europe. Careless of subtilty, and averse from what is mysterious, Locke has probably promoted Philosophy as much by the controversies for which the doubtful parts of finished system of his own, he characteristi- his writings have afforded room, as by the doctrine which they unambiguously contain.* A psychological analysis of those two memorable minds would be a study of the English intellectual character. So delicate a process must not be interposed in this superficial survey of the main stream of speculation in Britain. We go on to describe an important passage in its course. That course was changed when the Essay of Locke became the aliment of a few Scottish thinkers towards the middle of last century. The circumstance seems to illustrate some of the points of difference in the character of the minds of the two divisions of this island.

> When we consider the national character. we perhaps expect to find, in the higher intellectual operations of the Scottish mind. the tendency to test or verify dogmatic assumptions, rather than to seek for principles which may be assumed. We look for a scarching logical analysis of theories, just ead of the application to practice, of opinions received although separated from first principles and void of the symmetry of system. which is more characteristic of the English mind. We also expect to meet, in the productions of Scottish genius, a greater congeniality with what is purely abstract, a more entire submission to the march of merely speculative reasoning, and less facility to compromise with the other tendencies of human life, or to subordinate speculation to action. On the whole, one might anticipate in North Britain more angularity of philosophical doctrine, and a nearer approach to the extreme margin of knowledge, with perhaps a less genial de-

^{*} We of course refer here only to the purely philosodetermined. Their mutual adjustment, by means of an inductive study of our knowledge in its most general aspect, was the design of the imperfectly performed work of Locke, and specially to his Essay, which Sir James Mackintosh ranks as one of the four
hick Sir James Mackintosh ranks as one of the four
nearl opinion of Europe during the last two centures. But if Locke's Letters on Telerations are taken Locke.

With Locke and his associates the proper Philosophy of South Britain terminates. Ba-tion be increased?

velopment of the entire humanity, and less sive range of Bacon, and with the less purely satisfaction in the practical solution of in- speculative aims of Locke. tellectual difficulties than might be exhibited in the south. England is likely to have a series of liberal thinkers, presenting various modifications of opinion; Scotland, a system of doctrine, definite and dogmatic enough to form the foundation of a school. The substratum of good sense, common to both nations, is perhaps more logically refined and purely intellectual in Scotland; richer, more pliable, and better adapted to practice in England.*

These somewhat sweeping generalities concerning the character of communities often fail in the application of them to individuals. But the quality of the intellectual work performed by leading philosophers of the two divisions of this Island, seems to us to illustrate some of the mental features which we have attributed to their inhabitants. mind to supply, if we may so say, the logione with a keener scrutiny, and the other with a more patient attention, the remote boundaries and intricate recesses of the prowhich were overlooked in the more discur-

We do not mean here to resume the old story of the doctrines of these celebrated persons. A passing suggestion concerning the meaning of their respective performances, in the intellectual evolution of the national mind, is all we profess to offer. The successors of Locke in the South resolved Experience into sensation, and yet professed to give a scientific account of all human beliefs. more rigorous interpretation of the English Philosophy, with a determination to pursue its principles into their logical issues, marks the singular specimens of Scottish subtilty involved in the scepticism of Hume; which originated, by a reaction, the "school" of Reid, and also, through Kant, directed the modern mind into a career of speculative action that is not yet ended. It is of course true, as regards practical conviction, that a It has been the function of the Scottish system of universal scepticism can never be more than an "amusement" of the undercal digestion needed by the aliment which standing; but every considerable effort by the great English philosophers have provided, man to make his knowledge an object of sci-If the works of English guides of thought entific attention, and to discover its elements. exhibit freer and richer developments of all is influential in human affairs, as well as inthe elements of man's complicated being, trinsically interesting. The great influence and communicate through more numerous of these writings of Hume, upon the subsechannels with practice, the fruits of Scottish quent course of modern opinions in philoreflection are fetched with more patient care sophy and theology, proves that his bold atfrom a narrower field, and are better adapt- tempt to find what was implied in the cured to satisfy a single tendency. Minds like reut speculative opinions of his age may be Baeon and Locke occupy a point at which regarded as more than a mere "amusement." man and the world may be surveyed with And no one who wishes to study the different a more ample sweep, in all the variety of genius of the English and Scottish styles of sea and land; Hume and Reid explore, the British speculation should neglect to compare the " Essay on Human Understanding," with the "Treatise of Human Nature."

If the Treatise was founded upon principles vince of intellectual Philosophy. These two to which the Essay may be said to have Scottish thinkers may be said to have pass- given currency, it originated in its turn a ed Locke's theory through the winnowing series of philosophical writings, which promill of the logical understanding and the fess to discover other mental phenomena common sense, and to have reached results than those accounted for by the theory which Hume had found to hang together so loosely as to render a universal speculative doubt unavoidable. In Hume's interpretation of the current Philosophy, we see how British speculation, which awoke at Bacon's summons to men to cast aside idola, and to search for the real among the seeming, has, in the act of reviewing the real extent of human knowledge, condemned men to per-petual banishment from truth, by resolving knowledge into illusion. Faith must be revived and vindicated. Experience must be explored more patiently, in quest of witnesses to realities which transcend the "impressions" into which the Scottish penetration and subtilty of Hume had analyzed the account of human knowledge given in the

^{*} The Scottish mind-its love for what is logically definite and exhaustive-its tendency to employ itself in the analysis, verification, or defence of dogmas, rather than in seeking for them without any mas, rather than in seeking for them without any prejudgment, may be partly the cause and partly the effect of the popularity of that systematic type of Theology which has educated the national mind since the Reformation. The christian science of Calvin, with its moral weight and logical tenacity, has defined the limits of system within which rel gious thought has been conducted by the christian guides of the nation. The consequent difference of national character seems to be illustrated, in respect to religion, in the small prominence of the reference to doctrinal orthodoxy in the English popular mind, when compared with the acute, if often dogmatic, recognition of "sound" doctrine, which has been associated with so much that is valuable in the better class of the Scottish peasantry.

English Philosophy. The recognition of dog- noticed by Hobbes in the previous century, softness are neither sensations nor like any evolutions of British opinion. sensations; they were real qualities before external existences, of space, motion, and ex. history of modern European thought. of Matter.

nomena of mental attraction or association, voice to a new representative of our insular VOL. XVIII. 14-B

matic first principles was eminently a Scot-tish task. It engaged Reid and his associates. larly employed, in a sort of chemistry of The retirement of a Scottish manse nourish- ideas, to explain some mental facts supposed ed the leading mind in this new school. For to be imperfectly provided for in the doctrine obvious reasons, the field selected by Reid, of the Essay of Locke. Hume has recogin his search for an evidence of reality which nised the value of the principle, in the conmight repair the ruin occasioned by the re-structive portion of his speculations. And cent explosion of speculative scepticism, was it is curious to remark, that this law of the chiefly that part of human knowledge which mechanical association of mental states, relates to the world of the senses. Amid our which, entangled as it was with physiological very sensations we find ourselves, through hypothesis, engaged English Philosophy in perception, face to face with external realities its dotage in the last century, was discussed which do not pass away when the sensations in this century in Scotland by Dr. Thomas cease. Perception is the watchword or sym- Brown; and, freed from the incrustation of bol of a dogmatic faith, which the reflective these hypotheses, has been by him applied mind can vindicate, and which every mind as an almost universal solvent, in the forma-must experience. "There is really some- tion of the ingenious system by means of thing in the rose or lily which by the vulgar which Brown beguiled not a few acute minds is called smell, and which continues to exist from the doctrines of Reid. Scotland thus when it is not smelled. Hardness and again filled its characteristic office in the

But we have symptoms of a new type of they were perceived by touch, and continue abstract speculation in Britain, even before to be so when they are not perceived. . . . the old Philosophy of the country had ex-Upon the whole, it appears that our (British) hausted itself. Germany, instead of Engphilosophers have imposed upon themselves land, now presented material to the Scottish and upon us, in pretending to deduce from logical intelligence. The name of Kant is sensation the first origin of our notions of associated with a revolutionary epoch in the tension, and all the primary qualities of body formalism of Kant, and even the absolutist -that is, the qualities whereof we have the dreams of his German successors, began to most clear and distinct conception." These, supersede the doctrine of the eighteenth cenand very many similar passages indicate the tury everywhere; and Germany was restyle in which Reid searched the human garded by not a few as rendering a service mind, in order to illustrate that kind of faith in the modern somewhat similar to that and intuition in which the mind gains a di-rendered by Greece in the ancient world. rect intellectual intercourse with the world Cousin, more than any other writer of the age, was giving a diffused popularity to the It was thus that the speculative ingenuity study of the new systems. It was, in these of one Scottish mind employed the received circumstances, amid influences to which his principles of the English Philosophy to effect extraordinary familiarity with what has been a dissolution of human beliefs; while the written by philosophers peculiarly exposed patient judgment of another revealed a pro- him, that Sir William Hamilton presented, founder meaning in Experience than Loeke in successive instalments, his Philosophical had recognised. The philosophic ore dis-Discussions to the British public. In these covered in England was, as it were trans- Discussions the student of philosophical litmitted to Scotland, to be there tested by erature may note conclusions, and methods sceptical subtilty, and thus indirectly to of searching for them, which recall Aristotle give occasion to an energetic expression of and Kant oftener than Locke and Reid, the national dogmatic faith or common sense. Their very language seems to warn the The period of the decay of the old Philo- reader to transport himself to an intellectual sophy in England and Scotland respectively, position remote from the one occupied by has some analogies with the period of its the guides of thought whose works we have manhood. The incipient decline of Locke's been tracing; and to indicate, that, in the theory in the south is connected with the silence of the old questionings which had name of a writer, who merits credit for his busied thoughtful Englishmen and Scotchattempt to apply an important psychological men in preceding generations, the great Conlaw to account for our knowledge. We re-tinental movement in metaphysics, which fer to David Hartley, author of the "Obser- had reached its height twenty years since in vations on Man," an expounder of the phe-Germany and France, was helping to give a

Philosophy. The problems of the universe confines the stream of abstract discussion and of absolute knowledge, suggested by the terms "unconditioned" and "conditions of the thinkable," are substituted for those more homely researches into the history of consciousness, expressed by the once familiar terms "intellectual powers" and "men-tal states," Yet the reader of these Discussions may also discover in them some marks which attest not merely a British, but even a peculiarly Scottish parentage. He is thus reminded of their nationality, and also of the cosmopolite influences amid which they were produced, in the decline of British, and the crisis of Continental and especially of French philosophy.

At this stage in our review we should be prepared to offer some satisfaction to a variety of questions. What are the principal fragments of philosophical doctrine placed before us in the new Scottish writings? Do they fit together into an organized body of Philosophy? What is the relative propor tion of original and derived doctrine which they contain? What is the method according to which that doctrine has been sought for and obtained? What the arrangement of the philosophical studies and sciences What the negative which they suggest? and the constructive value of that Philosophy, regarded as a whole, and also in respect to one or more of its subordinate ramifications ? What important links of conthe more interesting and obvious pursuits of

mankind ? With these questions more or less in our view, we shall in the first place try to describe the chief philosophical opinions of Sir William Hamilton, within the compass of a few brief paragraphs, and with some regard to what seems to be the mutual relation and relative importance of principles presented in his works in a fragmentary form. We may remark, however, that the occasional manner in which these doctrines have been introduced to the world, and the deuse brevity of style which marks a writer who scorns to render himself intelligible to unreflective and illogical minds, combine to increase the difficulty of investing with a general interest a course of reasoning and contemplation sufficiently difficult to repel the multitude even in the most favourable minds prepared for receiving it, unavoidablynew Scottish speculations.

within a channel from which it cannot speedily escape to deepen the common opinion or literature of the age. Symbolic language, moreover, may be stereotyped after this fashion in the narrow department where thought, as in the mathematical sciences, is conversant with necessary truth; but the scientific language of one age must be outgrown by the results of observation, and of fresh experiments in meditation in the next, in those truly human studies which deal with probability, and in which knowledge, while advancing, is still imperfect. The general reader is on the whole apt to miss in these Discussions the plain and sometimes ambiguous language of daily life, through which the ample volume of the thoughts of Locke is discharged, or the natural grace and beauty in which the most subtle and original opinions of Hume are presented in his Essays. He cannot meditate freely when the evolutions of his thought must be fitted in to the movements of a complicated machinery of words. But, after all, the inborn thinker finds congenial companionship in Philosophy, whether she appears in easy negligence, or in her academic robes.

The object singled out for investigation in the new Scottish philosophical writings is HUMAN KNOWLEDGE. The more precise purpose of a large part of them is, to unfold the most general and abstract Law or Condition nexion may be described, between these extra to which our judgments must conform, and tremely abstract discussions, and some of by which therefore they are limited. The problem more immediately examined in them is perhaps rather the limitation of human intelligence, than that which, under the designation of the origin of knowledge, has more or less determined all the chief systems of modern speculation. But the one of these problems is essentially implicated in the other, and both of them are involved in the discussions of Sir William Hamilton.

It is the uniform lesson of his Philosophy, that human consciousness admits only a limited knowledge, and that the Absolute and Infinite are merely "names for two counter imbecilities of the mind of man." The philosophic axiom, that an unconditioned consciousness, and an unconscious knowledge, are alike impossible, is everywhere proclaimed; and the assumption is formally defended and illustrated in the discussion circumstances, conducted as it is almost uniformly in the remotest and least accessible regions of speculation. Then, the systematic from which the limits of intelligence or conuse of a nomenclature, constructed with a sciousness may be studied seems, in short, rigorous precision suited to convey philoso- to be the one which affords the most comphical meaning with singular efficiency to prehensive and harmonious view of these

The task of the thinker, who occupies this position for his study of thought, is, to exhibit—if possible systematically and exhaustively, the necessary laws by which human consciousness, as such, and also in each of its different modifications, is limited. In this respect, the work of Sir William Hamilton is the supplement and counterpart to that of Locke. If Locke describes the various sorts of "ideas," which are the immediate objects of our judgment, together with the most general classes into which they may be resolved; the Scottish thinker studies our judgments themselves, to find the conditions which must be fulfilled, in order that acts of intelligence may be performed in relation to any objects. If the objective element in knowledge was appropriated, and, in a measure, psychologically analyzed, by Locke; the subjective and necessary conditions of all conscious intelligence are selected for logical and metaphysical study by Sir William Hamilton. In British philosophy, Locke and Hamilton thus divide between them the two departments which belong to a complete reflective review of knowledge,-the objects of knowledge, and the subjective limits of intelligibility.

The Scotish philosopher assumes two distinet kinds of necessary limits to human knowledge :- The logical, or those which apply both to the mental act of intelligence and to real existence; and the metaphysical, or those which, in virtue of its structure, limit the human understanding, but not necessarily or universally the real existence to which the understanding may be applied. The violation of the former is impossible, not to the understanding merely; it is absolutely impossible. Absolute existence, on the other hand, may, and does, transcend the second class of limits; but as such it only transcends the limits of human intelligence. Our mental faculties are conditioned; existence is unconditioned. Logic is, in short, the science of those conditions of conscious intelligence which cannot be violated either in thought or in existence, and the fulfilment of which yields merely the not-impossible. What is conformed to these laws of logic is thinkable, and may be real; what violates them can neither exist nor be conceived in the mind. METAPHYSICS is the science of those limitations to thought which are not necessarily limitations of existence. All that is thinkable in the human mind, must be conformed, not only to the logical, but also to the metaphysical laws of our knowledge. But, in the realm of existence, though not in that of thought, there may be that which tran-

A large part of these Philosophical Discussions, and of the comments connected with the author's edition of Reid, may be said to be occupied with an analysis of the metaphysical limits of intelligibility; combined with psychological descriptions of certain alleged faculties or modifications of metaphysically conditioned consciousness, which are revealed in the mind of man, c.g., perception, memory, imagination, with the laws of mental association, &c.) The Metaphysics is a Scoto-German supplement to Locke, and the Psychology is a scientific refinement on Reid and Brown. (The Logic, meantime, we cast out of the account.)

A metaphysically-limited consciousness of phenomena is thus in a manner the element,—the "engito, ergo sum" of Sir William Hamilton's constructive philosophy. His task, as a metaphysician, is to find and classify the conditions by which consciousness must be limited. As a psychologist, he should discover and describe the various modes or faculties of our conditioned-consciousness.

The "relativity" of human knowledge, i.e., the metaphysical limitation of it, implies, we are told, the relation of a subject knowing to an object known. And what is known must be qualitatively known, inasmuch as we must conceive every object of which we are conscious, in the relation of a quality depending upon a substance. Moreover, this qualitatively-known object must be protended, or conceived as existing in time, and extended, or regarded as existing in space; while its qualities are intensive, or conceivable under degree. The thinkable, even when compelled by analysis to make the nearest approach that is possible to a negation of intelligibility, thus implies phenomena objectified by thought, and conceived to exist in Space and Time. With the help of these data, may we not discover and define the highest law of intelligence, and thus place the key-stone in the metaphysic

which yields merely the not-impossible. What is conformed to these laws of logic is thinkable, and may be real; what violates them can neither exist nor be conceived in the mind. MEXPATIVESICE is the science of those limitations to thought which are not necessarily limitations of existence. All that is thinkable in the human mind, must be conformed, not only to the logical, but also to the metaphysical laws of our knowledge. But, in the realm of existence, though not in that of thought, there may be that which transcends the metaphysical limits of intelligible, ireal.

ment. If we dream of effecting this we only deceive ourselves, by substituting the indefinite for the infinite, than which no two Time can notions can be more opposed. thus be conceived only in a conditioned interval between two opposite, (an absolute and an infinite,) unconditioned, contradictory extremes or poles, each of which is inconceivable, but of which, on the (logical) principle of excluded middle, one or other is necessarily true.

The law by which our notion of Time is thus conditioned may, it is assumed, be taken for the type of the universal law of the limitation of human intelligence. We cannot think any object or event either Absolutely or Infinitely. All thinkable existence must, in the act of thought, be limited by the mental conditions implied in an excreise of thought confined between these two contradictory, unthinkable extremes.

But the speculations of Sir William Hamilton are not merely negative, analytic, and polemical. They may also be illustrated on their positive, synthetic, and conciliatory side. They may be represented as the fruitful seeds of metaphysical discovery. Judgments, hitherto regarded as ultimate, may be accounted for by means of this elementary law of the limitation of thought. Philosophy itself may be advanced by the simplification and consolidation of its doctrines. Thus, the hitherto unaccountable mental necessity of attributing every quality to a substance, is merely a result of the Law of the Couditioned. And we experience an irresistible mental impulse to believe the existence of a CAUSE, when any change is observed by us. But the theory of the conditioned virtually implies that we cannot conceive an Absolute commencement of existence. As a consequence of this intellectual inability, thus derived, we cannot conceive any change as a new existence, but only as a new form of an old existence; we are thus under an intellectual necessity to refund every new appearance into a previous one. But this mental weakness, and consequent necessity, is only the causal judgment in its most abstract form. That judgment is thus only a special result of the necessary limitation of thought; and the virtue of this theory of causality is said to lie in the possibility, which it reveals, of a reconciliation between the doctrine of FREE-WILL or moral liberty, and the axiom that every change implies a cause,-thus opening a new vista of progress to the metaphysician and the scientific divine.

itself require an eternity for its accomplish-| contained in this scientific demonstration of the limitation of human knowledge. They are presented in conjunction with a mass of subtile psychological doctrines, concerning the specific differences of the acts of human consciousness. If the mental phenomena are all 'conditioned,' they are not, on that account, entirely similar. Reflection, on the contrary, reveals characteristic features by which they may be grouped into classes; and reflective analysis, of a very refined sort, is applied to them by Sir William Hamilton, in the discussions which relate to experimental Psychology. In common with the elder Scottish psychologists, he confines his attention chiefly to that modification of conditioned consciousness which Reid calls perception. But he also examines, with singular acuteness, the laws by which conditioned consciousness are associated, and the marks by which the representative knowledge of memory and imagination may be distinguished from the immediate consciousness of perception.

The preceding paragraphs seem to contain a slight outline of the scheme, within which Sir William Hamilton may be described as exhibiting, in fragments, in his various philosophical writings, his doctrines concerning the metaphysical or necessary conditions of human consciousness, and the psychological modifications which that consciousness is discovered to manifest when it is studied experimentally. In the view we have given, it may appear that, on the whole, this new doctrine issues in a definition of abstract intelligibility, and a metaphysical determination of its necessary contents; rather than in a psychological induction of our varied and vital acts of cognitive intercourse with real existences-physical, human, or divine. The judgment, that Matter exists, is represented as unaccountable, and the theory of perception is cut short on the margin of most interesting questions. In regard to speculative theology, we are told that 'the only valid arguments for the existence of God, and the immortality of the soul, rest on the ground of man's moral nature.'

But what definite judgments, it may be asked, should be pronounced concerning this curious and highly abstract speculative theory, the parts of which seem to be formally united with the tenacity of the strictest logie? Seotland has presented, in David Hume, just one other reviewer of knowledge in its First Principles, who can be associated with Sir William Hamilton, in respect of his undaunted resolution to tread only and at all These are specimens of the principle of hazards on its extreme margin, as well as metaphysical progress which is alleged to be his perfect acquaintance with every part of . lations of Hume, we may affirm, that their intellectual force is not yet exhausted, nor has their design and meaning been fully interpreted. But what is the intrinsic value, and probable historic influence of this new, all-embracing theory? What does its presence in the great manufactory of opinion augur for the future ?

It must be grateful to persons endowed with any expansive intellectual sympathy,even apart from the question of their positive truth, to contemplate the existence, in our British literature, of new speculations, tending to excite the action of the higher mental Any book which is fitted thus to increase the quantity of active thought in the world should be welcomed. He who does not look to the philosophical writings of Sir William Hamilton, as to an INTELLECT-UAL GYMNASIUM, forgets the chief office of all truly philosophical writing and discourse. The philosophic reader will not inquire first concerning the number of true propositions contained in a speculative work; he will look to the amount of reflective power which the study of it discovers or tends to generate. Indeed, a contribution to society of fresh and better disciplined intellectual action, rather than the disclosure of hitherto unknown truth, has been, and perhaps must continue to be, the chief service rendered by this department of literature. The thoughtful reader of this class of books does not, it may well be, review the list of new doctrines which his reading has communicated to him, until he has reckoned up some of the changes in his mental experience which it has promoted, He will look within, to find the intellectual movement which the writing has favoured, as well as without, to learn the propositions it has denied or demonstrated. When he wants to know its character, he will ask, not only what satisfaction, but also what dissatisfaction it has occasioned in his mind,-what fresh longing to go beneath the surface of words and common opinions has been awakened-what ideal associations have been kindled-what new conviction of an end in life has been formed, and what old one deep-Nourishment of this sort is what the truly philosophical taste craves for, and what the best guides in Philosophy have sought The vain show, or even the to supply. reality, of much miseellaneous information was the sham science against which the old Greek sages waged unceasing war. And they carried it on less by presenting to their disciples systematic intellectual results, than by making them feel the need for such, and through reflecting often and long upon fa- writers. The author's own views are seldom

the ground he occupies ;-and of the specu- | miliar judgments, and the meaning of forms of words which might be current among them. When we watch the evolution of a dialogue in Plato, instead of obtaining at its close an answer to the question with which we started at the commencement, how often do we learn only that we have not gained it, -not that it cannot be found at all, but that the chase is longer and harder than we had supposed, that one discussion or even a series of discussions cannot convey it, that sometimes it cannot be conveyed at all from without, but must be drawn forth by reflection from within, and that this very work of reflection itself, to be successful, must not be the work of merely a day or a year, that it is rather the work of life, to be persisted in from day to day and from year to year, the symptom of a growing strength in man's reason, but of a strength which must become weakness, if it is separated from moral courage and calm devotion of the heart and will to God.

We believe it must be the opinion of every reader of these Discussions, who can rise above the sedative influence of system, penetrate through their novel nomenclature to its living meaning, and pass in succession the speculations they contain through a series of independent critical judgments of his own, that,-whatever be the truth of their doctrine, they at least tend powerfully to cherish the philosophical life. But this remark cannot well be dismissed without some comment. Two obvious qualities in the writings of Sir William Hamilton may appear on the surface hardly to agree with their possessing or diffusing intellectual vitality and power. One of these is, his extraordinary familiarity with the philosophic opinions of all ages and nations; the other, the method of doctrinal discovery employed by him in the formation of his own theories, which seems to press the life out of the very speculations to which it gives birth. Each quality has a close relation to the intellectual character of this age, as well as to the value of the new doctrine regarded as the science of knowledge.

The extraordinary number of proper names and quotation marks, accumulated upon these pages-especially obvious when they are compared with the pages of Locke, Hume, Reid, or indeed any of the other masters of British thought-indicates, even to the superficial eye, how frequently the fresh flow of original discussion is interrupted by allusions to Greek, Mediæval, Continental, or the earlier British literature; and by criticisms of the nature and originality of the impossibility of the attainment, except particular opinions held by philosophical

projected in complete freedom from the these illusions. Jets of original thought course of previous opinion, and usually they are blended with, or appear to be suggested by, some disquisition which has been found in books.

But these facts do not really subtract, so much as they seem on the surface to do. from the originality of the philosopher, while they even illustrate the relation of Sir William Hamilton to the History of Philosophy in advantageous contrast to a prevailing fashion. We know not any other writer who has proved in how great a degree books may stimulate the intellect into independent action: nor any recent philosopher who has interpreted the theories of the past and the present less biassed by an exaggerated opinion of the exclusive importance of history, or by preconceptions of the historic course of speculation, in its manifold phases in each successive age.

The works of Schelling and Hegel in Germany, of Cousin and the eclectics in France, the popular writings of Lewes and Morell, and even the ingenious work of Maurice, illustrate the manner in which the study of Philosophy is becoming a study of history, and how hypotheses about the past and future course of speculation are substituted for abstract speculation itself. But this exaggeration of the important truth,-that the material to be examined by the philosopher includes the course of social thought as well as the phenomena of individual self-consciousness, tends to realize the fable of the dog and his shadow, by annihilating in the end Philosophy and its history. Meantime it is perverting that history. The opinions of the past have been not a little distorted, in the attempt to fix them down on the procrustes-bed of an a priori theory of what the course of Philosophy in the human race One feels as if he were breathing must be. an unhealthy intellectual atmosphere, when he is taught to search, in a narrow modern speculation regarding history, for all the liberal thought which has been produced by the meditation of three thousand years; and he is apt, when thus confined, to long for the bracing exercise of a critical hunt over the open fields of the literature of the past. We cannot avoid deprecating the prevailing inclination to substitute a preconceived history of speculative and theological opinions, in the place of the mysteries of philosophy and the revelations addressed to faith in theology, which constitute the proper intellectual and moral aliment of the thinker and

The reader of the philosophical writings of

the divine.

find their way through innumerable crevices in the massive and beautiful structure of references to the literature of the speculations of the world, which remind us that old philosophical opinions are not the chief part of Philosophy. And while the author often indulges in the luxury of a classification of systems, an induction of passages ample enough to vindicate the arrangement is usually presented. Matter extracted from previous writings, without reference to any artificial arrangement at all. is exhibited on almost every page, and in a way likely to cast the seeds of fresh thought in the minds of well-prepared readers, wilderness of learned reference over which we have to travel in certain parts of his works, we feel as if we were breathing a healthier atmosphere than when we are witnessing the brilliant historic panoramas of Cousin.

But we must not be tempted into any discussion of the principles with which the remarks we have made bring us into contactthe relation of previous results of human thought to the fresh thinking of the world, the crystallization of old opinion in its connexion with the safe formation of new, individualism or private judgment in contrast with the history of the collective human in-telligence. We have still to consider the method in which the speculative structure we have been describing has been reared.

When we explore the literature of Philosophy, we find that some minds have tried to solve the perennial problem of knowledge and existence, by a series of demonstrations based on abstract metaphysical axioms, after the fashion of geometry and the other a priori sciences; and others on the contrary, by a course of inductive inferences, founded on experiments pursued in their own minds, in analogy with the method followed in physical research. At present we only refer to this fact. We do not raise the question, to what extent, by either of these means, the objects of philosophie study have been transferred from the indeterminate region of doubt and mere opinion to the narrow territory of certainty,-whether, in short, there is a nucleus of certain knowledge already formed within the proper province of the philosopher. But we may affirm that the philosophical aspirations of Europe, in the last two hundred years, have supplied illustrations of the experimental or inductive, and also of the speculative or demonstrative, type of philosophie investigation.

The mental science which is proposed in Sir William Hamilton is in little danger of the Essay of Locke is virtually an Induction being seduced into inaction by either of of the intellectual phenomena under the and then attempts to verify, the inductive hypothesis—that experience is sufficient to account for human knowledge. The statement is contained in the opening chapters of the second book; and the author afterwards tests his hypothesis upon some of those mental facts, (e. g., our ideas of space, time, number, infinity, power, substance, the material world, and the Divine Being,) which seem most difficult of solution by means of experience. We find Reid, too, in all his principal works, engaged in an observational scrutiny of selected acts of his own mind, which thus yielded to him information and inferences that Locke had failed The region in which the observations and experiments of these and other congenial inquirers was carried on is not, indeed, as with the astronomer or chemist, one which abounds in solid and extended objects. Notwithstanding, it is the method of inductive research which is applied by them to its evanescent phenomena,

But we follow a different method when we accompany Spinoza and Hegel, or even Descartes and Leibnitz, from their principles to their conclusions. We are not now putting an inductive interpretation upon mental events; we seem instead to be evolving a series of Demonstrations from assumed abstract principles. We have quitted the region of contingency and probability; we have entered on, and are confined within that of a priori speculation. But in the endeavors to exclude mystery from philosophy, by rendering a perfect logical explanation of knowledge, have we not separated knowledge itself from reality, and converted individual life itself into a step in the sublime demonstration? Hegel's extraordinary deduction of All out of Nothing, may be taken for a logical reduction and exposure of the attempt to solve the problem of knowledge and existence merely by abstract speculation; just as Hume, in the last century illustrated the insufficiency of the merely physical Philosophy of his age, by using its principles to dissolve mind and matter into a series of "impressions."

We incline to think that some of the more important differences between the new Scottish doctrine and the older Philosophy of the country may be traced to the method which Sir William Hamilton has employed in the interpretation of human knowledge, and the formation of the philosophical sci-We refer, it must be added, rather

name of ideas. In that treatise Locke states, | which he studies that has been formally an nounced by him. In the definitions which he has given, and more especially in his elaborate contrast of Philosophy as conversanwith "contingent matter," and ' to be pursued on the hunting-field of probability," with Mathematics, which treats of "necessary matter," to be reasoned out in the iron chain of demonstration, he seems expressly to ally himself with those who have treated the principles of knowledge as a collection of mental facts, which might be resolved into classes through induction. Psychology is here the root, and other philosophical soiences (logic, metaphysics, ethics, &c., and whether a priori or a posteriori) are the branches which grow out of it. Human knowledge, accordingly, whether its ultimate prin-ciples consist of "necessary" or "contingent" judgments, is only contingently known by the philosopher, through the reflex observation and classification of these judgments.

But when we turn from these general statements and controversial discussions to study the actual texture of the new doctrine, we find in many parts of it a synthesis of necessary notions and judgments, and not a body of inductive generalizations drawnfrom mental experience. In some places we seem to be in intercourse with the most illustrious of the scholastic commentators on Aristotle, and not with a writer who lives two centuries after the revolution in the method of physical discovery which was inaugurated by Bacon, and announced as the principle of progress in the mental sciences too, by those masters who formed the rudiments of British Philosophy. On the whole, we appear to be in company with a guide in whose teaching the analysis and synthesis of abstract notions and judgments, as contrasted with the induction of real mental facts, holds nearly the same proportion as it does in the teaching of Descartes, whose constructive Philosophy is of the demonstrative type.* We feel that we need, in these circumstances, to guard ourselves from the risk of accepting demonstrative consistency in thought, as a ground for belief in doctrines which can only be contingently known; and from thus weaving

^{*} The English reader may now, for the first time, provide himself with a version of the chief philosophical works of the great French leader of thought. The excellent translation of the Discours de la Methode, (Edinburgh, 1850.) done by a Scottish writer who has studied Descartes in the spirit of a true me-taphysician, is, we are glad to learn, to be followed immediately by a carefully edited translation of the Meditations and some parts of the Principia from the same hand. This is creditable to the industry and writings that are of chief moment have been ability of the writer, and we may add, to the enteractually developed, than to the principle of prize of the publishers. It illustrates too the increased comprehensiveness of entities and the increased comprehensiveness of entities. progress or mode of considering the objects own pursued in Scotland.

a web of abstract speculation, instead-of, it is a mine into which the elder British phitions, with help from the rules of probability asked to consign well-defined quantities of meaning to appropriate words, to connect in propositions the words thus carefully freight. ed with signification, and then to discharge and distribute these meanings, by the aid of logical definition and division, in the shape of highly-refined conclusions. On the whole, probably no other British philosopher can be named who has drawn so large a number of derived propositions from so small a number of assumed ones, using definition, division, formal induction, and syllogism so often and so successfully for awakening his readers to a distinct consciousness of what has been already assumed by implication; who has opened so many paths of argument too narrow to be discerned by common minds, and shed on each a light which reveals their former connexion with the centre from which they are derived; who, in short, conducts so irresistibly to his numerous conclusions all who have come within the magic circle of his premises. Neither, on the other hand, can we mention any other recent British thinker whose doctrines might more probably stimulate discussion and encounter opposition, if they are criticised as the final metaphysical adjustment of the great problems of the intellectual life of man.

Perhaps this eurious discordance between the logical texture of the doctrine and the conviction which it carries,-and which justifies its character as an intellectual gymnastic, may in fact be accounted for by the inclination, especially manifest in his latest writings, which seems to draw our Scottish philosopher away from the old British occupation of adding, through an induction founded on reflection, to our contingent knowledge concerning mental phenomena and first principles,-into his favourite sphere of evolving deductively the necessary consequences of judgments which are assumed to be axiomatic. In saying so we do not mean to deny either the value of such speculative discussions, or that they may, indirectly, promote powerfully an experimental study of the origin, principles of growth, and limits nearly all the remaining part of this article. of human knowledge. If only we observe faithfully "the constituted truths which consciousness immediately reveals," before they are assumed for axioms in reflective science, we enter without doubt a rich mine of truth in this region of philosophic demonstration, and one likely ultimately to yield valuable inductive classifications regarding man. But p. 207.)

unravelling the actual web of the human losophers have seldom entered ;-unless Sometimes, too, when the reader ex- Samuel Clarke and his school of philosophipected to be hunting for legitimate assump- cal theologians, or Hume, who employs deduction negatively to illustrate the logical and elaborate verification, he finds that he is incongruity of the received dogmas, may be said to have done so; and it is moreover one in which thinkers may go far astray if their first step be a false one. He whose course of philosophical study consists principally in an evolution of the necessary consequences of such judgments, and who is thus elaborating a science of what must be in Thought, is in danger of excluding from his regard not a little of what is in Man, including those intellectual powers through which man gains his knowledge of things. He thus virtually separates Belief from Thought: and, finally, having eviscerated knowledge altogether, his Philosophy, instead of an inductive study of man regarded as a knower, becomes an elaborate deduction of the logical contents of a few abstract metaphysical axioms. But is there not a something among the First Principles of human knowledgecall it a nucleus of beliefs in real things or what we will-which cannot be derived by demonstration from the abstract and necessary conditions of thought and which, when it is made an object of reflex study, must be collected in an inductive examination of the living mind by the psychologist?

We cannot, in our narrow limits here, pursue to a satisfactory conclusion these hints concerning the law of doctrinal discovery in Philosophy, far less apply that conclusion for critically appreciating the massive specimens of the fruits of research in the different departments of reflective labour. which this wonderful volume exhibits. It is sufficient to indicate that it seems to contain the seeds of an a priori science of human knowledge, and that these seeds have so germinated in the more recent and elaborately developed parts of the book, that the experimental study of Man is well-nigh overshadowed by the elaborate structures of demonstrative metaphysics. The realities of existence are discharged out of knowledge; the abstract conditions of thought, with their necessary consequences and conclusions, are exhibited as a sufficient substitute. The illustration of our meaning must occupy

But before we offer that illustration we may just refer to a great and as vet ill-adjusted theme, which is nearly related to the principle or method of doctrinal progress in

^{*} But we do not mean to subscribe to depreciatory remarks on Hume's manner of applying method in philosophy. (Diss.,

pecially of the philosophical sciences. This speculation becomes more needful as the division of intellectual labour is accumulating fresh scientific knowledge in different provinces of research; and, indeed, it must always be interesting to the truly philosophic labourer in any department. Additions to the number and bulk of those organized masses of knowledge, to which the name science may be appropriated, generate confusion, if their respective landmarks be not preserved, and if their mutual harmony be disturbed, by the development in one of principles which contradict those alleged to be discovered in another. The philosopher, moreover, is dissatisfied so long as he confines his thought within the province appropriated to any one of the subordinate systems of knowledge usually called by that name; he seeks for the One Science which absorbs every other, or, if that be unattainable, for the "Philosophia Prima," which deals with the axioms of each, and justifies their separation into distinct yet united provinces. The modern mind has not been uninfluenced by these considerations. Perhaps the most suggestive and luminous of all the works of Lord Bacon is that in which he reviews the condition, prospects, and mutual relation of the various parts of knowledge. The progress of knowledge has occasioned many similar surveys, in Britain and on the Continent, in the interval since Bacon. is the speculation to which some of the most eminent minds of this generation have de-We cannot now discuss voted themselves. their suggestive questions or conclusions. Our readers may refer, for example, to the small treatise on Method by Coleridge, (which was meant to govern the arrangements of the Encyclopedia Metropolitana,) for the germs of much which has been taught since, in English literature, concerning the laws which govern progressive knowledge, and the classification of the sciences.

We should have been grateful to Sir William Hamilton for more help in answering a question so appropriate to this age, but especially to the present condition of philosophical studies, and to the important modifications in the old Scottish method of philosophic research which his writings sanction. Is metaphysics conversant with man, or with necessary abstractions? What is the connexion between the study of the mental phenomena-the inductive generalization of the mental powers, commonly called psychology, and a metaphysical criticism of the necessary conditions of thought ? What is the ground in the structure of the living human intel- logical studies widely popular.

philosophical studies, - we mean the theory ligence, of the dogmatic assumptions which of the Classification of the Sciences, and es stand at the head of the demonstrations of formal logic and metaphysics? Setting out with their respective axioms, the mere logician and metaphysician may construct a priori sciences, in a mood of mind as alien from the philosophic spirit as is that of a mere mathematician. We should regard an exhibition of the connexion between either of these studies and the great philosophic stem, of which they are represented as branches, as a valuable addition to the teaching contained in this volume; in so far as it might contribute philosophic vitality to animate the study of the symbolic formulas of the one and the abstract speculations of the other. This is a service as regards the former, not rendered by Aristotle, nor by Kant, and which is nevertheless needed, if the Ancient Logic, remodelled by Kant and Sir William Hamilton, is ever to coalesce with the inductive psychology, which has hitherto been characteristic of the philosophical sciences in Great Britain.*

But we must bid adieu to these general questions of method, in order that we may study the tendency of the new Scottish doctrine, in the definite metaphysical discoveries to which it lays claim. The ultimate law of the limitation of human thought,the Law of the Conditioned-is alleged to yield these discoveries. When we are investigating the consequences which are referred to it, we may gain some insight into the spirit of that system of doctrine which they contribute to form.

Obvious illustrations of Sir William Hamilton's theory of the weakness of human intelligence are of course supplied by these perennial mysteries of thought-Space and Time. Their attributes have converted them into standing retreats for metaphysical contemplation and logical subtilty from age to age. Through these sublime avenues to the inconceivable, speculative minds have ever been ready to permit thought to wander, and to exhaust itself in the act. The varied specimens of the weakness of intelligence which are exhibited when the mind endeavours

^{*} In this connexion we must recommend the study of an important work in the higher literature of philosophy—the Prolegomena Logica of Mr. Mansel. (Oxford, 1851.) In any critical discussion of recent English philosophical books, this acute and learned work should occupy a large space. It includes the substance of two articles, for which the North Bri-It includes the tish Review is indebted to the author. Along with several other recent logical and metaphysical works from the same University, it proves an increasing energy and expansion in these studies in Oxford, since the period, a quarter of a century ago, when Archbishop Whately published his Elements—the book which has done more than any other to render

either, on one side, to exhaust Space and Time, | speculation did good service after its fashion, "the impossibility of a knowledge of the unconditioned."

But a more familiar kind of mental experience than any afforded by such necessary judgments concerning these mysteries is represented as also the fruit of the intellectual weakness which they so palpably illustrate. If, on the rare occasions on which we formally make the attempt, we find ourselves mentally unable to exhaust time, we daily experience the mental inability to isolate a change, that is implied in the judgment which inevitably forces us to connect every change with a CAUSE. The "causal judgment" is the most familiar and frequently repeated of all our judgments. It is one which we are forced, whether we will or not. to entertain, whenever we contemplate changes as such; and it is on the tide of this irresistible mental impulse that we may be said to be carried towards the inferences of common life-the general lessons of the physical sciences-and even the august truths of natural and supernatural theology.

This irresistible mental tendency to attribute every change to a cause is a specimen of the kind of FACTS which engage the study of metaphysi cians. It has been an object of reflective serutiny by philosophers for ages. What do we mean when we judge that every event must have a cause? Why is this judgment necessary? The discussion of these two questions is especially associated with the early history of Scottish Philosophy. It may be said to have occasioned a third question, which is partly involved in each of the others, with regard to the kind of necessity of which this famous judgment is the expression, We may glance at the modern history of the controversies immediately connected with the two former questions, before we examine the speculation of Sir William Hamilton.

It was the doctrine promulgated by Hume -that causation is only succession, and that the alleged necessity of the causal judgment is the result of the custom, generated by daily observation, of associating events in orderly sequences-which roused Kant from his "dogmatic slumber," and also added not a little to the bulk of our British philosophical and theological literature.

or on the other, to realize their infinity, sup- by proving the impossibility of discovering, ply the chief proof alleged in the celebrated through observation, more than various unicontroversy with Schelling and Cousin, of formities of succession in the changes of the universe. Does a "cause" mean a tertium quid, which may be perceived through the senses to be distinct from the mere succession of events? The illusion which might suggest this question Hume, Brown, and Mill have helped to remove; and they have thereby dispelled a haze which had previously obscured the provinces of experimental research. Observation of successive nature can only reveal phenomena succeeding one another. The practical recognition of this obvious maxim of the Scottish philosophers has illuminated the atmosphere which surrounds scientific observers.

But is the "causal judgment," then, the gradual issue of our experimental intercourse with an external universe, in which the events succeed one another in constant and orderly sequences, and is it formed in the mind, in these circumstances, either by induction, or by the force of habit? This favourite hypothesis, in harmony, as it is, with Locke's solution of all mental facts by means of the direct or indirect action of the objects of experience upon the mind, seemed insufficient to account for the irresistible force and the universality of the causal judgment; nor can observation, which only reveals successive events, account for the peculiar ingredient in the meaning of the word cause which is not contained in any modification of succession. Accordingly, the leading Scottish philosophers since Hume, with Kant in Germany and Cousin in France, have recognised, in this irresistible causal judgment, attributes which cannot be explained either by induction or by the habit of observing events, and far less by any single act of observation. With various modifications, they hold in common the opinion, that this curious mental state is due to something deeper than a perception of the changes in the external world, or even than the consciousness of volition and its results. Causality is, in short, a necessity, which, according to Reid, compels the mind to recognise s "cause;" according to Brown, a "constancy in sequences;" and which, according to Kant, connects events in thought as a condition indispensable to our thinking about them at But it is a necessity which they unanimously regard as an unaccountable law of the mind-" a primary datum of intelligence."

Sir William Hamilton coincides with these philosophers in the opinion that any modifieation of experience is insufficient to explain this mental phenomenon of causality. But he differs from them too. He professes to

[·] A history of opinions concerning the theory of Causation, in ancient, mediaval, and modern times, in the Indian and Arabian Schools, might fill a volume, and include nearly all the great questions of metaphysical science. We meant to have illustrated this assertion, but our space confines us to a slight reference chiefly to Scottish opinions.

solve the difficulty which has so long puzzled or absolutely taken away from, existence in "in the conditioned interval between uncon-ditioned contradictory extremes or poles," tendency of the new Scottish Philosophy. springing of nothing into something. Those who wish to interpret that Philosophy, in its deeper relations to the future history of opinion, must here be willing to descend subtile and ingenious interpretation put upon We shall them by Sir William Hamilton. here quote the passage in the Discussions which most effectively expounds the proposed theory :-

"The paenomenon of causality seems nothing think a thing, except under the attribute of existence; we cannot know or think a thing to exist except as in time; and we cannot know either by our presentative, or by our representative faculty. As given, we cannot but think existence, either in time past or in time future. it existent, and existent in time But to say, "Our inability to think, what we have once that we cannot but think it to exist, is to say, that we are unable to think it non-existent,-to think it away,-to annihilate it in thought. And this we cannot do. We may turn away from it; we may engross our attention with other objects; we may, consequently, exclude it from our thought. That we need not think a thing is certain; but thinking it, it is equally cer-tain that we cannot think it not to exist. So the law of cause and effect. much will be at once admitted of the present : but it may probably be denied of the past and future. Yet if we make the experiment, we shall find the mental annihilation of an object, equally impossible under time past, and present, and future. To obviate, however, misappre-But the complement, the quantum, of existence, treme,—it is the Absolute alone which constitutions to an object:—that we take and explains the mental manifestation of the causal judgment. An object is presented

the metaphysicians, by means of that law of the necessary confinement of all thought in the conditioned interval between upon. Now, we are numble to think, that the quantity of existence, of which the universe is the conwhich, as we said, he has copiously "llustrated lished. We are able to conceive, indeed, the in our judgments concerning Space and Time. creation of a world; this indeed as easily as the This alleged discovery is perhaps the most creation of an atom. But what is our thought characteristic expression of the genius and of creation? It is not a thought of the mere contrary, creation is conceived, and is by us conceivable, only as the evolution of existence from possibility into actuality. by the fiat of the deity. Let us place ourselves in imagination at beneath those forms of expression in which its very crisis. Now, can we construe it to we daily give utterance to our irresistible thought, that the moment after the universe causal judgment, in order to appreciate the flashed into material reality, into manifested being, that there was a larger complement of existence in the universe and its author together, than, the moment before, there subsisted in the dcity alone? This we are unable to imagine. And what is true of our concept of creation, holds of our concept of annihilation. We can think no real annihilation, -no absolute more than a corollary of the law of the condi-sinking of something into nothing But, as tioned, in its application to a thing thought un-creation is cogitable by us only as a putting forth der the form or mental category of existence of divine power, so is annihilation by us only con-relative in time. We cannot know, we cannot coivable, as a withdrawal of thut same power. All that is now actually existent in the universe, this we think and must think, as having prior to creation, virtually existed in the creation; and in or think a thing to exist in time, and think imagining the universe to be annihilated, we it absolutely to commence. Now this at can only conceive this, as the retractation by once imposes on us the judgment of can the delity of an overtenergy into latent power, sality. And thus:—An object is given us, ln short, it is impossible for the human mind to think what it thinks existent, lapsing into non-

> conceived existent in time, as in time becoming non-existent, corresponds with our inability to think, what we have conceived as existent in pace, as in space becoming non-existent. cannot realize it to thought, that a thing should be extruded, either from the one quantity or from the other. Hence, under extension, the law of ultimate incompressibility; under protension,

"I have hitherto spoken only of one inconceivable pole of the conditioned, in its application to existence in time, of the absolute extreme, as absolute commencement and absolute termination. The counter or infinite extreme, as infinite regress or non-commencement, and inhension, a very simple observation may be pro-per. In saying that it is impossible to annihi-ate an object in thought, in other words, to eyer, at present nothing to do. Indeed, as not conceive as non-existent, what had been con-ceived as existent,—it is of course not meant, theatre of mind, and exerts a far inferior influthat it is impossible to imagine the object ence in the modification of thought, than the wholly changed in form. We can represent to Absolute. It is, in fact, both distant and deourselves the elements of which it is composed litescent; and, in place of meeting us at every divided, dissipated, modified in any way; we can turn, it requires some exertion on our part to imagine anything of it, short of annihilation seek it out. It is the former and obtrusive exed, without abstraction from other entities, or to our observation which has phenomenally beshort, we are unable to construe it in thought,
that the object, that is, this determinant complethat there can be an atom absolutely added to, ment of existence, had really no being at any

past moment; because, in that case, once think- we must not forget this general principle, ing it as existent, we should again think it as as we hope ourselves to have the benefit of non-existent; which is for us impossible. What then can we-must we do? That the phenomenon presented to us, did, as a phenomenon, begin to be,-this we know by experience; but that the elements of its existence only began, when the phenomenon which they constitute came into manifested being,-this we are wholly unable to think. In these circumstances how do we proceed? There is for us only one possible way. We are compelled to believe that the object, (that is the certain quale and quantum of being.) whose phenomenal rise into existence we have witnessed, did really exist, prior to this rise, under other forms. But to say, that a thing previously existed under different forms, is only to say, in other words, that a thing had causes."-(Pp. 591-594.)

It is further maintained by Sir William Hamilton that the inability we experience to separate a phenomenon from its substance in thought, may be accounted for by the Law of the Conditioned, which forbids us to conceive existence unconditionally limited. But as he has not formally expounded the process through which the judgment of substance is thus imposed upon the mind, we shall confine our attention, in the remarks which follow, chiefly to his proposed reduction of the causal judgment

This proposed analysis of the judgments of Cansality and Substance is surely a singularly ingenious speculation, and one as comprehensive in its scope as is human knowledge, with which the mental facts, for which it professes to account, are universally blended. But serious difficulties seem to lie in the way of a recognition of this new doctrine among the articles of philosophic faith, as a satisfactory account of the meaning and necessity of these indgments. A few of these we shall now take the liberty to in-But before doing so we must remark, how difficult it is to inject a common meaning into the words and phrases proper to philosophic discussion, and to retain that meaning there in its original integrity. Nowhere are writers more apt to be at cross-purposes with their readers, than when they are employing the small stock of abstract words which are the instruments of speculation, but which living thought so seldom visits. The meaning which has been lodged in the words is apt to ebb away, even while the thinker himself is in the act of using them; and the mob of critics, who do not send the living stream of reflection appropriate to the vocables of philosophy through the pages of a philosophie discussion, necessarily reject, as unreal, a meaning which transcends the level of the state of mind in which they address them-

When the great modern astronomer would verify the application to the planetary system of that law of motion upon earth which is illustrated in the fall of a stone or an apple, he vindicated its applicability, by proving that the rate of motion in the eelestial and the terrestrial bodies corresponds. After Locke had announced his proposed generalization of human knowledge into Experience, he sought-in the spirit of the inductive method-for what we may term crucial instances of his proposed induction, that he might thereby vindicate experimentally his proposed theory. Now the explanation of the "causal judgment" proposed by Sir William Hamilton, which carries consequences so weighty in its train, may be studied from the point of view of that inductive method from which the Science and Philosophy of Britain thus drew their inspiration in the past. We may here ac-cordingly refer to the Facts of mental experience. We may investigate that third question already raised,-what is the character of the "mental necessity" of which we are conscious in every causal judgment; and, especially, does it correspond with those acts of intelligence and belief which illustrate the highest law of the weakness of thought? There is one species of necessity with which we are familiar, in our notions and judgments concerning space and time. Thus we cannot imagine "an absolute commencement of time," or "an absolute boundary of space," although we may put in words an expression of the implied unthinkable judgments; -and we cannot imagine "a square circle," for any proposition in which the implied judgment might be expressed is only an empty sound. The science of Geometry may be roughly said to supply a collection of specimens of this sort of necessary judgments. The contrary of these geometrical truths cannot be conceived or imagined.

Now it is here that, in the spirit of the British Philosophy, we may apply the scrutiny of the inductive method to the proposed theory of causality. Is the causal judgment the efflux of a mental necessity, similar in kind to this, for example, which reigns in the region of mathematical demonstration? Are we unable to conceive the absence of a cause, when a change is perceived or imagined by us, in the same way as we are unable to conceive a square circle or an absolute commencement of time? Sir William Hamilton has pointed out the weakness of the attempts to resolve the causal judgment into the Prinselves to the discussion. In our comments ciple of Contradiction, which have been made in the opposite schools of Locke and Leib- ing with the sum of its past existence."—nitz;—a method of proof in which it is (P. 586.) Is not this to represent the cauments, (analytical judgments a priori), and in which the metaphysician argues in a circle when he would make good his point. That every effect must have a cause may be proved after this fashion; but that every change must have a cause is not so implied in the meaning of the word change that the contrary proposition is a logical contradiction. But while we are satisfied that the causal necessity is thus to be distinguished from a merely logical or formal necessity, we are not equally satisfied that it may be regarded as similar in kind with the necessity which belongs, for example, to our judgments concerning space and time. We can only indicate in outline our view of some lines! of argument which cannot here be described.

First of all, then, we hesitate to recognise the truth of the assumption that we are unable to represent to ourselves in imagination an absolute commencement-an unconditional limitation of existence; even as without doubt we are unable to conceive an absolute commencement or unconditional limitation of time. We do not feel that existence, as applicable to causality, can neither be added to nor taken from in imagination, just as time or space can neither be absolutely increased nor absolutely diminished in thought. We do seem to be able to imagine an absolute negation of existence at one moment and the existence of the universe in the next. In short, we do not feel, in the illustration drawn from "ereation." that we are compelled to recognise the necessity-for the imagination of a "previous form of existence," as often as a change is perceived or imagined. And we are confirmed in this hesitation by the express testimony of Hume and the implied testimony of Reid.

In the next place, is not the relation of an effect to its cause conceived to be different in kind from that of a contained part to a containing whole out of which it has been Is the universe of change, as evolved? known, merely a variety of forms, implicitly contained in an absolute identity of existence? Varied illustrations might be offered, not easily to be reconciled with a description of the causal judgment, which asserts that no more is implied in it than simply, an assertion that the object in which the change is manifested must have previously existed under a different form : or than an inability to "deny in thought that the object which we apprehend as beginning to be really so begins,"—with he implied necessity to at Causality thus appears, in our actual men firm "the identity of its present sum of be-tal experience, not as an inevitable number.

virtually ranked among merely logical judg-sal judgment as an affirmation that every "change" must be only an apparent, and not a real commencement of existence-that it must be one of the many forms common to the only real, and yet unknown existence, which underlies them all? But does that expression truly exhaust, or indeed adequately represent, the meaning of the word cause, and of the affirmation that all changes must be caused? Here we must distinguish, it is true, between creation, and new modifications of created existences. But take any actual instance even of the latter. We witness the movement of a planet, and the phenomenon occasions a causal judgment. But does that judgment signify merely our inability to avoid imagining that the moving body previously existed in a different form? Rather do we not, through that judgment, express a belief, of which we can conceive ourselves rid, concerning things or real existences :- that there must be more objective existences in the universe than merely the changing object which we observe? The conviction of a cause is elicited, not merely by a constant succession of events, but also by a single or isolated event; and Dr. Brown, doubtless, has misunderstood the question, in so far as he has confined his regard to the contemplation of "invariable succession." On the occasion of a single change, belief is projected, as it were, into the realm of things not yet observed, and of which we may never have any observation; but though we may, in consequence, remain always in ignorance of the special conditions of the supposed change, the conviction that objective conditions there must be still abides in the mind. This belief, or indirect perception, propels scientific research in quest of them. And it has the characteristics of a mental state, different in essential particulars from that which is experienced when we try to realize in imagination an absolute beginning of time. or the contrary of the mathematical axioms and of any of the necessary deductions from them. Further, that change of form with an identity of existence does not satisfactorily represent the contents of the belief which is implied in what may be called the causal state of mind, might be suggested by the eircumstance, that the question concerning the cause of this universal flux and reflux of ex istence, and of each separate element in it, remains in unabated force, after each new manifestation of existence has been thus recognised in imagination to have existed pre-

of conceiving, but as an inevitable expression ing space, time, and ideal existence, it does gradually discovered as these symbols are interpreted by science. And does not this belief forbid us to transform what is judged to be real whether conceived of or not, into the subjective issue of a mental impotence to imagine either of two contradictories-an Absolute or an Infinite existence? Surely something has been omitted in any description of the causal judgment which implies that a cause is merely a result of the abstract conditions which hinder human thought from realizing unconditioned existence. Are we not conscious of believing, and therefore of knowing, in the finite causes of the finite effeets around us, realities, which may not, exconviction out of our causal judgment, be withdrawn from this part of our knowledge? Are not the proper objects of that judgment thus anchored, as it were, in a sphere, not beyond knowledge, where they resist the stream which carries the parts of space and the periods of time into the negation of an Unconditioned? If so they cannot be virtually ereated through the impotence of man to realize the Absolute in existence. Nature is known as a collection of finite existences, real although finite, and not as the result of a series of ineffectual struggles, by the imaof existence in time. Are we then to recogconceiving every new phenomenon to be only are carried irresistibly, by a sublime force were, a wave of the philosophic imagination, surging up to its extreme limits. But it is surely on more than a mere wave of the intercourse with existences, which the very causal judgment itself, as one of the manithus to sublimate into the Unconditioned,

If, then, we contemplate the proposed can, moreover, be realized in thought?

aw of the Conditioned, in analogy with the

But even if the causal judgment be Law of the Conditioned, in analogy with the spirit of the British type of philosophic evolved, like geometrical necessity, so that method, as an inductive generalization, we cannot conceive a change, except as a gathered through a series of mental experi- new form of a previous existence, it may be ments on our necessary judgments concern- doubted whether an inability to conceive im-

of a human belief regarding real things, of not seem that we can include in that inducwhich changes are symbols, and which are tion, a mental fact, which is virtually a judgment concerning real things,-a belief, suggested by every real event, that there is more real existence in the universe than itself. Belief cannot subsist in an absolute negation of knowledge with respect to that which is believed; although the needed knowledge may sometimes be only a bare judgment of objective existence. To know or believe that an object really exists, implies the addition of a new mental element, which seems to exclude the mental act in which it is essentially contained, from the range of a law that may account for acts of mind which relate to space and time.

In brief, it might seem that the causal cept by discharging the very life of its proper judgment is not necessary to thought, if the word "necessary" means that we cannot realize in representation, an object non-existent now, and in existence an hour hence, But the causal judgment is necessary to thought, in the sense that we cannot realize in belief that there is no cause of a pereeived change. Every object in which a change is observed, suggests the inevitable belief, that it is not the only object in the universe, and that the changes which it manifests are dependent on the existence of other objects. This inevitable belief, with which the causal judgment is charged prior gination, to realize unconditioned limitation to all experience, is a part of the mental phenomenon to be accounted for; and we nise as specimens of the same universal may not assume that this belief in objective mental law, on the one hand the inability to existences is contained under the abstract conexhaust time in imagination, and on the other ditions of the thinkable, just as a belief in this alleged inability to exhaust existence in the speculative truths of mathematics is intime, with its implied abstract necessity for volved in the inability to realize in imagination the reverse of the successive conclusions another form of an identical existence? We contained in that seience. In regard to eausality, the problem seems to be,-to acof the philosophic imagination, towards an count for a necessary belief concerning ob-Unconditioned time, when we try to conceive jective existence, which, although not conany finite period as the whole; this is, as it tained in the abstract conditions of the representable, is yet forced upon the mind even when it is in ignorance of the cause of any particular change. As in Logic, we find imagination that we are carried back from a specimens of analytic judgments a priori; real event to its real cause. It is on the and, in Mathematics of synthetic judgments solid ground of the intellectual common a priori, which we may call speculative; is sense, where we find ourselves in cognitive not the Causal Judgment a specimen of a elass of Judgments prior to experience and synthetic, yet not merely speculative or festations of the common sense, forbids us ideal, but charged with a conviction concerning what is real, and the absence of which

believe. In this view, we might proceed to the theological argument founded upon the follow the new speculation deductively-as exhibition of design in a finite universe, from we have already suggested how it might be the inconsequence of professing more in the examined inductively, and endeavour to de-conclusion than was implied in the premises? termine the connexion between a conviction. The primary theistic judgment is perhaps of real existence on the one hand, and a just one of the many modes in which our mathematical or ideal necessity of thought rudimentary conviction concerning the reladeduced from the abstract conditions of the tions of real existence expresses itself. thinkable on the other. Assuming the its lower form, that rudimentary conviction operations, in the mine of a priori abstraction, to have been successful, in the disjudgment of Causality. In its higher or covery that the ideal existence of a cause is theological forms, it expresses our faith in implied in any possible mental representa- the existence of a cause which transcends tion of change, it is still a question whether imagination, and fully satisfies the craving we can firmly cross from the ideal to the which every perceived change suggests. But, real and objective on these lines of abstract apart from experience, each form of the bethought. We shall not here engage in a lief implies a knowledge of existence and kind of discussion which has often been all nothing more. It is an expression of our ready raised, for instance, by the abstract conviction that every conceivable changeready raised, for instance, by the abstract conviction that every conceivable change— proof of the divine existence proposed by every phenomenon which begins to exist, is Descartes, or the abstract demonstrations of dependent on something beyond itself, so the foundations of Natural Theology, by Dr., that if that "something" had no real exist-Samuel Clarke and others. We are content eneo, the change sould not have been real-thus to suggest speculations which bear lized. And the profound conviction of the the occurrence of a change.

can be given of this inevitable causal judg of the created universe subsequent to creament or belief? If it can neither be re-tion. The study of the particular antecesolved, by psychological induction, into the dents of particular consequences by degrees contemplate it in association with the uni- through intercourse with God in his miracthose indications of intelligence with which the arrangements of nature are charged. • The study of Berkely's theory of vision and sim-Might not the recognition of this causal be- liar speculations, may illustrate this sentence.

plies, or is equivalent to, a necessity to lief, with its manifold forms, help to relieve some analogy with this new scientific universal dependence of conceivable changes demonstration of the necessity of a cause on on an inconceivable Being or First Cause, might be elicited both by the act of Crea-But what account (it may be here asked) tion, and by the phenomenal modifications Law of the Conditioned, nor deduced by adds intelligence to our original causal belief, scientific demonstration from that abstract Law, may it not be at least associated mean while with some other recognized order of Personal God, through reflection on our own our mental phenomena? We do not profess moral agency; through the study of the plans to offer any theory for the satisfaction of this of the Divine Free Agent, whose designs conventions. But perhaps we may gain a stitute that meaning in Nature of which deeper insight of the question itself, if we Science is the interpretation; and, finally, versal tendency of man to believe in the ex- ulous revelation. That our elementary beistence of a Supernatural Being, whose attri- liefs may be thus educated into an intellibutes transcend human imagination. Every gence which far transcends their original event which can be imagined—every conceivable addition, through the causal judge trast between the rudimentary perception of ment, to our knowledge of real objects, matter, and the comparative blaze of light leaves the mind dissatisfied. All visible which physical research has shed upon the changes "ery out" for an origin which tran- outer world.* Let us add, that this suggesscends imagination. We do not, of course, tion of the connexion between the belief dein thus referring to them, account for either veloped by every change, and the belief in of these beliefs, far less for the one by a Supernatural Cause of the universe may, means of the other. We only suggest, as a of course, be combined with more than one topic for meditation, the analogies between special hypothesis concerning the precise rethe conviction which is inevitably experi- lation of the Divine Being to each separate enced when a change in any object is ob- successive change. The rival theories of Ocserved, and the mysterious faith in the casional Causes, and a Pre-established harexistence of a First Cause, which underlies mony, at variance, as they seem to be, in human life, and is developed in the study of regard to a problem which is perhaps in-

determinate, may continue their controversy, fits influences, he is apt too soon to be perif it be really more than a merely verbal one; and different philosophical hypotheses concerning the transcendent meaning of a miracle, founded on these rival schemes, may continue to find favour. Thoughtful minds may meantime consider whether a study of the Causal, in association with the Theistie judgment, be not fitted to yield some nourishment for the growth of a Philosophy, spiritual yet not illusory, physical and yet not merely mechanical, and which might interpret the Ideas of Plato and the Forms of Bacon, in analogy with the style of thought peculiar to this age.

But we must return from this digression. We have pointed to some of the difficulties which seem to meet us, when we apply either an inductive or deductive test, to the new solution of our judgments concerning Cause and Substance, by means of the abstract conditions of thought. But apart from the question of its consistency with the facts of our mental experience, we are unable to reconcile these memorable speculations of Sir William Hamilton with the other principles of his own Philosophy. A recognition of the faith and intuition named Perception, for example, is represented throughout these writings as a safeguard against Scepticism, and perception is described as a direct cognitive intercourse of man with the material world. But what virtue or meaning in this faith, it may be asked, if a deeper insight reveals a higher law, which resolves substances and causes, and thus all finite realities, into results of negative judgments, involved in the abstract conditions of the thinkable by which existence is finited. The Unconditioned becomes the only reality; and yet the Unconditioned, as a negation of all knowledge, and thus of the knowledge of its own reality, cannot be an object of human belief. Even the vista of moral liberty seems to open upon us, only that we may witness the moral agents disappearing, with substances and causes, mental and material, in the darkness of the negative and Unconditioned.

We wait for a fuller development of the Philosophy of the Conditioned which might, we do not doubt, remove many of our difficulties respecting its harmony with mental facts, and its internal consistency. In the present slight sketch of the most recent evolution of the Scottish Philosophy, we have only indicated some of the tendencies which seem invincible, if an exhaustive theory of itation of knowledge, in the work of philothe necessary conditions of pure thought is gradually to become the universal solvent of interesting course of thought might be purthe mysteries of mind. When the thinker sued, in reference to the great outstanding

suaded that, when thus engaged, he has been solving the relations of our real knowledge, and putting actual human judgments through the ordeal of philosophic criticism. A metaphysical evolution of the ideal conditions of thought, which does not coalesce with our experience of the intellectual life,-which divorces thought from existence-and seems to recognise a Belief that is wholly void of intelligence, has, we cannot but think, only imperfectly developed the theory of human knowledge.

Here at the close of this long disquisition, we find that we are hardly upon the threshold of our subject. In our course we have fixed our attention chiefly upon the principle of progress which distinguishes the genius of the old Scottish Philosophy, as that has been revealed in its historic rudiments; and we have referred to some symptoms in the speculations of our Scottish philosopher that seem to imply a departure from the method of doctrinal research by which reflective studies in Scotland have hitherto been characterized. Even on this comparatively narrow foundation of historical criticism, we ought, with a view to an adequate appreciation of these new elements of Scottish speculation, to study them in connexion with the critical method and system of KANT and the school of rational psychologists. And a just judgment of the elevated place which Sir WILLIAM HAMILTON occupies, as the representative of the national intellect, applied to speculations more abstract and comprehensive than any in which that intellect has hitherto been engaged, requires some favourable comparison of his philosophical fragments, and of the system into which they seem to form themselves, with the opinions of the two other great living masters of modern speculation—Schelling and Cousin. But we should be giving a proof that we have not yet learned the most precious lesson which can be drawn from metaphysical contemplation, if we ventured especially in what must be the closing stage of our present journey, to explore these labyrinths.

The Philosophy of the Conditioned is exhibited in these Discussions in some of its applications as well as in its abstract character. But our space is more than exhausted. had prepared some remarks, on the proposed employment of the new theory of the limsophical and theological Eclecticism. Au withdraws himself into the sphere of abstract phenomena of the controversies of opinion metaphysical demonstration, and yields to in Philosophy and Theology. As it is, we this principle has not been pursued by him, has returned to take his part either in the in its articulate application to the chief dog. vexing controversies of common life, or in mas of theology, and as in itself it might those deeper questions which perplex the suggest more than a long article, we shall only commend it to the attention of our readers. It is a great but profoundly interesting research which is needed, in order to determine whether doctrines of faith, apparently discordant in intelligence, may be ART. III .- 1. Report from Select Committee really in harmony, and to detect those doctrines which, as mutually contradictory, cannot co-exist. The sanguine mind may fondly imagine Philosophy to contribute some help, in the Christendom of the Future, 2. to undo, by a comprehensive conciliation, a part of its own work of excessive elaboration of dogmatic forms of thought and expression in the Christendom of the Past; and thus to atone for the increasing anarchy of seets, which speculation has encouraged |3. in the Church, by a revision of theological science which should distinguish dogmatic 4. forms that are essentially exclusive from those which may co exist in thought. For con- 5. Memoirs of Sir Andrew Agnew of Loc'sducting the Church towards this ideal of Christian science, we look with more hope to the presence and slowly-diffused influence 6. Statistics and Facts in Reference to the of individual minds, of the comprehensive type and animated with the Christian spirit, than to any synod or conclave of theologians formally met to adjust doctrinal differences. VOL. XVIII. 15-B

would only suggest the value of some more, In parting now from his works, we must precise and available canon of conciliatory express our gratitude to Sir William Hamcriticism, than the proclamation of human liton, for the help which the results of his ignorance concerning all which transcends many years of labour must yield, to those contemporaneous and successive nature to- who desire to promote expansive thought gether with the abstract conditions under and the philosophic spirit in every departwhich phenomena must be represented to ment in which the human intellect may be the mind. How can faith be maintained employed. Whether or not the sons of and an absolute negation of knowledge, Scottish thought, in coming generations, which implies a total suspense of judgment? shall regard the philosophic watch-towers Belief may consist with an imperfection of which he has reared for the reflective review knowledge, but how shall it be applied at all of human knowledge, as those from which a to that of which we can know nothing, and complete and satisfying survey of the myswhich on this ground admits a conciliation teries of our intellectual life may be attained. of all doctrinal affirmations which do not every true lover of such enterprises, in time involve logical contradiction? Philosophy to come, must wonder when he meditates on and theology, in as far as they are regions the logical symmetry of the work, or when of faith, and yet regions of mystery, can he is led to occupy a contemplative position neither be consigned to the unknown nor be on any one of its unfinished monumental conquered by reasoning. Are they not pillars, adorned so richly with memorials of eminently the middle ground, from which the philosophic labourers of former ages. we wander, on the one hand, by a universal Even if he should terminate his study of suspense of judgment, and on the other, by this structure of Scottish speculative genius, demanding premises for every judgment which in the opinion that it affords no position for we accept as an article of faith? Sir William a full review of knowledge, and that it closes Hamilton promises that "a world of false, the region of faith against the eye of intelpestilent, and presumptous reasoning, by ligence, he must still go forth from his medwhich philosophy and theology are now itatious among these master-works of one of
equally discredited, would be abolished" in the most extraordinary minds of modern the recognition of our impotence to compre-hend what however we must admit. But as after with a more cautious tread, when he

on the Observance of the Sabbath day; with the Minutes of Evidence and Appendiz. Ordered by the House of Commons to be Printed. August 6, 1832.

The Duty of observing the Christian

Sabbath, enforced in a Sermon, preached before the University of Cambridge, &c. By Samuel Lee, D.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University, &c. Second Edition. London, 1834.

The Pearl of Days. By a LABOURER'S DAUGHTER. London, 1848.
The Hendersonian Testimony. Edin-

burgh, 1849.

naw, Bart. By Thomas M'CRIE, D.D. Second Edition. Edinburgh, 1852.

Lord's Day. By the Rev. John BAYLEE, B.A., Clerical Secretary to the Society for Promoting the due Observance of the Lord's Day. London, 1852.

When things are considered from the all. It is the same with all the other couples outside, the number Two is certainly the cited above, and with all couples, for every most apparent cypher of the world; and idea is a trinitarian. Positive pole, negative that owing to the very nature of existence. one, and that middle term wherein they All things go flocking in pairs before hoary are made one; sun, planet, their relation; Proteus, that time-honoured shepherd of the solar atom, planetary one, their conjunction; Dorian mythology, who continually drove and so forth. The term of relation, betwixt his countless creatures over the fields of the opposites in these ideal pairs, is somespace, and was the symbol of the heaven- times called the Point of Indifference, the descended energy, or soul, of the visible mesoteric Point, the Mid-point. This miduniverse. Every positive has its negative, point is to be seen standing betwixt its right every part its counterpart, every right its left, and left fellow-elements in every dictionary: every surface its substance, every position for example, Men, Man, Women; or adits opposite, every yes its no. Each child jectively, male, human, female. 'So God of the Mighty Mother is united in marriage created man in his own image: in the image with another, and the two are one; but each of God created he him; male and female is nothing without the other, or rather (not ereated he them.' to state the point too curiously at present) to state the point too curiously at present) Now this threefold constitution of ideas each is quite another thing without the other. is universal. As all things seem to go in only to the eye of spiritual discernment.

night is not night without day, nor day day its planet), so the eye of reason cannot see without night. The thought of night implies an inside without seeing an outside and also that of day. Be it supposed that the earth their connexion as the inside and the outside did not turn on its axis, yet going round the of one and the same thing, nor a sun without sun once a year, so that one hemisphere his planet and their synthesis in a solar should bask in continual light, and the other system. In short, three in one is the law of lie in boundless shade. Adam of the darkling side could never have been created, nothing can be thought, except called the unchanging state of his dreary upon the principle of three-in-one. Threegardens by the name of night; nor the rest- in one is the deepest-lying cypher of the less denizen of the unshadowed and excessive universe. paradise have ever known that the sun was

Now this threefold constitution of ideas Sun and planet, earth and moon, night and pairs to sense, and to the understanding, so day, cold and heat, plant and animal, ani all are seen in threes by reason. This law mal and man, man and woman, soul and of antinomy is no limited, no planetary law, body, are so many instances of this duality. nor yet peculiarly human; it is cosmical, Yet the contemplation of these relations is all-embracing, ideal, divine. Not only is it unsatisfactory, so long as this external point impossible for man to think Beauty without of view is insisted on. There must be some simultaneously thinking Deformity and their deeper law, underlying all this apparent Point of Indifference, Justice without Induality: and so, indeed, there is; but it justice and theirs, Unity without Multiplicity cannot be seen without looking at things and theirs; but those several theses (Beauty, from the inside, that is to say, not from the Justice, Unity, namely) cannot be thought sensation of them (nor yet the judgment without these their antitheses, and without according to sense concerning them) but the respective middle terms of the pairs. from the Idea; -for this is one of those As the eye of common-sense cannot have weightier matters which yield their secret an inside without an outside, nor a solar orb without a planetary orbicle (inasmuch as it Beheld from the ideal point of view, then, ceases to be solar the instant it is stript of The imaginable all thought and of all things. Nothing has

It were irrelevant in the present conthe Lord of Day. It is impossible to pro- nexion to enlarge on the significance of the nounce the conception of Day, in the mind, number Five, or rather of Five-in-one,-for without speaking that of Night at the same such is the true formula of all those Pythtime, and also without (likewise in the same agorean figures, which have so pleased and moment of thought) the intellectual sense tantalized the mind of man in every age. of the likeness in unlikeness of Day and It was on the fifth day of creation that the Night. Think Day, and you also think both animal kingdom proper made its appear-Night and the Relation between Day and ance :- but, of course, Man is never to be Night. In truth, then, the idea (call it that included in that kingdom, seeing he is an of Day, or that of Night) is threefold, not animal and something more, that sometwofold :- Day, Night, and their Relation. thing more being his greater part. It were Day is the thesis, Night the antithesis, their as philosophical, in fact, to class an animal Relation the mesothesis of the triad,—for with the vegetable world, merely because it triad it is, and not a mere pair or duad, after is a plant and something more, as to call man

of it: he has a sphere all to himself, consti- and the five teeth in each of his four infantile tuting and belonging to the fifth kingdom jaws (those legs and arms of the face, the of terrestrial nature. Precisely as a mineral nose being the facial fifth or neck), not to is a congeries of atoms and something more, mention any more of these fantastical, but as a plant is a mineral and something more, obtrusive and innumerable fives. In short, and as an animal is a vegetable and something more, is man (be it repeated aloud) animal domain has impressed the more rean animal and something far more—the cent mind of Europe with its image, just as space between him and the highest of the it seized the imagination of the men of eld; brutes being immeasurably greater than and an eminent continental naturalist founds what separates the ox from his pasture, or his classification on the fact, taking Five as the heather from the rock to which it clings, the cypher of animated nature. It was therefore on the Fifth day that the done without, witness Man himself. Indeed any but the Jewish, temporary, and pur-Man himself is the most perfect type, by way of inclusion always, of the animal form ; just as a lion is really a more finished plant than any rooted palm in his jungle. It is therefore not out of place to take notice of his five senses, the five parts of which each of onion which may be deemed too personal and his legs and arms is composed, the five fin-

an animal. He is in the kingdom, but not gers of his hand, the five toes of his foot,

To carry these cursory remarks about animal world was made manifest in the be- this number, and the fifth note of the weekly ginning, according to the Scripture. Now, octave, a little farther (by way of curiosity, there are five kinds of sensible form, five if not for much edification) it should be structures or tissues, in the general anatomy mentioned that an interesting and impor-of the animal nature: there is the amorphous, exemplified by the earthy nature of argued by Dr. Samuel Lee, the learned and the bones and the fatty matters of the cel- authoritative Hebraist of Cambridge, which lular substance; there is the globular, shown will be found to affect the prescut question in the blood, 'which is the life';' the cellular, in a touching manner.* That proposition particularly seen in the skinny parts, but is to the three-fold effect; first, that the shed through the whole frame, covering, primitive Sabbaths of those patriarchal protecting, and supporting; the fibrous, the epochs, which went before the Exodus of specific tissue of the muscular system, and the arising Hebrew people from Egypt, was entering into all tubular structures; and, in reality put back a day by Moses after fifthly, there is the cerebral, the proper mat- and in commemoration of that outcoming; ter of the brain and nerves, which no man secondly, that this was intended to be a can yet describe or qualify. There are like temporary and purely Jewish change, or a wise five organic systems in the more exmore deciduous graft, forcordained to fall off alted 'moving creature that hath life;' the when the fullness of the time should come stomach and its assistant chyle-claborating for making the whole world kin by and in organs; the quickening and circulating sys. Jesus Christ; and, thirdly, that the Sunday tem, namely, the heart, the lungs, and the of Christendom is actually the Sabbath-day vessels; the muscular and bony, or the lo- of Abraham. The professor pleads for this comotive apparatus; the reproductive one; view with much crudition, and with a great and, fifthly, the nervous system,—'the be show of reason; and he cites names no less all and the end all here.' Then the higher redoubtable than Capellus, Ussher, and animal trunk (even such as occurs in the Gale in favour of the point, in whose recetaceous sea-brutes, or great whales of the searches the same result had come out, fifth day), itself containing five well-marked Now there is certainly no doubt, but that compartments, sends out five limbs, two the all-conceiving editorial We are compehind-legs, two fore-legs or arms or wings, tent to the criticism of any and everything and one neck :- for the innocent reader must under the sun; but I, the present organ of understand that these new anatomists con- that singular Plurality, know nothing of the sider the animal head as nothing more than Hebrew tongue and antiquities, and therethe last vertebra, or end-bone of the neck, fore refrain from venturing an opinion on developed to extravagance, as if it had been the truth of this most ingenious and fruitful made of obstinate glass (like that in the well- speculation. But suppose it to be proved known tale) and slowly expanded by some (and the extra judicial mind will perhaps patient blowpipe; and as for the tail, it is find it difficult to resist) then it follows that just the other end of the neck, and it can be the Saviour arose, not on the first day of

^{*} See the Sermon named in the heading of this article.

posely misdated week, but on the old, new, the few it actually grows and alters its shape, and sempiternal Sabbath of the world, as till the end of the forty-ninth annual revolu-

our divine observes.

it lays hold on us every time we shake hands; not only the growth from zero to seven, but why it answers our eye from so many high even with what occurs between one end and it means; -in one word, what its rational To continue; -the boy or girl ceases, and all thoughts, at the beginning of this criti- twenty-one, the third seventh; manhood the landscape-gardener) are intended partly figures are deduced from a generalization to deepen the sense of numerical periodicity taken, not only from all climates, but also in the affairs of the constitution of man, and from both sexes; for if woman is earlier, partly to serve as a bridge from the cos- man is later, and the balance must be struck Christian and civilized solicitude in this the -five fingers, metacarpus, and carpus; the nineteenth century.

its voice in poetry, the life of Man has se- five, it yields you seven parts,-the shoulder or proper period, is now threescore years der), the humerus, the ulna or ell-long bone and ten, being ten times seven years; and of the forearm, the fibula or brooch-pin bone the elimacteric periods of his length of days of the same (and the reason these are in any case, according to broad and general counted two is obvious,—the latter is planeobservation, are so many multiples of the tary to the former, it revolves round it, it same number. In the language of science, has a purpose of its own, it and its muscular though not that of the nursery, the time of system turn the wrist on the ell-bone, which infancy lasts seven years. teeth have come laboriously out, during the or wrist, the metacarpal or palm, and, sesix years; and had their little day of rest, venthly, the digital one or bunch of fingers. in the seventh. Then the volume of the In short, just as the first look at man divides brain (not the head) is completed; at least, him into threes, and the second into fives, he by the consent of the overwhelming majority falls into sevens at the third analysis; and of physiologists: and the fact, as it stands, pages might be filled with its results, but it has been heaved as a conclusive battering- is better to refrain from anatomical detail. ram against phrenology, by no less great It has to be observed, however, that the a philosopher than Sir William Hamilton. pious mediæval transcendalists were so Yet the proposition appears to be true only pungently impressed by the sevensomeness in a manner; and that a manner not incom- of the microscosm, as they denominated patible with some actual or possible physi- man, that, having descried seven planets, ognomy of the head, which phrenology is or they thought there could not possibly be may well become. ments of a more experienced and accurate discoveries in that direction. They did the craniometer than any predecessor, Mr. Stra- very same by their seven poor metals : and ton, it comes out that, while the general they associated these bright bodies, both in figure and bulk of the brain is finished with- name and in the idea of mystical corresin the first seven years of life, yet, in a large proportion of men, the thing swells and fills we in a measurable enough degree, and in Straton. London, 1851.

r divine observes.

To come down from those more solemn completion of a man.* It is not only alaltitudes, and take up the numerical thread lowed, however, but strongly affirmed by again: It might be charming, especially to this observer, that the expansion taking place such as are never afraid to inquire too curi- (even in a Napoleon or, let it be supposed, ously, to find out why Five follows Three a Shakspeare or a Newton) betwixt seven with so much pertinacity everywhere; why and forty-nine is small, in comparison with places; what its ideal significance is; what the other of any of the first seven years. ground can be; but Terminus forbids. It was the man or woman begins to appear, upon both desirable and in keeping to bring out the close of the fourteenth or second seventh the secret of the tri-unity of all things and year. Adolescence is done by the end of cism, and that because of its symbolical re- and womanhood are brought to perfection lation to the Divine Trinity; but these notes (as such) by the twenty-eighth or fourth seand queries about the natural and ideal Pen- venth year; and so forth :- but it is always tad or quincunx (to steal an illustration from to be understood that these periods and mical Triad to that peculiarly human cypher, between them for undivided humanity. If number Seven, which is the proper object of the hand is analyzed, you have seven pieces, foot,-five toes, tarsus, and metatarsus : and when the arm is examined more curiously, According to the popular thought, finding than in that first glance which divides it into ven ages. It is certain that his average con, blade and collar-bone (composing the shoul-Then the first alone is the true forearm), the carpal system From the measure- any more, and therefore they made no more

series. One can only say that the new Astronomy and Chemistry have exploded all this cunningly devised superstructure; but the number of the planets is not yet determined, may come out in the long run. It is just possible, then, that the antique planetary and metallic Seven may turn out to be something more than fantastical jargon :- although it is certainly impossible not to laugh at the conceit of one of the latest ornaments of those old schools, who argued, against the earlier Copernicans, that it is beyond Omnipotence there should be more than seven planets, because there are only seven metals, and only seven holes in the head-two eyes, two ears, two nostrils, and one mouth !

The majority of our readers, and all our critics (since even critics and critics' critics have critics, like the dogs' man's man's man tical, and contemptuous Modern Science is not, dares not, and cannot be ashamed of dissertation. Seven; for moonshine itself is a web of third seven; the first, third, and fifth constituting the natural chord of this painted scale. that rested on the mountains of Ararat, over against Noah and his household, on the oc-

planets, gold with Sunday and the Sun (for and seraphin, that poetry taken wing, that Sol was dethroned in the days of the Ptole-science passed into cestacy, that transfiguramaic Astronomy, and degraded to the planetion of the common state of man (whether tary estate), silver with Monday and the in the body, or out of the body, one cannot moon; and so forth throughout the triple tell) is also a system of sevens. Enough, in short, might be advanced to show that anatomy, physiology, optics, astronomy, and the science of music (which are surely not superstitious, nor mystical, nor transcendenfar less that of the metals, and therefore tal, nor credulous of ancient authority) are there is no saying what multiples of seven all familiar with 'the peculiarly human number Seven,' as we have ventured to define it ;-and that not only because the body of man (that organization and summary of the known powers of nature) is figured all over, without and within, with Seven, but also because his thought has (sometimes instinctively, sometimes rationally, sometimes in superstition) embraced and sanctified it in all ages and lands, and likewise because it is the astronomical ratio of the sub-system to which his world belongs, namely, that of the earth-and-moon. It is a number which his spirit knows, which his soul loves, which his body like an illuminated missal shews forth: and it is the very number of his house in the of my Lord Harkaway's kennel,) will think heavens :- an irresistible fact, which carries this all moonshine; yet your positive, seep- the mind right into the heart of the proper topic of the various, but not unproportioned

It is certain that the division of man's seven-twined thread, and the moon (that time into octaves, that is, into weeks of seven Penelope, who weaves the evervanishing fa- days each (the octave of one, being the first bric) goes on her way, and does all her stints of the next week) is co-extensive with hisof work, to the music of the same homely tory and tradition, and also co-extensive with Number, whereby the very sea, 'and the the world, except in those places where feeble dead that are in it,' are rocked in their great races have gone prematurely down into docradle to the selfsame tune. No sooner is a tage; and such division has always been aspencil of light made to pass through a prism, sociated with the more or less serious consethan it blabs its secret, and shows itself eration of one day, in the seven, as peculiar seven-twined and beautiful. It is to no pur- and supreme. Secular historians have never pose that the more refining optician avers, been slow to admit the fact; the fathers of that there are only three primary colours, the Church were forward to proclaim it; and Possibly, nay certainly, there are; but there modern divines have not neglected to keep are seven colours of the rainbow, for all that, it forward. The day distinguished as festi-It is here, as elsewhere, in fact: for the first val, holiday, or high day of some sort, has analysis gives three, the second five, and the invariably been that of the Sun, the symbol of the creative energy of the invisible Godhead; or at least the same day, with a cor-Ever since God did set his bow in the cloud, responding name and significance. In truth, Dupuis, in his famous Origine de tous les Cultes (which presents an infamously shalcasion of that first family-worship after the low theory of human worship, however) inflood, the children of Light have been saying, sisted that the system of chronology, the We too are Seven, with speechful look, if mythologies of Egypt, India, old Greece, not with still small voice. But if the eye is and even the mythology (as he considered it) silent, the ear is not deaf to the seven-toned of Christendom, have all sprung out of an rhythm of the universe, nor the mouth dumb elaborate scheme of Sun-worship and its to give it echo, nor yet the fingers without Sundays: and the book is so full of curious skill to fetch its antitype out of reeds and pipes and strings. Music, that catholic and these matters might well study it with adpublished tongue, that speech of cherubin vantage, appropriate its treasures, and then

laugh at its presumption in trying to explain | been made unknown wons before, even 'in a deeper phenomenon by means of one lying the beginning.' nearer the surface,—as if a great brass handle toric epoch of human story; * and that after awakening week of time. the fall from the intuitive and holy life of the creation. It is a strange story, and every priately invested with the name of Monday. well-bred child in Christendom knows it by it is so strange and true.

I. For unknown wons the sun had been could unlock the gates of St. Paul's in Lon-standing in the midst of his planets and don city without a key! When the seven- their satellites, but no ray of light had yet some analysis of time began, history cannot reached the face of our deep, either because tell, inductive science cannot find out, and no the sun had not yet grown luminous, or conjectural Dupuis or Volney of them all more likely because the vaporous darkness, can divine. Not only as a writer in a Chris- that brooded over our waters, was still too tian Review; nor yet as one who makes thick. But at last it came, though not in bold to 'claim the honorable style of a sudden and full enough blaze to show the Christian,' after the manner of Sir Thomas figures of either sun or moon; and a sunless Brown in the preamble to his account of the grey morning arose upon the earth, to be Religion of a Physician; but also as the followed by a moonless evening: for 'God humblest of the disciples of an older philo-divided the light from the darkness;' and sophy, drawn from profounder sources, than 'the morning and the evening,' namely, the that of Helvetius and the Encyclopedia, I day and the night, 'were the first day:' the have not a doubt upon the point. I believe day of the coming of light, therefore of nethat Man knew this, and many a far deeper cessity the first; the day of the first glad secret, in Paradise, during the true prehis tidings of the sun; the Sunday of the

II. Under the impulse of this new-come Eden, these things could not be forgotten in accesssion of muffled solar radiance, the a day. Such is the idea set forth in the waters divided: part arose, namely, the opening of the Book of Genesis; and, since horrid mist, and fashioned itself into a spheral it is impossible to argue so great a proposi- and unbroken cloud; part remained below, tion within these limits, it is better just to as it was, namely, the liquid element; and alight at once on the plain fact, be its inter-the atmospheric or skyey firmament stood pretation what it may, that the oldest written between them. The day and night of this record in the world not only claims a pre- world-wide sublimation 'were the second historic and all-conceiving epoch or angelie day.' One might well conjecture that the infancy for the life of humanity, but at once air was so far cleared in the course of the announces the measure of earthly time by day-time of this day, that even the reflected Seven, and that from the divine side of the light of the moon might penetrate, though Before going a step farther then, still too faintly to reveal her form : and in let us look into this miraculous account of that not impossible case, it has been appro-

III. The next process was the standing out heart; but few bearded men can agree about of the dry land or earth, and the gathering it, although no one is willing to give it up, of the water into seas: followed by the springing of 'tender grass,' or those seed-IN THE BEGINNING (how high and awful an less plants called acotyledons; of 'the herb archway into the scene !) - IN THE BEGINNING vielding seed,' or the monocotyledons; and God (not found out by arguments of design, of 'the fruit-tree yielding fruit after his kind, nor deduced from first principles, but known whose seed is in itself upon the earth,' the without a doubt, as the father is known of crowning class or dicotyledons, capable of his children) CREATED THE HEAVEN AND THE propagation by grafts and cuts, their seed BARTH. In the beginning (wherein was the being in themselves upon the earth. This Word) the city of God had been founded; was the third epoch; that of the coming the solar system and our world had been forth of continents and islands, and their set in motion: but 'the earth was without getting covered with the three kinds of form, and void; and darkness was upon the plant, in their right order of succession; first, face of the deep,' which covered it around. with stony lichens, muddy funguses, tender But the Spirit of God moved upon the face mosses, ferns, and the like; then, with reeds, of the waters' once more : and then began grasses, palms, and all manner of herbs that preparation of the world for the inhabi- yielding seed, but whose seed is not in tation of man, which is commonly called themselves; and, thirdly, with the completed the Creation; but, in reality, the earth had vegetable, whose British type is the oak with its acorns. This is the Tuesday of our * Truly prehistoric, because not progressive, being week : the day of the manifestation of vege-* Truly prenstone, occause not progressive, some week: the day of the mannestation of fall. History wants struggle, development, rise, advancement, as its objects. A narrative of innocent Life who will; sacred in that Scandinavian days among the nerfect is not. History.

form of the old Pagan mythology, which the Sun had flashed for the first time upon cannot but be dear to the imagination of the forest-green and ocean-blue of the world, men who use the English tongue, to Tyr or and the moon had reechoed the Memnon-Tuesco, the god of battle or conflict, the tone of his ray in the evening, and the stars divine symbol of effort yet in process.

dripping earth (and that under a leaden sky, things sported in the waters and in the open still unbroken by a streak of blue, or even firmament; happy creatures, akin to Man, traversed by a blood-red beamless orb) naand therefore nearer to the Creator himself:
ture could not unfold her ulterior resources: and so, it is writen in the Scripture for us
but that vast exuberance of every kind of
plant swiftly appropriated and solidified
enormous volumes of the atmospheric moisIn the morning, the animal kingdom was ture: and it is just possible that they also carried to completion; the unapparent sucked in and assimilated opaque vapours Maker seeing it to be good. But all those or gases now not known; so as to clear the fish of the sea, and fowl of the air, and cattle way for the true arising of the sun on the upon the dry ground, and even all the morning of the fourth day, to be duly foll-creeping things that creep upon the carth, lowed on the evening by the apparition of were unfinished till the coming of a greater the moon and stars: the irradiations of the than they. No order of things is complete solar heat, as well as other obvious powers, till it have passed into union with a higher, having meanwhile been working towards the any more than the seventh sound of an ocsame magnificent result. Such was the tave is complete till the eighth or first of a splendid work of the paleontological Wed-higher scale have struck. The atomic order nesday; now symbolized and known to us is incomplete until embodied in the mineral, as the day of Woden, the Valorous Person the mineral till taken up into the vegetable, of the multipersonal godhead of our Norse the vegetable till lifted into the animal; and forefathers, corresponding with the Hercules therefore all those goodly figures that rested of the Egyptian Greek theosophy. Hereules, in the coverts, and leaped upon the plains going through his twelve labours, was the and mountain-sides of the foreworld, were sun, going through the signs of the Zodiac; but an uncrowned rabble (not even definable so that our familiar name is a good one for as the animal kingdom) until their nature this the day of the sun, moon, and stars.

vellous octave was made memorable by a coming of their Lord. 'So God created man new and strange display of creative power, in his own image; in the image of God more than worthy of our ancestral conception of Thor the Thunderer, or god of sheer he them. And God blessed them: and might. It was then that animal life began God said unto them, Be fruitful, and multo appear. The waters brought forth abun-tiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue dantly the moving creature that hath life or it; And God saw every thing soul, and that up to the level of the great that he had made, and, behold, it was very whales of those pre-adamic seas; while good. And the evening and the morning every winged fowl, also, was let fly above were the sixth day.' It is almost frivolous, the earth in the open firmament of heaven. after so sublime a quotation as this, to The cetacea or water-mammals (quadruple- remark that the prime feature of the day, hearted, lungsed, red-blooded, viviparous, in so far as man and woman are concerned, breasted creatures) were the highest mani- is the divine command to be fruitful, or the festations of this amazing period; and they extension of the law of animal propagation belong to the noblest class of all, even that to man, notwithstanding that he is infinitely in which the animal body of Man himself is more than an animal (precisely as an animal included. It is a touching thing, in the is much more than a plant), having been Mosaic narrative, that God is not re-made in the image of God. It is doubtless presented as having even 'seen that it was on that account that the day of our week, good,' when he had said, 'Let there be corresponding with this creative sixth, is light, and there was light,' nor yet on the dedicated to Frigga or Freya, the Scanconsummation of the purely separative work dinavian Venus, or goddess of love and of second causes, which occurred during the generation. Be that as it may, certainly second day: but when the Earth burst into every Friday of the year, but Good Friday unrestrainable vegetation, during the pro above all, must be dear to the Christian who is gress of the Tuesday or third age, 'God not overmuch afraid of the formalism of saw that it was good;' and likewise, when days and years, when he bethinks himself of

vine symbol of effort yet in process. had joined the chorus at night, again 'God IV. While vegetation ran riot over the saw that it was good.' But now living

should have passed into incorporation and V. The Thursday or fifth of this mar- unity with a nobler, that is to say, until the the Crucifixion of his God manifest in Flesh, | geological, botanical, zoological induction of cross :-

> 'Stabat mater dolorosa Juxta crucem lachrymosa, Dum pendebat filius.'

of Man in the image of God, was done. century. arisen on the darling, for whom his Faterhood had been creating and making during the six week-days of the world! What a sweet and altogether human, yet godlike fees themselves compelled by the great real living thing,—for no blessing was pronounced by the Word upon the dayspring from blical representatives of mighty ages; and and sanctified it,'

of its literary character. ignigenous rocks. On the one hand, it was language. not a logical deduction; on the other, not a But aside from all this there still remains

and of the mother who stood near the multitudinous instances. Above all, the day of the victorious observation of nature had not even dawned. Roger and Francis Bacon were yet afar off, the predestined sons of a new dispensation, which was not to begin till that of Moses and the prophets should VII. On the seventh day God ended his work be ended: Hutton and Werner were in the which he had made: not that the almighty distance, athwart a long and dreary Middle will ever ceases from working, since the Age of Christian time: our geologists could sustaining of the universe is a standing and not possibly have existed in any other age perpetual miracle; but that this particular than this, for the growings of science are series of operations, namely, what geologists according to law, and the preliminary sciences call the paleontology of the world, or the were not ready for the success of their preparation of its surface for the appearing labours till the approach of the current Yet the narrative in Genesis, That which the penman of this wondrous though making many exquisite distinctions, scroll set himself to describe was finished. does not violate the ideas of causation, of The house was thoroughly furnished unto classification, and of geological series, brought every good and perfect work, the man and out by the very latest science, in a single his mate had come, and it now behoved instance. That narrative must, therefore, their life to begin. 'And God blessed the have been written down from the traditions seventh day and sanctified it; because that of the unfallen, all-naming state of man or in it he had rested from all his work which its reminiscences; or else from direct insight, God created and made.' How daring a poetic that is, from immediate beholding of the idea license, yet what a touch of nature, to speak and the law; and that is, in either case, from of our never-weary God resting, when the inspiration, mediate or else undiminished by morning of the seventh terrestrial son had the traditionary medium, Adamic or Mosaic. It must already be evident, from some of

on high, nor on the dividing waters, nor it therefore appears to us that we are now on the seas and the earth with its leafy in the morning of the seventh day, the Sabcover, nor yet on the sun and moon, but
and of the Lord, the day of the life of man,
only upon the animal kingdom and its
but not determined or constituted a day King! 'And God blessed the seventh day, (philosophically speaking) until the sounding of its octave, that is to say, till the aris-Such is the genesis of the present order of ing of an eighth morning, the first of a things in the world: told from the divine second week and higher scale of things: side of the phenomenon; for it was the wherefore we do and must look for a new manner of patriarchal thought, not to look heavens and a new earth. These things we into nature for the godhead, but to behold hold, without the discomfort of a doubt, but both nature and man in God. Such was the likewise with perfect respect for those who Mosaic Cosmogony, or Moses' express idea cherish the old opinion. It is not necessary of how this planet was got in readiness, and to go with us in this, in order to accompany brought to the condition in which it now us with cordiality in our further argument. continues for a time. Next to its surpassing It is only desirable to admit that it is a beauty is its philosophical accuracy, and next | questionable point, which faith and science to that is its geological truth, for our especial | may settle betwixt them some other day: wonder; its sublimity being a thing apart, and surely, when one considers the laboriousand yet arising out of all those particulars ness and the rigour of geology, the thing Yet it was not deserves the compliment of an honest pause. written as a poem to delight the world; it Let the mere English reader of the Bible was not elaborated as a speculation on the also remember that he is reading a translaideal triad; and still less was it raised on tion from an antique, oriental tongue, into the basis of observation among stratums and a modern, western, and quite unrelated

philosophical, was all for things in the idea, world shall easily comprehend how a genetic being the Protestant English turn of mind. gnostic Time. They were imaginative and poetic; we are finders of whole treasuries of natural fact. mon world of sense, which has to do with Above all, it was their way to be continubol; it is ours to consider everything as the and the waning of the moon, and then by symbol of some idea or law, and to be for two again, giving her quarters. This is the speech was symbolical and round; ours is symbol must partake of the very nature of literal, and deals in straight lines. Noticing, what is symbolized, as the etymology of the then, their characteristic, and following the word plainly bears upon it yet. In truth, bent of our own, the very first question it it is the characteristic of the greater Scripbecomes us to ask in the present instance is, ture symbols that they are the very symbols What is the idea put by that true Seer into wanted, and the only symbols to be found. this symbol of these seven days, and what They are not arbitrary, not fanciful, not cawas a cosmical day to him? Thus interropricious; they are according to law. Hence gated, Science, the seeker of ideas and the the significance of the days of the succeed-discoverer of laws, answers with modest de-ing weeks of the moon, and the sanctity of ing with astonishment, In other particulars to all such as have drunk into their spirit, the Scripture is a marvel, for we have found Jew or Gentile; and, what is far more astonit all out again in our own way!

is addressed (exceptions going for nothing in of the lore of Paradise, ended and rested history) could not have understood, and cannot understand, a discourse on geology. A geogenetic era would have been, to the Jews for sheer want of space. The musical reader will be a stumbling block, to the Greeks foolish- able to supply the want perhaps.

a fact of immense importance in favour of ness; and, in brief, it would have been a our view: and that fact consists in the dif-senseless sound in all Hebrew and Christian ference between the spiritual and intellectual ears, until these present days: nay, to the attitudes of the writer and intended first overwhelming majority even now, and for readers of Genesis, on one hand, and of us many long ages to come. The Bible was peeping literal quidnuncs, English and Scot- not written for us overwise ; and ridicutish, in the last three centuries of Christianity lously few exceptionals, but for the whole after a thousand years of Popish corruption. world, bond and free; and even more espe-The difference between the psychological cially for the poor and otherwise unlettered. attitudes of Moses and the like of Liebig or And as for the knowing and critical favour-Murchison, to speak the truth, is almost as ites of science, in the mean time, we have great as if the former had stood on his feet endeavoured (though only by a hint) to like a man, with his eye heavenward, and show them how easily their geology may the latter had learned to stand and run about be taken in, assimilated, and glorified by on his hands, with vast agility and the advan- their faith : and, if the time ever come when tage of finding out a thousand terrestrial sanitary amelioration, social reform, imsecrets, counterbalanced by the costly dam- proved policy, ecclesiastical reformation, age of only remembering, if not forgetting, theology made free by obedience, secular Instead of ever anew beholding things celes and religious education, and whatsoever tial. The patriarchal and prophetic spirit not other good spirit is in the world, shall have only saw everything in God, as has already not only brought out the life of God in the been remarked, the pious modern soul (even soul of every son of man upon earth, but Shakespeare himself) rather striving to see also made all men familiar with the rich re-God in everything; but its vision, when sults of science,-why then, the whole not in the concrete instance, the very reverse Day is only the Mosaic symbol for a geo-

Then it is simply impossible that a nobler the lovers of matter of fact, and the conque- or a homelier, (nay, or another!) symbolical rors of common nature. Their spirit of in expression for the idea intended could have quiry took the way towards philosophy; been found or invented. The sevensomeours has cut itself a road into inductive ness of the luminous or of the musical oc-science. They were born-idealists; we are tave, * for example, is of another species: sensationists born and bred, the seekers and and, in fact, the only Seven in man's comally putting the idea into some suitable sym- month by two, as measured by the waxing ever hunting it up. Their whole manner of only symbol in the world for the idea: for a cision, One of our geological Epochas: add- the sevenths, to Moses and his people, and ishing, hence their sacredness in the eye of In conclusion of this short discussion of a almost every pagan mythology! No wonlong question, it must not be forgotten that der, then, that we find so many indications those to whom the book of Genesis was and that the Patriarchs, rich with the remainders

^{*} An exposition of the part that Number Seven

from the work which they had done during | Christians at Antioch, that the consecration law of the Sabbath was formally announced, day and their Sabbath. REMEMBER THE SABBATH-DAY, TO KEEP IT

Jesus of Nazareth, that greater than Moses, did not come to destroy the law, but to ful-He never abolished this patriarchal this rock, has been built, not in a little proof their countrymen, while they did not foron the Sunday or first day of the succeeding week, as the day of their Lord and Master's shewn by Jesus himself, might almost make tenor of Paul's epistle to the Hebrews, and against any such self-assertion and insolence, if not impiety, as so divisive a course would have thrust upon the angry eye of those who did not believe their report :- and assuredly they would not be the worse of a true and whole Day of Rest and Old-Testawisdom it was.

the six creating and working days of their of the Christian, not Sabaoth or rest, but week, and blessed the seventh day, and Sabbath-day arose. Like all the disciples, Jew sanctified it,—or set it weekly apart. But as well as Gentile, they came together on it was on Moses that the idea of this sym-their Lord's day (not having rested the day bolical (if not literal) seventh, considered as before, however, like their Hebrew brethren) a day of cessation from creating and making, but that very day was the Sunday of their seized with such divine force as eventually heathen neighbours and respective countryto move the greater part of the whole world men, and patriotism gladly united with exto the thought. By him at length the blessed pediency in making it at once their Lord's Wherever Christcut into stone, and published to the hosts of ianity appeared and triumphed and grew Israel at the foot of Mount Sinai : and thence strong, accordingly, there the Day of the it has already spread over Christendom, and Sun became transformed, yea, transfigured all Moslem too; being sure to reach the into the Christian Sabbath-day; and if our uttermost parts of the earth in the long run. Cambridge Hebraist and his divines be right in their computation, that the Sabbath of the patriarchal dispensation was on one and the same day with the wild Solar holiday of all pagan times (the latter having, in reality, descended and degenerated from the former) and Mosaic institution. On the contrary, then the restoration of the heaven-descended the Church of Christ, though not founded on resting day of Paradise, of Enoch, and of Abraham, was as beautiful as it was natural portion, with stones fetched from no other and easy. On the other hand, if this specuguarry. It never appears that the early lation be but a compet. about the towns and country-sides of Judea, together by protestants, there is no matter; or in foreign parts) forgot the Sabbath-day because opportunity and common expediency are surely argument enough for so cesake the assembling of themselves together remonial a change as the mere day of the week for the observance of the rest and holy convocation of the Jewish Sabbath. That The example of fidelity to the old primitive church, in fact, was shut up to the ways, of loyalty to Moses and the prophets, adoption of the Sunday,-until it became of the tenderest patriotism in unison with established and supreme, when it was too charities so wide as to overflow the earth, late to make another alteration; and it was no irreverent nor undelightful thing to adopt one sure that they did not. Certainly the it, inasmuch as the first day of the week was their own high-day at any rate; so that their indeed of all the Pauline writings, was compliance and civility were rewarded by the redoubled sanctity of their quiet festival. Perhaps the patriarchal and Hebrew Sabbath needed this added charm to draw all the manifold nationalities, idiosyncrasies of race, and climatic temperaments of the vast and various heathen-world, to the love and obement reading, followed by ever so partial dience of it : and certainly the time-honoured and broken a day of New-Testament exer- Sunday of our own forefathers is as good a At the same time, the apostle of the Sabbath, just as it is as good a Seventh, as other nations of the world always sternly any other. Nor is it an easy thing to choose insisted on the Jewish tests not being forced exclusively betwixt the two venerable names upon them; and a noble piece of charity and |-for, while Sabbath is laden with the They were to remain free, sweetest ideas of peace and repose and antinot only of all other particulars of the Mosaic quity older than antiquity, Sunday is doubly ceremonial, but also of the particular day glorious, inasmuch as it speaks of the arising appointed by that authoritative lawgiver as of the Sun of Righteousness as well as of the the Seventh ;- and the particularity of the Sun of Common Light. Both these arisings day selected, it must be evident, was the were the beginnings of new divine epochs; only thing that was purely ceremonial in both the openings of new creations; and the Fourth Commandment. It was therefore they were both veiled, though effective, and among those foreign converts, first called hasting duly to be altogether revealed on the

ral and symbolical; the former is spiritual and science, tree and bark, like a fruit;and real: but the imagination marries and else it is non-extant altogether. The ideal, makes them one, and the new name of their philosophical, or truly rational ground of the union is Sunday; as dear to the conquering necessity of every seventh day being given heart of England, as is its Sabbath-day to to waking rest, in addition to the nightly Scottish constancy and awe.

and unavoidable, and really most curious demonstration is too little elaborated, and fact, that at least all Christendom has for therefore too long, for insertion here. The hundreds of years ended its work on the topic is merely mentioned in this connexion,

seventh day, and rested on the seventh day, partly to stimulate this high kind of investifrom its work, and blessed the seventh day, gation by the hint of deep-lying treasures, and sanctified it! Come it whence and how it may, that is the fact : and this were the all should-be philosophical sneerers at our proper place to inquire whether anything hebdomadal pause. can be said concerning the rational ground, The natural or scientific argument (for

of its fitness, from the nature of the case,

fourth days of Time. The latter was natu- must spring out of the stem of philosophy sleep of every whole day, has never been Thus, then, we stand before the patent opened up and demonstrated : and our own

on which this institution of an ever-recurring argument it is, and nothing more) is greatly day of rest has been erected, before going more accessible; and it has very often been into the actual position of the institution, drawn upon, though by no means exhausted and state of the Sabbath question, in our at any of its streams. Like the argument own age and country. If this question were of design, and all purely scientific arguments, to be answered in full, the reasonableness it goes up from the facts to the conclusion of of the Biblical day of rest would be ex- the case, not down from principles to details. pounded as threefold. Its natural or scien- Like those arguments it is cumulative and a tific, its ideal or philosophical, its spiritual thing of increasing probability, not direct, or religious reasonableness, in the strongest and matter of demonstration. The greater sense of that term, would be discussed in the numerical and qualitative strength of succession and together; but it would be the probability, the nearer to the nature of ridiculous to try the reaping of so broad certainty; until the amount of probability and thick (and also so white) a harvest becomes so large as to be tantamount to within the time of a Quarterly reviewer, demonstration. The Copernican astronomy, As to the last of these heads, indeed, it is even as it stands now, is raised on an imbetter to keep away from it altogether, than measurable mountainous foundation of mere not to express one's whole mind in a roomy probability; not on logical demonstration, and leisurely manner; the religious part of but only on so huge a sum of probability the subject having been sorely vexed, almost as is, what Kant denominates, an analogon ever since the Reformation. The Roman of demonstration; and therefore we refuse Catholics find this element in the authority to deal with a person who will not acknowof the Church; the Grecians and the ma-ledge it, as being an unreasonable fellow. jority of Protestants, in the authority of Such precisely is the kind of service which Moses in the moral law; and a large mino-science may one day be able to render to rity of Protestants, in the authority of the cause of the weekly Sabbath, and that Christian expediency and experience :- not in full measure, heaped and running over: to divide divided Christendom too much at yet hitherto this great power has contributed present. For ourselves we cannot but think only a few half-hewn and unplaced stones to that the Fourth Commandment as standing the work. Unlike the religious and philosoin the moral law of an inspired lawgiver like phical processes, this of science is a cumu-Moses, the lifelong practice of the Church, lative task, now fairly begun, necessarily and that Church's experimental knowledge slow, always to be going on; and every of the benefits of compliance with the Mo-passing labourer may do his share of it, as saic idea and of keeping up the old day, he passes:—until some master-builder and make a threefold cord, to gird the week his workmen take it all upon themselves, as withal, which shall never be easily broken : in other departments. Revelation is like but we also profess it our opinion, that all the coming of light; philosophical demonthe three strands are necessary to its integ- stration at least goes in a straight line; but rity, and that on account of the change from the path of science, with its observations Saturday to Sunday. Such, in brief, is and inductions, is devious, and very slow: pretty nearly our notion of the Christian- and we have nothing better than a handful religious reasonableness of this service; and of uncut pebbles, fetched from no foreign it is obvious that the natural-religious reason brook, for our present offering.

I. The multifarious sevensomeness that is city, the nation, or the race: a broad averwhen honourably assailed.

II. It has already been suggested that,

* See especially the fine testimony of Dr. Farre at page 116 of the Report.

so striking in the bodily life of man and in his immediate world, as has been shewn all times, climes, and other circumstances, above, should come in here as the van of the argument a posteriori; but it is needless limited survey of fallen, and still growing to repeat the illustrations. Nor must too and therefore boy-like, humanity as it now much weight be laid upon them. Taken all is; but a nearer approximation must be altogether, and increased by as many more in- ways being aimed at in researches of this stances as science may know, they do no sort. It is accordingly impossible to tell more than furnish a broad and reiterated with accuracy, by induction, how many of hint, to the effect that the periodicity of se-the twenty-four hours should be spent in ven is deeply natural to the movements of the state of rest by the normal or ideal the human being. This pointed indication is man; nor yet how many have been and are only a preliminary business, though a thing passed in rest by the average or actual men that may well mean more than meets the of history. We say Restadvisedly, for this eye; but it has no scientific (that is, intelli- period needs not be altogether spent in gible) connexion with the last or first day of sleep or the completed trance of animal rethe hebdomadal seven being spent in rest. pose, any more than the waking period All that science has yet done in this direction ever is passed in absolute wakefulness and is probably summed up in the evidence of erection of the whole being : neither any physiology and physicians, averring that the more, nor any less; and this observation powers of the body need repose; that the is important in the sequel. But it has here bow of vitality must be unbent every now to be observed that the all-pervading law of and then, if it is to keep its spring; that in dualism, which has been explained already, these days of overtension during the six days at once insimuates the hint that twelve hours the rest of the seventh has grown indispen- are for work and twelve for rest, say rather, sable, in addition to the successive nights; twelve for activity and the same for repose, and so forth. Now all this is undeniable, for, of course, many modes of activity are and the materialist will perhaps be the fore-neither creating nor making. Action and most to urge it home in his own way; but reaction are equal, except when free-will it is general, and cannot possibly condescend disturbs the balance. It is only in man and upon the proportion of time necessary or by him, that the law of equilibrium is brodesirable for the kind of Sabbath it incul- ken. He is the sole sad occasion of either cates. When coupled with the Christian scale ever kicking the beam. Now, that in reason for the weekly rest, indeed, it is of the present age, with his overlate and overmuch value; and it has been put before a early hours; his coffees, teas, tobaccos, hops, Parliamentary committee in that connexion, alcohols, and opiums; his riotous eating of But when this general opinion of science, re- flesh on one side, and living on husks on the garding the want of a daytime of rest now other; his frivolities and his toils; his unand then, is ingenuously viewed through the resting competitions, of the field, the workmedium of the unfailing tendency to periodi- shop, the market, the theatre, the college, city in the Constitution of Man, the presump- the forum, the church, the state, and even . tion is strong that such daytime should recur the drawing-room; his ambitions and fears; at regular intervals; and then that particular his grandiose anxieties and lowlived cares; sevensomeness in human affairs, which has in one word, that now, with his legion of just been animadverted on, puts in its claim follies and sins, not uncompanioned by noble for the hebdomadal period as being at least though exaggerated aims, man does not (or peculiarly human, if not the best for the purcannot) allow himself daily rest enough, is pose. At all events, the combination of what nobody doubts; and it does not appear these three scientific considerations must be that the historical world was ever better, held to constitute a powerful moving barrier either here or anywhere else. Yet there is against all would-be rational encroachments a natural indolence in him too, whereby he on our sacred institute, not easily resistible saves one part of himself to overstrain when aggressive, and not to be broken down another; and the lazy trick preserves him from headlong ruin: the boxer does not use his brain, the student leaves his muscular when anything has to be said by science system untaxed; and so things are kept as concerning man, it is man in the genus or near the straight line as such an awkward rather kingdom, not in the individual, the squad can keep. Taking this variegated and extravagant creature all in all however, considering eight hours as the average-time he spends in sleep, and allowing him two for

his meals and little unbent occasions, the sabbath is the going to sleep of the weekday poor fellow gets only ten hours of rotributive propensities, sentiments, and faculties; and quiet instead of twelve. In fact, fourteen the awaking, rather, of such as are too latent hours of activity in the twenty-four is on all from busy day to day: and hence a natural hands, in parliament and out of it, counted "right of each individual to the choice of his a just average distribution of the daily life Sabbath occupations and enjoyments, always of man, at least in Great Britain and Ireland, within proper social or sacred limits. Yet It is true and sad, indeed, that multitudes are there two principal things, common do not and cannot secure more than eight to nearly the whole race: firstly, the poor of rest; but doubtless there are just as body, in one part of its organism or another, many who take their whole twelve, and unfew of us scarcely make out our six, there are overbusied during the week. Thence are not a few who deftly manage to suck up the two plain indications of bodily rest, on eighteen, not knowing what to do! But one hand, and the conversation of the mind even human legislation, to say nothing of with the higher order of ideas within the divine lawgiving, bethinks itself of nations, reach of man's apprehension, on the other, stood that the whole twelve hours of the neighbours in church or chapel, to send his as-

profitable servants they are; and if not a cular things and forms of thought that men colonies, and planted continents of men as the natural avocations of the seventh day and women; and the true average there is of the week. It is change of occupation only ten hours of repose instead of twelve, that is true rest. For the laborious artisan, Now the defect of two hours a day for six for example, what a restful alternation to be days of labour is exactly made up, to the sweetly attired, to sit at home, to open the comprehension of an infant-girl lisping her family-classic leisurely morning and evening, first Sunday-hymn, by the twelve of a week- to sing the immortal songs of King David ly Sabbath daytime. It is, of course, under- and the other inspired psalmists with all his seventh night time are also sacred to rest; pirations to heaven winged by his brethren's and this is the strong point of those Sabbat- prayers, to teach and caress his 'sunday-dressarians, who have been pleading with their ed children, to pray down the blessed Spirit of countrymen, besieging corporations, and God into his lowly home, and, this low life praying the legislature, for no canonical almost forgotten, to take the sleep of the holiday, but for an undiminished rest and beloved in an unwearied bed this one dear festival of the soul. In the meantime, how- night of the week! The student, too, posever, it is but too clear, take it how one will, sessed by the one thought of his work day that in this overwakeful century, the stimu- after day, chased by it through his fitful daylants and overaction have it all their own sleep, pursued by it all the night, never way; and hence—what do we see? Men without its image before him or ready and not living half their days; men not reaching leager to come forward in a trice, his brain their legitimate fulness of development, in and nerves thrilling all over with it, rules of body or in being; men too fragmentary, too health given to the winds, many natural feverous, too one-sided, too busy and little movements of the heart bidden away, a minded, excited but not strong, lively but rush into society of an evening his one unnot long-lived; and if men, then nations. willing and rarely pleasing change, were Surely the sweet and solemn Sabbath-rest surely a whole world the better of the pause, of yore were a true cordial, and the begin- the altered circumstance, the sociality, the ning of many subsidiary calmatives, for this homeliness, the common joys, the blessed chronic and outwearing fever of the world. associations, the church thoughts and feel-III. But is the Sabbath then, it will per- ings, the pure air, the moony evening peace, haps be retorted here, to be a day of sheer the less turbid sleep, the swift low-voiced animal repose? Is it set apart for sluggish parenthesis, of his and all men's predestined quiet? Must great Christendom imitate Sabbath-day. Or could the great minister the frugality of the maid of all work, and of state forget his greatness, and his burdens spend her weekly holiday in sleep?—By no and his dread responsibilities, and his cares means. In the first place, excessive as is almost too heavy for a man to endure and the activity of some one or more parts of live, commending them heartily to God for the nature of almost all men during the a day, as remembering that the beneficent week, the whole nature of almost none elevation to which he is raised above his is ever awake an hour on end, from the fellows does not absolve him from the unesbeginning to the close of life. We are capable necessity, imposed on every man of sleepy and conservative, as well as wild and woman born, of living two lives, an outer wasteful, though not wisely. What is and an inner, a lower and a higher (or else, wanted, then, in a physiologically conceived a lower still),-it is never to be doubted but that the sight and companionship of wife bours, domestic solitude and unsociality, and and children, the soft extension of his allowable couch, the quiet unattended meal, the drawn from the Old Testament, and nobody high bible-reading, the screnity and depth of the public service, the canticle sung at To listen to the re-reading of the well-known home to the music of Handel, and the early Law, to tell the oft told tale of Egypt and hours of a Mosaic day of rest, might well the wilderness, were quieting and easy exerbe more than half the battle on the side of cises, alike to priest and people, to parents God and the Right; and England, with all and children. By all means, let the Sabbath her lands, would rise up and call him be maintained as a day of holy convocation, blessed.

only prescribed by the commandment, and remembered and kept holy as a day of much practised during at last two Dispensations passivity and real repose, for such was its in the Church, but deducible from the latest other, and indeed its primary use from the conceptions of physiological science:—not, beginning. indeed, that science would by this time have world-old Sabbath, namely, bodily rest, in- national and momentous a subject.

as it certainly was from the very commence-Such is the sort of change or rest, not ment of the Mosaic era; but let it also be

- But we must stop midway in this discovered the natural necessity of a seventh a posteriori or after hand discussion of the day of such rest, and drawn out its formula claims of the Christian Sunday on the attenas a rule of life, but that the thing being al- tion and observance of the world. The admost as old as time, science comes into the verse reader must understand however, as world and sees that it is good, and can ho- the friendly one knows full well, that this is nestly plead for its conservation and exten- not a hundredth part of what has to be said; At the same time, we are disposed to and the purpose of this article will be abungo further than some of our Sabbatarian dantly subserved, if it drive the former to friends in behalf of the first element of the the more secret and legitimate study of so tending that of brain and nerve, as well as the little that has been advanced, on the prethat of bone and muscle; and this is the sent occasion, has been put forth in a peculiar element with which the State has to do, in-tent upon refreshed and healthy citizens of argument has been avoided, or only al-against the day of need. The body has far luded to: and there has rather been presentless to do with the manifestation of humanity ed the individual view of a particular mind, than the phrenologist supposes, but far more living much aloof from others, than anything than anybody else suspects. It is mentioned like the generic plea of over so catholic a than any body class suspects. It is mentioned like the generic plea of ever so catholic a with lyrical emphasis that, when Israel went party. It is the humble contribution of a forth of Egypt, "there was not one feeble person among their tribes." The wild Sunation to the great Pagan nations of antiquity mation to the adequate expression of one was no Sabbath, and they are gone; the mode of thought concerning this Patriarchal, Jews were always disobedient, idolatrous, Mosaic, and right Christian institute of the and Sabbath-breaking, though singularly persistent too, being a living contradiction, and shabath-of Continental Christopadm is like; gricycously imperilled in our own land at last Sabbath of Continental Christendom is liker grievously imperilled in our own land at last, the Pagan Sunday than the quiet feast of Last century there arose amongst doubters Christian people, and they are the prey of and unbelievers, this century there has actu-Despotism, that many-headed vulture. In ally arisen among professing Christians and short and urgent fact, the nations want a well-wishers, a spirit of indifference and hosgenuine day of rest, else they perish: and tility to our most patriotic and politic, as we Britons need it more now than ever, being the advance guard of humanity in Europe; Excitement cannot stop, pleasure cannot be and that almost alone now, needing all our stayed, cupidity will not withhold from gain, self-possession and well-rested strength. The public and popular tyranny must and will whole physiology of the country craves re- have unrested slaves, the senses grudge the pose: and that man is no faithful keeper of soul a day. Yet this reverted and fateful the Sabbath-day, who expends it in an excess current of apathy, frivolity, and dissipation of even bible-studies, passionate communings in the closet, church-services and ser-stemmed. Truehearted men of every class mons, prayer-meetings, Sunday-school la- of our composite society have lifted up their voices, and put forth their hands. Bishops and divines, noblemen and gentlemen, clergymen and scholars, physicians and men of race. Taken all in all, this ancient family science, preachers and teachers, bookreading of the Agnews seem to have approved and bookwriting artisans and peasants, even themselves as soldierlike, loyal, stedfast, humble maids with workaday fingers round kindly, and prudent a house as any in the their pens, and thousands of dumb, but land; at once proud and homely, brave yet prayerful dwellers in palaces and in huts wary, pious but by no means suffering their where poor men lie, have come forward with their strong protest against the rapid deep conviction than of wide toleration, and and insidious changing of the old English much more tenacious than ready to render and Scottish Sabbath into a Pagan Sunday, a reason. no better than the Roman Merry-Andrew's Most prominent by parliamentary position, planted himself in Ireland, (whence a deurgent social and scientific, as well as religious, subject of Sunday in the Ninetcenth century, what manner of man the arch-sab-Christianity really was. hearty biography by M'Crie must be referred possession at Loclmaw. this time of day.

The scion of a long-ascending line of ba-England and Ireland, a race remarkable for keeping to the purpose of their heart even alike for coercion or martyrdom, in such a of intelligence was the saving of one's soul

On the other hand the DeCourcys, those holiday of giddy France, or of wicked Aus- old Earls of Ulster, with the head of whom tria and her cruel allies in belated Italy. the first authentically recorded Agneau equal to any in the depth of the principle scendant eventually crossed in the reign of that quickened him, foremost in persistive David II. to Wigton, and acquired Lochnaw, constancy, and the favourite butt of popular formerly a royal castle,) probably underas of polished scorn, stood and fell in the went the softening, light-hearted, sprightlier, thick of this unprosperous cause, the late and less earnest influences of the Green Sir Andrew Agnew, the principled and sted-fast member for Wigtonshire, during se-find these long-parted lineages coming ven sessions of Parliament. Conceiving together again near the close of last cen-thathis nature has been much misunderstood, and in order to come a little nearer the actual to the Honourable Martha de Courcy, Sunday-question as it stands in the everyday eldest daughter of John twenty-sixth Lord world of London and Edinburgh, it may be Kingsale, premier baron of Ireland; a an act of justice to inquire, in these pages, loving, sensitive, and most excellent wodevoted by a North British Review to this man, who would assuredly have been frightened out of her wits among the old Scottish Agnews. Their son Andrew and his sweet mother resided chiefly at Kingbatarian of this century of Sabbath-loving sale, under the guardianship of the mater-For a full-sized nal grandfather, until the death of Sir Stair image of the man, the well-written and in 1809, when he was summoned to take Then he was to by the more curious student; a work al-handed over to Edinburgh, Oxford, Cheltenready in its second edition, and too well ham, and glorious London for a season. A known and approved for a regular review at young baronet, of an uncommonly high and delicate spirit, elegant, accomplished (for that he was-especially in heraldry), ronets, constables, knights, untitled Scottish and as amiable as his mother, though as barons, and Norman soldiers of fortune in staunch as old Sir Stair, this must have been a perilous time for the future friend of the workman: - and certes, that gay youth was in Scotland the land of pertinacity, this actually getting ready to be the workmanobstinate and unflinehing Sabbatarian was like friend of all who toil, us of the horny born at Kingsale in Ireland, just sixty years hand, and us also of the knitted brow! ago, the only child of a poor young father Well-principled, and, what is equally to the who died before the birth of this genuine purpose, well-natured, he escaped the dan-Agnew. From the showing of his conge- gers of youth and fashion. Nay, the stednial biographer, one might well suppose fast and self-preserving blood of the Agnews that the old and aboriginal Agneaus must moved easily and at once in his heart to have been so-called (like Kirke's Lambs) the music of ideas more remote and fascion the principle of contraries. Yet com- nating than those of prudence and honour. bative, aggressive, and self-providing sol- The accents of antique gospel-lore fell on his diers and constables as it behoved them to ear like no foreign tongue. Such glowing be (in order to suit the times we fancy) oracles as Gerard Noel, M'Crie the histothey seem to have early displayed a reli- rian, and Chalmers had only to speak, that gious turn of mind; and that quite compa- so prepared a spirit might hear and undertible spirit could not fail to show itself stand the sign: and in an Agnew to underindomitable, valiant, dogmatic, and ready stand was to obey, when the subject-matter

alive. In short, Sir Andrew solidified with God is all in all.' It is what they all say, episcopacy and the Church of England, de- us! rived from habit and early associations, but

the Free Church of Scotland.

the advance of manhood into an Evangeli- the good men and true, in one dialect or in cal Protestant, with a natural preference for another :- Not unto us, O Lord, not unto

Such is a faint image of the great Scottish sturdily Scottish and Presbyterian at the Sabbatarian. The cause is left with us who core ; and, in fact, he eventually identified remain, now that he has joined the majority himself heart and hand with what is called at last; but we want a chief. In the meanwhile, this were a proper time and place to In 1830 Sir Andrew was sent to Parlia- review the past procedure of the case in the ment by the county of Wigton, and after spirit of searching and inexorable criticism, some reluctance he went with the Reform to see if it were not defeated or deferred by Bill. But another sort of task, and a deeper the errors of its friends; and also to discuss Reformation was getting in readiness to try the broader and more politic principles on his mettle. Parliament was besieged in which the standard should be advanced anew. 1831 with petitions about the Sabbath. The But these practical questions must be deout-of-doors leaders of the movement even- ferred till another opportunity. The lawyers tually fixed on him as their parliamentary have decided that the People's Palace, as it chief; and a stout and obstinate battle he is fondly called by the Proprietors, cannot fought of it, in the house and on the plat- be opened of a Sunday; and the recent minform, before both open and exclusive meet-isterial and Parliamentary changes render it ings, in season and out of it, till he died in unlikely that a special bill will be soon prethe cause. The man became possessed by sented. After all, moreover, the true bethe idea of our blessed Sabbath; and that ginning of a National Reformation were the to such a pitch of inspiration that, if the age radical self-reform of the friendly. Above had not been at once averse to repose and everything, let the professing Sabbatarian, incredulous of good, or even (with such fear-ful odds against him) if he had been as logi. Protestant, Evangelical or Formularian, cal, imperious, and eloquent as he was cease from mere opinion and denunciation, otherwise able and heroic, he must have won and begin to be a Sabbatarian in right the day. Yet this gallant and unyielding earnest. That is to say, let him see that he soldier of the Law and the Testimony want-really work like an honest man during the ed no laurels. It was his rare distinction to six days of the week; for no soft and sighbe indifferent to popular applause and not ing donothing, no minion of ease and pietafraid of popular obloquy. Here, said he, istic self-enjoyment, no idle busybody whose is the last new ballad just sung under my soul has lost its original sense of the comeliwindows: send it down to the north. When ness of industry, is obedient to the First the Zanies were mocking Copernicus on the Part of that most noble Fourth Commandpublic stage, he said the same :- let them ment, or can even try to obey the Second. have their fun: the things I know give no He must then make sure that, supposing pleasure to the people, and I do not know him to have been faithful to the primeval the things that give them pleasure. For pledge of honest labour, he really and truly more than twenty years Sir Andrew waged rest on the Seventh Day, and all his housea thankless and unpromising and (sooth to hold, nay, and all the world in so far as he say) a little successful warfare, never fearing is concerned. He must be no party to the the face of elay, nor covetous of admiration overtasking of ministers and teachers, any and sweet voices, but trusting his convic- more than to the mulcting of household or tions, and true to his secret God. We ques- street servants of ever so small a part of tion whether any public character of recent their one day of rest, and freedom, and times has done his stroke of work from such Christianlike self-disposal. In short, he must a depth of conviction, so unsustained by ad-|irremissibly determine that not only himventitious circumstances, even Clarkson, and self, but also every other man of woman certainly Wilberforce, not excepted. In the born however humble (to the extent, that last result this is his proper glory-to have is, that he can help or withhold from hindbeen capable of doing without commensurate oring) shall actually be a gentleman of the success and without applause! Yet Sir grand old type of the Garden of Eden, at Andrew had respect unto the recompence of least for fifty-two days, or seven weeks and reward: he would scarcely have been a true a half, of the Christian year. What an al-Agnew if he had not. But he neared the tered world it were, even in a secular point goal before he died. 'It is dangerous,' he of view, if such a consummation could only said in that great hour, 'to speak of what be brought about! Then in very deed we have done. 'The instrument is nothing : might the gentile poor man, a far nobler

being than the poor gentleman of "the ignorant present time," look down without reserve into the welcoming eye of his loftiest brother man, were it a burdened prophet, a laurelled poet, a crowned discoverer, or a king sitting on his serviceable throne.

ART. IV .- 1. The Observations of Sir Richard Hawkins, Knt., in his Voyage into the South Sea, in 1593. Reprinted from the edition of 1622, and edited by CAPT, C. R. DRINKWATER BETHUNE, R.N., C.B.

2. Select Letters of Columbus, with Original Documents relating to the Discovery of the New World. Translated and edited by R. H. MAJOR, Esq., of the British

Museum.

3. The Discoverie of the Empire of Guiana. By SIR WALTER RALEIGH, Knt. Edited, with copious Explanatory Notes, and a Biographical Memoir, by SIR ROBERT H. SCHOMBURGE, Phil. D., etc.

4. Sir Francis Drake his Voyage, 1595. By THOMAS MAYNARDE. Together with the Spanish Account of Drake's attack upon Puerto Rico. Edited from the original MSS., by W. D. Cooley, Esq.

5. Narratives of Early Voyages undertaken for the Discovery of a Passage to Cathaia and India, by the North-West, with Selections from the Records of the Worshipful Fellowship of the Merchants of London, trading into the East Indies; and from MSS. in the Library of the British Museum. Now first published. By. Tno-

MAS RUNDALL, Esc

6. The Historic of Travaile into Virginia Britannia, expressing the Cosmographie and Commodities of the Country, together with the Manners and Customs of the People; gathered and observed as well by those who first went thither as collected by William Strachey, Gent, the first Secretary of the Colony. Now first edited from the original MS, in the British Museum. R. H. MAJOR, Esq., of the British Museum.

7. Divers Voyages touching the Discovery of America, and the Islands adjacent, collected and published by R. Hakluyt, 1582. Edited, with Notes and an Introduction, by JOHN WINTER JONES, Esq., of the

British Museum.

8. A Collection of Documents on Japan, with a Commentary, by THOMAS RUNDALL,

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out of Portuguese by RICHARD HAKLUYT; and edited, with Notes and an Introduc-tion, by W. B. Rye, Esq., of the British Museum.

10. Notes upon Russia, being a Translation from the earliest account of that Country, entitled Rerum Muscoviticarum Commentarii, by the Baron Sigismund von Herberstein, Ambassador from the Court of Germany to the Grand Prince Vaisley Ivanovich, in the years 1517 and 1526. 2 vols. Translated and edited, with Notes and an Introduction, by R. H. Major, Esq., of the British Museum.

A True Description of the Voyages to Discover a North-East Passage Cathay and China, undertaken by the Dutch in the years 1594, 1595, and 1596.

By GERRIT DE VEER. Printed at Amsterdam in 1598. Translated from the Dutch into English, and published by W. PHIL-LIP in the year 1609. Edited and collated with the original Dutch, with Notes and

an Introduction, by CHARLES T. BEKE, Ph. D., F.S.A.

Or the many Societies which have been lately formed for the publication or republication of special kinds of literature, there is none, if we except the admirable " Parker Society," which seems to us to be more thoroughly serviceable and free from dilettantism than that of which the already published labours are above enumerated. With one or two exceptions, these volumes are all worth republishing in our day, although few of them contain the elements of that kind and extent of popularity which would recommend them to the notice of a publisher by trade. We are glad so see the goodly list of subscribers appended to the Society's prospectuses, and we trust that it will be increased in length by the glimpses we propose to give of the contents of the works hitherto issued; for we should regret to hear that the publication of any of the numerous, valuable, and interesting works advertised for early appearance, had been prevented or postponed by insufficient encouragement.

We will not waste space in commenting upon the highly attractive and useful nature of the general subject-matter of these works. Its value and interest are universally appreciated, and there is scarcely any other special class of subject which makes so pressing an appeal to "general readers." It must be said, in praise of our own time, that by no other age has that appeal been more cordially responded to than by it. The The Discovery and Conquest of Florida, world is thoroughly alive to the supreme by Don Ferdinando de Soto. Translated value of facts, which are fast superseding world is thoroughly alive to the supreme the literary reign of fiction, as the principal to its owner, from whose recollection the source of enlightened interest and excite-We hasten to do what little can be done in a single Article, towards enabling our readers to judge of the capacity of the Hakluvt books to satisfy this wholesome thirst for actual truth in one of its most attractive kinds.

The observations of Sir Richard Hawkins, in his voyage into the South Sea, in the year 1593, was the first book published by the Hakluvt Society. It was chosen rather as a fit book to stand at the head of a list of old travels, than from any great need of a new edition, since that of 1622, of which this is a reprint, is by no means scarce. The editor, Captain Drinkwater Bethune, has added to the text a few good notes, and has, throughout the work, explained all technical and obsolete words, and identified the places mentioned with their modern appellations.

Sir Richard Hawkins opens his "Observations" with a long dissertation on the naming of ships. It appears that his motherin-law, the Lady Hawkins, craved the naming of the vessel in which he was to sail upon his southern expedition, and having gained her point, christened it the "Repen-tance." Sir Richard, who describes his ship as "pleasing to the eye, profitable for stowage, good of sayle, and well conditioned," did not relish the prophecy contained in the "uncouth" name. The lady replied to his expostulations that Repentance was the safeest ship in which to sail to the haven of Heaven, and would give no further explanation of her choice. It is possible that she may have imagined the ship was to be used in the traffic of slaves; her husband having been the first Englishman who traded in human beings, for which reason he was granted the unenviable addition to his arms of "a demi-moor proper; bound." In this case her gentle heart may have led her to hope that even in her son's life-time, the cruelty of this new traffic would be seen and repented of. Sir Richard finding her inexorable, tried to console himself by remembering that his mother-in-law, though "a religious us against the firing of ships by water that and most vertuous lady, and of good understanding, was no prophetesse." But he could not dismiss the unlucky name from his mind, and at last sold the ship to his father. Shortly after this "her Queen's Majestie." passing by the "Repentance" to her palace at Greenwich, commanded her bargemen to row round about the new vessel, and after reviewing it from "post to stemme," disliked nothing but its name, which she desired to be forthwith changed to the "Daintie." Under this new name the ship achieved great things in her Majesty's service; but him in it :-

name chosen by his wife could not be effaced, she ever brought cost, trouble, and care, so that at last he proposed to sell it at a great loss, whereupon his gallant son, who had a love to the ship, and did not fear her under her new name, repurchased her, returning to his father the full money he had received, and a few months after set sail upon his voyage, in which, though there was some cause for repentance, the new name seems upon the whole to have shed its influence. After this history, Sir Richard gives a biographical sketch of several ships of good and bad names. The "Revenge" was a martyr to her unchristian title in no less than eight memorable instances. The "Thunderbolt" had her mast cleft by lightning on the coast of Barbary; upon another occasion her crew was blown up with fire, nobody knew how; and, finally, she, with all her company, was burnt in the river of Bourdieux. The "Journey of Revenge" was equally unfortunate.

Sir Richard's voyage in the "Daintie," the narrative of which fills the first Hakluyt volume, was upon the whole certainly not one to be repented of, though at the close of it we read of an unsuccessful encounter with the Spaniards. On his return from the South Seas he was most honourably received, and in 1620, was made vice-admiral of Sir Robert Mansel's expedition against the Algerines; shortly after this he died sud-

denly.

Sir Richard Hawkins' observations have been styled "a book of good counsel." They are indeed full of good sentiments as well as of useful and curious information. In some few instances we are compelled to doubt the accuracy of the latter, as for example, when he warns us in hot climates to shut "scuttle or window" as night approaches, and to avoid sleeping in the open air, lest the planet the most prejudicial to the health of man, namely the moon, should enter, and leave a "furious burning pain, enough to drive one mad," wherever it may chance to shine upon us-or when he warns may have had brimstone or other combustible substances in or near it-or where he tells us of a single tree that collected moisture sufficient to supply an island with water; but as these and all similar wonders are founded on the report of others, we must not place the less reliance on such information as Sir Richard collects from personal observations. On one point of experience we must all wish that he had given us more minute information, as in spite of our many new discoveries, we find ourselves far behind

"Although our fresh water had fayled us for | and sung about the streets. In England, many dayes before we saw the shore, by reason Sebastian Cabot tells us there was great many dayes before we saw the shore, by reason Scoastini Chook tens us there was great of our long navigation, without touching any land, and the excessive drinking of the sicke and diseased, which could not be excused, yet Henry the Seventh, "insomuch that all men with great admiration affirmed it to be a with an invention I had in my shipe, I easily with great admiration affirmed it to be a drew out of the water of the sea, sufficient quantities of feeth water to the sea of I stilled a hogshead of water, and therewith It was supposed, of course, that India had dressed the meat for the sicke and whole. The been reached by making the circuit of the water so distilled we found to be wholesome and nourishing."

one of the most valuable of the Hakluyt Lord Raphael Sanchez," treasurer to King books: with the exception of the first, which Ferdinand and Queen Isabella. After a was translated in 1816, in the Edinburgh short introduction, Columbus gives a rapid Review, they appear for the first time in sketch of his route, naming the several English. In addition to five letters from the islands upon which he landed, and of hand of Columbus, we find one written by which he easily took possession in the names Dr. Chanca, physician to the fleet during the of his sovereigns. These were North Caico, Dr. Chanca, physician to the flect during the lot his sovereigns. These were North Caico, second voyage, and a very valuable docu-Little Inagua, Great Inagua, Cuba, and ment extracted from the will of Diego Mender, one of the officers under Columbus in his St. Domingo. Of these islands he gives a fourth expedition. This last is a narrative of the various adventures in which its author flowering trees, throngs of nightingales, and served Columbus, and of some undertaken beautiful birds, rich pastures, honey, new

all those travellers who are supposed to go always naked as they were born, with have preceded Columbus in touching upon the exception of some of the women, who American soil; beginning with the Chinese use the covering of a leaf or small bough, of Martin Behain, who is said by some to one or two of my men to any of the villages have discovered the Azores, and was a contemporary of Columbus. Of the many out in a disorderly troup, and have fled in claims brought forward, the greater number such haste at the approach of my men, that are completely overthrown; but it is of fathers have forsaken their children, and the course undeniable that American ground had children their fathers. As soon, however,

enough to weary such as need only to be was the first inpression made upon Euroreminded of its leading points. Upon peans by the race of men who were destined glancing at the letters which follow, it seems to be exterminated by those they received wonderful that so long a period should have so gladly. Columbus returned their courbeen allowed to clapse before they were tesy in kind, and directed his men to follow presented to the English reader. It is his example. hardly possible to imagine a more interestrope. In Italy, the letter was even versified village, whereupon "both men and women,

title of fresh water to sustaine my people, with west into the east, where the spices do grow, little expence of fewell; for with foure billits by a way that was never known before." world, whence the name of West Indies was given to the new islands. This memor-"The Select Letters of Columbus" form able letter was addressed to "the noble by himself, in the absence of his superior.

Mr. R. H. Major, of the British Museum, has prefaced this work with an account of water. Of the inhabitants he says, "They been trodden by some, prior to Columbus, as they see that they are safe, and have laid though by those who knew not where they aside all fear, they are very simple and were, or what great work they had achieved. honest, and exceedingly liberal with all they The account of Columbus's real and supposed precursors is followed by a summary of his own life, long enough to suffice as an on the contrary, inviting us to ask them. introduction to his letters, to those who are ignorant of his biography, and not long others in preference to themselves." Such

These simple Indians practised no idolatry, ing document than the first announcement but believed that all strength and power to the Old World of the discoveries of Co- and all good things were in heaven, from lumbus. On the arrival of his first letter whence they inferred that Columbus's ships in Spain, it was speedily published and is sued from all the principal towns in Euthey announced the Spaniards at each new children and adults, young men and old," our temporal prosperity, of which not only when they recovered from the first surprise Spain, but all Christendem will be partakers." of such an announcement, would come in crowds to see the celestial beings, "some bringing food, others drink, with astonishing

affection and kindness.' Columbus describes Cuba as being larger than Great Britain, and affirms that in a distant province, which he did not visit, the men were born with tails. Of Espanola he says, "it is greater than all Spain, from Catalonia to Fontarabia;" furthermore, he was told by the inhabitants, of an island much larger than St. Domingo, "whose inhabitants had no hair, and which abounded in gold more than any of the rest." After telling of his having left a small garrison upon the Island of Espanola, and giving a few further particulars of the Indians, whose conversion to Christianity Columbus "conceived to be the supreme wish of his most serene King," he thus concludes this memorable letter :-

"I bring with me individuals of this Island (Espanola) as a proof of the truth of what I relate. Finally, to compress into a few words the entire summary of my voyage, and of the advantages derivable therefrom, I promise that, with a little assistance afforded me by our most invincible Sovereigns, I will procure them as much gold as they need; as great a quantity of spices, cotton, and of mastic, (which is only found in Chios.) and as many men for the service of the navy as their Majesties may require. I also promise rhubarb and other sorts of drugs, which I am persuaded that the men whom I have left in the aforesaid fortress have found already, and will continue to find. these great and marvellous results are not to be attributed to any merit of mine, but to the holy Christian faith, and to the piety and religion of our Sovereigns; for that which the unaided intellect of man could not compass, the Spirit of God has granted to human exertions, for God is wont to hear the prayers of his servants, even to the performance of apparent impossibilities. Thus it has happened to me possibilities. . . who have accomplished a task to which the powers of mortal men have never hitherto attained; for if there have been any who have hitherto written of these islands, they have done so with doubts and conjectures, and no one has ever asserted that he has seen them, on which account their writings have been looked upon as little else than fables. Therefore let the King and Queen, our princes and their most happy kingdoms, and all the other provinces of Christendom, render thanks to our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who has granted us so great a victory and prosperity. Let processions be made, and sacred feasts be held, and the temples be adorned with festive boughs. Let Christ rejoice on earth, as He rejoices in heaven, at the prospect of the salvation of so many souls of so many nations bitherto lost. Let us

From the whole of Columbus's letters, as well as from this passage, it is evident that the conversion of the Indians was to his mind the most important object of his undertaking; but it was far otherwise with his cotemporaries, who regarded his announcements much in the light that we have considered the recent discoveries in California and Australia. Expeditions of discovery were projected in every country, and the New World was soon scattered with adventurers, each of whom was anxious only to secure a part of the wealth promised by Columbus to his successors.

On Columbus's return he was received in triumph by his countrymen, and treated with great distinction at Court. We can easily imagine the curiosity with which the courtiers questioned him concerning the wonders he had seen, and the deference with which they would treat the man who had doubled the possessions of their Sovereigns; the King and Queen themselves must have had many a long colloquy on the subject of their new lands, and subjects endowed with tails. But the pleasures of the Court did not make Columbus forgetful of his Colony in Espanola, nor of his longing to prosecute new discoveries. In six months he again set sail towards the west.

Of his second voyage we have two accounts: the first by Dr. Chanca, and the second by Columbus himself; from the former we learn that Columbus, anxious to reach Espanola without loss of time, steered his course as nearly as possible in a straight line. On his way he discovered the Islands of Domenica, Marigalante, Guadaloupe, Montser-rat, Santa Maria la Antigua, St. Martin, Santa Cruz, and Porto Rico, with a few others.

The Spanish fleet, as it was approaching one of the Caribbee Islands, came in sight of a canoe, in which were four men, two women, and a boy, who, on seeing the ships, "were so stupified with amazement, that for a good hour they remained motionless, at the distance of two gunshots." At the end of the hour they were surprised by a boat containing twenty-five Spaniards, who had been sent round behind them. A contest ensued, in which the women took an active part. On the canoe being upset, the savages remained in the water, swimming, and occasionally wading in the shallows, still using their bows. They were, however, taken by the Spaniards; but not till they had revenged their capture by one mortal wound, and sealso rejoice, as well on account of the exaltation veral others less daugerous. From these of our faith, as on account of the increase of savages Columbus heard of an Island called

Cavre, whence he might bring as much gold others the various sources of wealth as he liked; but as it was behind him, he possessed by the new Indies, than to did not turn out of his course to prove the occupy himself in collecting riches. He truth of the report, but pushed on to Espa- evidently knew that though Spain had nola. On lauding here, the Spaniards saw a thousands of good gold diggers, and mer-"great lizard as big as a calf, with a tail as chants to send out, she had but one long as a lance," after which they proceeded Columbus. After excusing himself very along the coast in search of their countrymen who were settled there. As they approached that part of the island on which they expected to see them, some of the sailors found two dead men, whose bodies bore marks of violence; farther on two more corpses were found, and as these were bearded men, which none of the Indians they had seen were, the Spaniards became much depressed, and feared that some evil had happened to their countrymen. On arriving at the bay near which the Colony had been stationed, Columbus fired a gun, but received no signal in return. Soon after, a party of Indians requested an audience with the Admiral, and, after giving him presents, related that some of the Spaniards had, in his absence, died of a contagious disease, and others had fallen in war, as the province had been invaded by neighbouring kings; but they added that the survivors were quite well, and at a little distance with the King, Guacamari, who himself lay wounded. On the following morning, the Spaniards arrived at the Settlement, and found it burnt to the ground; they then captured some Indians, and learned from them that all the colonists were dead; in other respects their story agreed with the former one. Columbus proceeded to the dwelling of Guacamari and made further inquiries, but could get no new intelligence. were many circumstances which led him to suspect the honesty of the Indians in this matter, but as he had no means of disproving their assertions, he was compelled to pass it over in silence. Such was the fate of the first American Colony.

Dr. Chanca's letter is too long to allow of our following all the incidents therein related: they are very amusing, but his style of writing is in every way inferior to that of his master, to whose memorial of the same voy-

age we gladly turn.

It was drawn up for Ferdinand and Isabella, who, it would seem, had experienced some disappointment regarding the quantity of gold and other precious commodities Columbus sent from the new islands. occupies most of this memorial in explaining that he could not have collected more giving up also his great object of finding new lands. He seems to have thought it his duty rather to discover and indicate to

satisfactorily on this point, he makes many wise suggestions concerning the management of the new countries. Among these we meet with the first proposal for modern slavery, strangely mixed up with a plan for making Christians of the unfortunate slaves.

"For the good of the souls of the said cannibals, and even of the inhabitants of this island, the thought has suggested itself to us that the greater number that are sent over to Spain the better; and thus good service may result to your Highnesses in the following manner:—Considering what great need we have of cattle, and of beasts of burthen, both for food and to assist the settlers in their work, their Highnesses will be able to authorize a suitable number of caravels to come here every year to bring over the said cattle, &c., in order that the fields may be covered with people and cultivation; these cattle, &c., might be paid with slaves, taken from among the Caribbees, who are a wild people, fit for any work, well propor-tioned, and very intelligent, and who, when they have got rid of the cruel habits to which they have been accustomed, will be better than any other kind of slaves. When they lose sight of their country they will forget their cruel customs; and it will be easy to obtain plenty of these savages by means of row-boats that we propose to build. . . Their Highnesses might fix duties on the slaves that may be taken over, upon their arrival in Spain."

The latter part of this memorial is filled with petitions for such of his officers and assistants as merited rewards. Dr. Chanca's name stands foremost in this list. On coming to the end of this memorial every one must be struck with the unselfishness and generosity of the writer, as well as with the vastness of his intellect, which enabled him to see at a glance what centuries of experience have shewn to be the best policy with regard to the rich lands he had found.

The next letter written by Columbus to the King and Queen from Espanola is descriptive of his third voyage, and is far more interesting than either of the foregoing. It is too much condensed to allow of our making an abstract of it, but we will extract two or three passages which cannot fail to interest our readers. The wealth without neglecting the health of his first describes the effect made upon Colummen, and his other duties as Admiral, and bus by the embouchure of the vast river Orinoco.

"I found that the island of Trinidad formed

width from east to west, and as we had to pass through it to go to the north we found some strong currents which crossed the Straits, and which made a great roaring, so that I concluded there must be a reef of sand, or rocks, which would preclude our entrance; and behind this current was another, and another, all making a roaring noise like the sound of breakers against rocks I anchored there, under the said point Arenal, outside the strait, and found the water rush from east to west, with as much impetuosity as that of the Guadalquiver at its conflux with the sea; and this continued constantly, night and day, so that it appeared to be impossible to move backwards for the currents, or forwards for the shoals. In the dead of night, while I was on the deck, I heard an awful roaring, that came from the south towards the ship; I stopped to observe what it might be, and I observed the sea rolling from west to east like a mountain, as high as the ship, and approaching by little and little; on the top of this rolling sea came a mighty wave, roaring with a frightful noise, and with all this terrific uproar were other conflicting currents, producing, as I have already said, a noise as of breakers against rocks. this day I have a vivid recollection of the dread I then felt lest the ship might founder under the force of that tremendous sea; but it passed by, and reached the mouth of the before-mentioned passage, where the uproar lasted for a considerable time. On the following day I sent my men to take soundings, and found that in the strait, at the deepest part of the embouchure, there were six or seven fathoms of water, and that there were constant contrary currents, one running inwards and the other outwards. It pleased the Lord, however, to give us a favourable wind, and I passed through the middle of the strait; after which I recovered my tran-quillity. The men happened at this time to draw up some water from the sea, which, strange to say, proved to be fresh. . . I remarked, while on one of the watery billows which I have described, that in the channel the water on the inner side of the current was fresh and on the outside salt."

Columbus goes on to argue from this wonderful appearance in the sea, and many other curious natural phenomena, that he had discovered the spot occupied by the terrestrial paradise. He believed that the new hemisphere was shaped like the long end of a pear, and that the garden of Eden was to be found on the apex, whither no man could now ascend. His arguments, which occupy several pages, are very amusing. He says, in conclusion, "And if the water of which I speak does not proceed from the earthly paradise, it appears to be still more marvellous, for I do not believe there is any river in the world so large and deep.

At the conclusion of this letter Columbus again excuses himself for not having sent

with the land of Gracia a strait of two leagues | would appear, to the assertions of those who were now endeavoring to undermine his interest at Court. After making his excuses,

> "I say all this, not because I doubt the inclination of your Highnesses to pursue the enterprise while you live .- for I rely confidently on the answers your Highnesses once gave me by word of mouth,-nor because I have seen any change in your Highnesses; but from the fear of what I have heard of those of whom I have been speaking; for I know that water dropping on a stone will at length make a hole. Your Highnesses responded to me with that nobleness which all the world knows you possess, and told me to pay no attention to these calumniations; for that your intention was to follow up and support the undertaking, even if nothing were gained by it but sand and stones. Your Highnesses also desired me to be in no way anxious about the expense, for that much greater cost had been employed on much more trifling matters; and that you considered all past and future expense as well laid out; for that your Highnesses believed that our holy faith would be increased, and your royal dignity enhanced, and that they were no friends of the royal estate who spoke ill of the enterprise."

> It would have been well for the honor of their names if Ferdinand and Isabella had never wavered from the convictions which they had thus expressed to their great admiral.

> The next letter is addressed by Columbus to a lady of the Court. We here find him in disgrace and sorrow. "I have now reached the point," says he, "that no man is so vile but he thinks it his right to insult me; but the day will come when the world will reckon it a virtue in him who has not given his consent to their abuse." It is well known that this statement is no exaggeration; that Columbus was displaced from the government of Espanola, and sent in chains to the country which had so lately received him in triumph. His own account of the insults to which he was subjected by the new governor (Bobadilla, of evil memory) is very touching. He complains bitterly, but does not utter one word of disrespect towards his King, who sent such a man to displace and insult him. Towards the conclusion he

"God is just, and he will in due time make known all that has taken place, and why it has taken place. I am judged in Spain as a governor who had been sent to a province or city under regular government, and where the laws could be executed without fear of endangering the public weal; and in this I receive enormous wrong. I ought to be judged as a captain sent from Spain to the Indies, to conquer a nation numerous and warlike, with customs and relihome more treasures to Spain, in answer, it gion altogether different to ours; a people who dwell in the mountains, without regular habita-wept for others;—may heaven now have mercy tions for themselves or for us, and where by the upon me, and may the earth weep for me. With Divine will, I have subdued another world to the dominion of the King and Queen, our sovereigns, in consequence of which Spain, that used to be called poor, is now the most wealthy of kingdoms."

and Queen. It is of the same character as the last, but, if possible, more noble in style and feeling. A great part of it is occupied by Columbus with the events of his fourth voyage; but these are mixed up with frequent complaints of the insults he had received. In one part he suddenly bursts into reproach, keen, though respectful :-

"Such is my fate, that twenty years of dan-ger through which I have passed with so much toil and danger, have profited me nothing; and at this very day I do not possess a roof in Spain that I can call my own. If I wish to eat or sleep, I have nowhere to go but to the inn or tavern, and most times lack wherewith to pay the bill."

But he soon quits this bitter tone, and fills many pages with lively descriptions of people, places, and events. Among the latter, we find an account of a terrific storm, in which "the sea seemed as a sea of blood, seething like a cauldron on a mighty fire, and when the sky "did never look more fearful," so that during one day and night, while it "burned like a furnace," the awestricken Spaniards looked continually to see that their sails were not destroyed; for "the lightnings flashed with such alarming fury," that all thought the ships must have been consumed. Once again, as he draws to a conclusion, the remembrance of his wrongs forces itself upon him :-

"I was twenty-eight years old when I came into your Highnesses' service, and now I have not a hair upon me that is not grey; my body is infirm, and all that was left to me, as well as to my brothers, has been taken away and sold, even to the frock that I wore, to my great dis-honor. I cannot but believe that this was done without your royal permission. The restitution of my honor, the reparation of my losees, and the punishment of those who have inflicted them, will redound to the honour of your royal character. . . . Great and unexampled will be the glory and fame of your Highnesses if you do this; and the memory of your Highnesses, as just and grateful sovereigns, will survive as a bright example to Spain in future ages. The honest devotion which I have always shewn to your Majesties' service, and the so unmerited outrage with which it has been repaid, will not allow my soul to keep silence, however much I may wish it. I implore your Highnesses to forgive my complaints. I am indeed in as ruined

regard to temporal things, I have not even a blanca for an offering, and in spiritual things, I have ceased here, in the Indies, from observing the prescribed forms of religion. Solitary in my trouble, sick, and in daily expectation of death, surrounded by millions of hostile savages This letter is followed by one to the King full of cruelty, and thus separated from the blessed sacraments of the holy Church, how will my soul be forgotten if it be separated from my body in this foreign land? Weep for me, whoever has charity, truth, or justice!"

After which, with a blessing on his sovereigns, he closes his last letter.

The extract from the will of Diego Mendez, with which this valuable set of documents concludes, is a recapitulation of some of the events in the last mentioned letter of Columbus, with the addition of many others, in some of which Columbus was not immediately concerned; all are highly creditable to the writer. It would seem that the good Mendez rightly judged that the memory of his faithful services to the great Columbus, was a more valuable legacy to his children than his money, the distribution of which occupies a comparatively insignificant place in his will.

The next book on our list is, "The Discovery of the large, rich, and beautiful Empire of Guiana," by Sir Walter Raleigh. To Sir Walter Raleigh belongs the honour of having founded England's colonial empire -that empire which is now planted in all quarters of the globe, comprehending a population of nearly one hundred and twentyfive millions in the East, two millions and a half in the west, and something under a million in Africa and Australia. Had it not been for the valour and enterprise of Raleigh. and others like him, we could never have boasted of this vast dominion, and those who read of his ardour in commencing this great work, will be disposed to handle his character more gently than it has been wont to be treated.

During the first half century which followed the discovery of America, the Spanish settlers were entirely actuated by a thirst for gold: and upon the conquest of Quito and Cusco, and the discovery of large gold mines, the far more enduring sources of wealth to be found in the spices, dye-woods, and other natural productions of the country, were entirely overlooked. It was Sir Walter Raleigh who, after having coasted along the American gulf, first entertained the idea of colonizing the new country with English subjects, who might plant, and reproduce tobacco, spices, fine woods, &c., and to this effeet he drew up a proposition, and laid it bea condition as I have related. Hitherto I have fore the Queen. Her Majesty granted him

permission to "search, find out, and view Raleigh might still have cherished the idea such remote, heathen, and barbarous lands, of planting a colony, but remembering his countries, and territories as were not actually recent failure, and knowing the tastes of his possessed of any Christian prince, nor in-contemporaries, might have deemed it more habited by any Christian people." Upon the prudent to advertise a search for gold, than strength of this permission, Raleigh and a a scheme for cultivating tobacco, sugar, and few companions fitted out vessels at their spices-believing that the first great step own charge, and set out on the 7th of April, would be gained, when he had succeeded in 1584, with the intention of discovering a drawing a large population to the spot. He suitable spot for an Euglish colony. Having fixed on a healthy place, they sent re- quer a new empire of Incas, and to have report thereof to the virgin Queen, who is said turned to England laden with riches that to have named the new country Virginia, as would recover for him his lost position at a mark of her special favour. The Virginians, however, repudiated this honour, and state Guiana which is now reprinted by the Hakthat the name was chosen by the colonists luyt Society, from the edition of 1596. as descriptive of their country, which still seemed to retain the virgin purity and plenty accustomed to regard this work as a tissue of the first creation, while its inhabitants of lies. It has been so styled by Hume, could boast of primitive innocence. This and others of less note; but as it seems to is not the general idea entertained of the us, quite unjustly. There are, it is true, native Virginians, of whom we shall have notices of Amazons, of gold rocks in Guioccasion to say more presently.

colonize Virginia, Sir Walter was convinced to be pure fictions; but a little consideration that so great an undertaking could not be will shew us that Sir Walter Raleigh procarried out by a single individual, and in bably wrote only what he saw, or what he 1589 he ceded his right of government to a believed to be true. And as in the latter company of merchants, bargaining only for case, he gives us his authorities, we are left a fifth part of all gold and silver which should at liberty to judge for ourselves of their crebe found there. Notwithstanding this nego- dibility. Some things may now appear to tiation, which rid him formally of all further us absurd, but others, such as the gold rocks, responsibility, Sir Walter could not forget will have gained greater probability. his protégés. We find that in 1602, Samuel The notion of El Dorado had existed Wace, of Weymouth, a "very sufficient ma- years. riner," who had been in Virginia twice be- covered with powdered gold; and, again, of fore, was employed thither by Sir Walter, a priest who, before performing his sacrifices to find those people who were left there in covered himself with a grease, and then 1587, "to whose succour," says Purchas, caused gold powder to be showered on him. "he hath sent five several times, at his own There are old stories of huge golden vessels, charges." With all his care for them, he and even golden palaces. It may easily be could not sufficiently assist these unfortulimagined how the sudden accession of wealth nate colonists, who, deserted by their legal from America gave a gloss of truth to even protectors, the merchants, were destroyed by the fairy stories of old; and that these stories the Indians. We learn from Purchas (vol. were exaggerated and repeated till Sir Waliv. page 1653) that the celebrated Indian ter Raleigh, with all his wit, received them chief Powhattan confessed to Captain Smith as acknowledged truths. We keep his writhat he had been at the massacre of the co- tings, while we lose the atmosphere of belief lony, and shewed to him certain articles in golden legends that surrounded and softwhich had belonged to the unfortunate Eng- ened them down when they were written. lishmen. It was not till twenty years after A writer who lived in Raleigh's days says, this occurrence, that the arrival of the Pil- "Sir Walter Rawley knewe very well, when grim Fathers on the shores of Virginia, gave he attempted his Guyana businesse, who

followed Raleigh's clandestine marriage with the relations of the countrie; for who knows Miss Throgmorton, that he conceived his not the policy and cunning of the fat fryers, voyage in search of El Dorado. He first which is to stirre up and animate the soulsent an old officer to explore the lands in diers and laytie to the search and inquisition which he hoped to find his prize, and on re- of new countries, by devising tales and coceiving a favourable report, determined upon ments in their cloysters where they live at going himself to Guiana. It is possible that ease, that when others have taken payne to

may, on the other hand, have hoped to con-Court. It is the history of this journey to

Many of our readers have doubtless been ana, and particulars concerning El Dorado After spending £40,000 in an attempt to itself, that might appear to a careless reader

The notion of El Dorado had existed many We hear, in 1539, of a prince to it suddenly a settled English population. erred in nothing so much (if a free man may It was during the period of disgrace which speak freely) as in too much confidence in

bring in the harvest, they may feed upon the growing backward between their shoulders; best and fattest of the croppe."

The account of the American Amazons is professedly given from the report of others; so that at worst, Raleigh was over credulous in repeating it. He was by no means alone Hume's title of "a tissue of falsehoods" is in this credulity; for there seems to have been a strong belief, at the time, in the existence of a female race of warriors. Columbus, as we have seen, tells of women who fought whilst wading in shallows: a very few additions or omissions would have turned his fighting Carribees into Amazons. We may also mention the missionary Gili, who was told by an Indian of "a race of women living alone." Condamine, who brings forward the testimony of two Spanish governors to the same effect; Count Pagan, who says,-" Que l'Asie ne se vante plus de ses contes véritables ou fabulcuses des Amazones, l'Amérique ne lui cède point cet avantage. . . . Et que le fleuve de Thermodoon, ne soit plus enflé de la gloire de ces conquérantes, la rivière de Coruris (Cunuriz) est aussi fameuse pour ses belles guerrières."

Those who take the trouble to read what was said in Raleigh's time, by the above mentioned and many other authors, will not, it is true, believe in the existence, at that period, of a race of Amazons in America: but they will see that the much belied Sir Walter had good reason for believing in it. With regard to the gold rocks described as existing in Guiana, the Editor of the present edition of Raleigh's book, Sir Robert H. Schomburgk, who, as Her Majesty's Commissioner for surveying the boundaries of Guiana, has ample opportunities of knowing, assures as that there were plausible grounds for Raleigh's belief, though it has since proved that the gold is not plentiful enough to pay for working it. Perhaps the following is the passage in which Raleigh has been really guilty of the greatest exaggeration, but it is still only exaggeration, and not deliberate falsehood :-

"The common soldier shal here fight for gold and pay himselfe in steede of pence, with plates of half a foote brode, whereas he breaketh his bones in other warres for prouant and penury. Those commanders and chieftains, that shoote at honour, and abundance, shal find there more rich and bewtifull cities, more temples adorned with golden images, more sepulchres filled with treasure, than either Cortez found in Mexico. or Pizarro in Peru; and the shining glory of this conquest will eclipse all those farre extended beames of the Spanish nation."

In another place he speaks of a race having their eyes in their shoulders, their mouths

but this he gives merely on the authority of "every child in the provinces of Aromaia and Canuri."

Having endeavoured to shew how far applicable to this book, we must take our leave of it, heartily recommending it to all those who love amusing matter and charming style, and by way of conclusion giving one extract as a sample of the latter. In describing the wife of a Cassique, Raleigh writes :-

"In all my life, I have seldome seene a better favored woman; she was of good stature, with black eies, fat of body, of an excellent countenance, hir haire almost as long as hirselfe, tied up againe in prettie knots. And it seemed she stood not in that aw of hir husband as the rest; for she spake and discourst, and dranke among the gentlemen and captaines, and was very pleasant, knowing hir own comelinesse, and taking greate pride therein."

"Sir Francis Drake his Voyage," is written by Thomas Maynarde, an intimate friend of Drake, whom he accompanied in the unfortunate voyage of which he writes the account. One is a little disappointed, on reading Maynarde's narrative, to find his hero rather more sordid than he is generally imagined to have been: but it is, perhaps, a wholesome disappointment; for we are too apt to clothe our heroes, naval or military, with unalloyed glory.

This history is printed, for the first time, from the original MS. in the British Museum, and it will certainly throw a new light on the character of our much vaunted naval hero. The account of his last days is very affecting. In one place, we are told, Sir Francis and his men "got twenty bars of silver, with some gould, and certaine plate;" but Sir Francis thought it folly to gather the harvest grain by grain, while he believed that by going to Panama, they might thrust their hands into the whole heapes;" but after their return, "being troubled in minde, hee seemed little to regard any consayle that was given him to that purpose, but to hasten thence as fast as he might." After landing in a "sickly port," and losing many of his men, Sir Francis met with contrary winds, and provisions grew scarce. During this time of trouble, Thomas Maynarde writes:

" I questioned with our generall, beinge often private with him, whilst we staid here, to see if hee would reveale to mee any of his purposes; and I demanded of him, why hee so often coning their eyes in their shoulders, their mouths jured me, being in England to stay with him in their breasts, and a long train of hair in these partes as long as himselfe, and where

the place was. He answered me with griefe, animated their enterprise and sustained protestings that hee was as ignorant of the them equally in success and failure. Indies as mysealfe, and that he never thought younge is edited by Mr. Thomas Rundall. any place could be so changed, as it were, from a delitious and pleasant arbour into a vast and desarte wildernesse; besides the variablenesse of the wind and weather, so stormie and blusterous as hee never sawe it before. But hee most wondered that since his coming out of England he never sawe sayle worth giving chaee unto; yet in the greatness of his minde, hee would in the end, conclude with these wordes:—'It matters not, man; God hath many things in store for us; and I know many means to do her Majestie good service, and to make us riche; for we must have gold before we see England;' when, goode gentleman, (in my concete) it fared with him as with some carelesse livinge man who prodigally consumes his time, fondly perswadinge himselfe that the nurse that fedde him in his childhood will likewise nourish him in his old age, and finding the dugge dried and withered, enforced then to behold his folly, tormented in mind, dieth with a starved bodie. Hee had, beside his own adven-ture, gaged his own reputation greatly, in promisinge her Majestie to do her honorable service, and to returne her a very profitable adven-ture; and havinge sufficiently experienced for seven or eight years, how hard it was to recover favour once ill thought of, the mistresse of his fortune now leaving him to yield to a dis-contented mind. And since our return from Panama, he never carried mirth nor joy in his Yet no man that he loved must conjecture that he took thought thereof. But here he began to grow sickly. . . . twenty-eighth we came to Portobello. On the This morning, at seven o'clock, Sir Francis died. The next day, Sir Thomas Baskerville carried him about a league off, and buried him in the sea."

Maynarde's narrative is followed by a Spanish account of Drake's attack upon Puerto Rico, also published from a MS. in journey, which in like sort returned without the British Museum. It is to be regretted finding any people or any similitude of habithat the editor, Mr. Cooley, did not follow Mr. R. H. Major's example, and give a translation for the benefit of the English reader, as, though it is a document of considerable interest, it is, in its present form, quite useless to half the readers of the Hakluyt books.

The narratives of voyages towards the north-west, in search of a passage to Cathay and India, contain some of the noblest examples of courage and fortitude on record. We cannot too much recommend the introduction of this volume into families; children of all ages would gladly read the stir- forfeit the claim to being "almost heroic, dared, with a noble end in view, to face motives which prompted the enterprise he every danger and sail upon new seas of conducted. Had he lived to give an ac-

volume is edited by Mr. Thomas Rundall, who has prefaced it with remarks upon the "claims of Sir Hugh Willoughby to be considered as a discoverer." The sketch given of this unfortunate gentleman is exceedingly interesting, and proves, to such as may have doubted it, that Sir Hugh is worthy of being elassed with the phalanx of great men whose names grace the pages of Mr. Rundall's collection. There seems, indeed, little reason to doubt his having discovered Greenland, for Purchas says plainly, in speaking of Sir Hugh Willoughby, that he cast anchor at a certain place to which the following remark is applied, "And this is the land which is now called Greenland, or King James his Land, and is known to the Hollanders by the name of Spitzbergen." Notwithstanding this assertion, (which dates his visit to Greenland before those which are elsewhere spoken of as the first,) subsequent writers have ascribed to the Dutch the honour of this discovery. Mr. Rundall maintains, and, to our mind, proves, that Purchas is correct in giving it to our countryman. Sir Hugh Willoughby's diary was found by some Russian fisherman in a deserted vessel in the haven of Arzina near Kegor, in Lapland. It is in this inhospitable spot that, in all probability, Sir Hugh Willoughby, with seventy companions, perished from cold and starvation. The concluding passage of his journal makes this pretty eertain: "We sent out three men S.S.W., to search if they could find people, which went three dayes journey, but could find none. After that we sent out three W. four daye's tation." In addition to the discovery of Greenland, it seems almost certain that Sir Hugh was the first to reach Russia by the Northern Ocean: in speaking of this enterprise, our great Milton says :-

"The discovery of Russia by the Northern Ocean, made first by any nation that we know, by Englishmen, might have seemed an enter-prise almost heroic, if any other end than excessive love of gain or traffic had animated the design."

Sir Hugh Willoughby certainly does not ring adventures of those bold mariners who as he did not in any way share in the sordid which only the perils were certainly known. count of his discoveries, he would undoubt-In following them through their privations edly have taken a high rank among the and dangers the young reader could not fail sea worthies; but falling a martyr to the to imbibe some portion of that spirit which work he boldly sought, his glory has well-

The parratives which fill Mr. Rundall's volume are those of Sebastian Cabot, Sir chief Powhattan is very amusing: of his Martin Frobisher, Master John Davis, person he says :-Captain George Waymouth, Master John Knight, Master Henry Hudson, Sir Thomas Button, James Hall, Captain Gibbons, Byrot and Baffin, Captain Hawkridge, Captain Luke Fox, and Captain James. It is difficult among such a number of great names to choose one or more for particular notice; but we have selected one passage for extract, which cannot fail to be acceptable. and must be read as an example of the heroic acts to be met with in the volume before us.

In 1911, a mutiny broke out under Hudson; it was headed by one Greene, a man whom Hudson had loaded with benefits.

"It was in consequence of his (Greene's) decision, and under his superintendence, that the master and his son were exposed in a frail vessel to the tempestuous and ice-encumbered sea. Henry Hudson, the master, John Hudson, his son, and six others of the crew, who were either sick or disabled, were brutally driven from their cabins, and thrust on board the shallop. A seventh, a hale and stout man, followed. He was the carpenter, John King by name. the majority of the crew, and nobly resolving to share, whatever it might be, the fate of his commander, he left the ship for the shallop. unmoved by the entreaties of his otherwise merciless comrades. The victims were no sooner on board, than the shallop was cut adrift, and the ship went away under full sail. In a short time they lost sight of the shallop, and forever."

"The Historie of Travaile into Virginia Britannia," is printed for the first time, from Britannia," is printed for the first time, from an original manuscript written by William fulness of the employed, after he had sent (as Strachey, who was secretary to the Virginian colony in its early days. The editor, Mr. Major, has prefaced the "Historie" with a sketch of the misfortunes of the first Virginian settlers. To those who have not read a more detailed account in Robertson's protection of the God of all mercy, whose will have read a more detailed account in Robertson's protection of the God of all mercy, whose will have read a more detailed account in Robertson's protection of the God of all mercy, whose will have read a more detailed account in Robertson's protection of the God of all mercy, whose will have read a more detailed account in Robertson's protection of the God of all mercy, whose will have read a more detailed account in Robertson's protection of the God of all mercy, whose will have read a more detailed account in Robertson's protection of the God of all mercy, whose will have read a more detailed account in Robertson's protection of the God of all mercy, whose will have read a more detailed account in Robertson's protection of the God of all mercy, whose will have read a more detailed account in Robertson's protection of the God of all mercy, whose will have read a more detailed account in Robertson's protection of the God of all mercy, whose will have read a more detailed account in Robertson's protection of the God of all mercy, whose will have read a more detailed account in Robertson's protection of the God of all mercy, whose will have read a more detailed account in Robertson's protection of the God of all mercy, whose will have read a more detailed account in Robertson's protection of the God of all mercy. America, or elsewhere, this preface will be and pleasure he submitted unto to be fulfilled found entertaining. Mrs. Major has graced in all things elle, so in this one particuler." the book with some very good etchings, illustrative of the ancient Virginian customs and costumes.

nigh perished with him in the foreign haven the country and its inhabitants as they were on the arrival of Strachey and his party,

Strachey's description of the celebrated

"He is supposed to be little lesse than eighty years old, I dare not say how much more; others say he is of a tall stature and cleane lymbes, of a sad aspect, rownd fatt visaged, with graic haires, but plaine and thin, hanging upon his broad shoulders; some few haires upon his chie, and so on his upper lippe: he hath beene a strong and able salvadge, synowye, and of a daring spirit, vigilant, ambitious, subtle to enlarge his dominions.

His wives appear to have been as many as his years; for we are told that he might have "as many women as he will, and" hath (as is supposed) more than a hundred." These fair Virginians resided "still in their severall places," and not in one scraglio. Among them were always two favoured damsels who, when Powhattan lay on his bed, sat one at his head and the other at his feet. These same ladies had the honour of sitting at meal times, and upon state occasions, at his right and left hand. Our historian also says that there was some dozen of his wives in whose company the chief Honestly refusing to participate in the guilt of took particular delight, "being for the most parte, very young women," and these went with him from house to house, as he hunted or changed his abode for pleasure.

The latter part of Strachey's book assumes the style of a "historie;" and in this part he bears testimony to the care Sir Walter Raleigh had for his unfortunate colony. After speaking of his ill success, he says :-

"Thus Sir W. Raleigh, wearied with so you may see by these five severall tymes) col-lonies and supplies at his owne charges, and nowe at length both himself and his successors thus betrayed, he was even nowe content to sub-

This, written evidently in a style of approval, by one of the sufferers, and by one The history of William Strachey was who was well acquainted with all the cirevidently intended to have been a very vo-cumstances connected with the colony,luminous work, as he calls the present por-clears Raleigh from the suspicion of having tion of it, first and second books of the first decade. Had he lived to an age allow-ing of the completion of his ten decades, we should have had, undoubtedly, a valu-efforts to assist the colony, but, as we have able history of Virginia; as it is, we have seen, the energy of one man, though that little more than an accurate description of man was Sir Walter Raleigh, and much less of the mercenary company who succeeded to how at one time all nations were freely ad-

scribing his visit,

"I found lying open upon his boord certane bookes of cosmographie with an universal

view thereof began to instruct my ignorance.

. . . From the mappe he brought me to the Bible, and turning to the 107th Psalme, directed me to the 23d and 24th verses, where I read that they which go downe to the sea in ships and by the great waters, they see the Lord and his woonders in the deepe, &c., which words of the prophet, together with my cousin's discourse, (things of high and rare delight to my young nature,) tooke in me so deepe an impression that I constantly resolved, if ever I were preferred to the university, I would by God's assistance, prosecute that knowledge and kind of literature, the doores whereof (after a sort) were so happily opened unto me."

In his after years, Richard Hakluyt fully carried out this resolve, and interested himself by writing and action, in all that concerned " that knowledge and kind of literature." It was to him, in conjunction with holding posts under government-soldiers, the merchants, that Sir Walter Raleigh re-statesmen, &c. Instead of causing them to signed his patent of discovery. He pub die by the hand of the executioner, the emlished several books upon the subject of the peror, upon such an one's being convicted then recent discoveries, and collected and of crime, sends him an order to rip himself edited the writings of others who had writ-up. In contemplation of this casualty all ten before him. The present edition of his persons subject to it carry about with them "Divers Voyages" is extremely well edited in travelling the official dress used upon the by Mr. J. Winter Jones, of the British Mu- occasion of self-immolation—a white robe, seum, who has prefaced it with an interesting destitute of the armorial bearings usually sketch of Hakluyt's life, and added to the worn. The ceremony itself is thus retext many valuable notes.

The "Divers Voyages" themselves are much in the style of those collected by Mr.

his responsibilities, was not sufficient to car- mitted into the now exclusive empire, and ry out so vast a project. how they were banished thence in consequence
The "Divers Voyages touching the Disc of their own gross misconduct, making recovery of America" were published in 1582, ligious zeal an excuse for constant rebellion by Richard Hakluyt, whose name has been and misdemeanours. Secondly, a descripby Richard Hakluyt, whose name has been jain instameanours. Secondry, a descripted adopted by the Society the works of which tion of the "Ringdom of Japonian the 16th we are reviewing. His collection of voy. Century," taken from "the Firste Booke of ages would have formed the first volume is Relations of Moderne States," a manuscript sued by it, had it not been that Mr. Rich, of which the exact date is not known, though the late intelligent American publisher, was it may be nearly conjectured from the fact contemplating publishing it on his own ac of Elizabeth's being mentioned as "the count at the time the Society started.

Richard Hakluyt was a clergyman of good collection of letters written by William family. He was born in London in 1553, Adams, an Englishman of low birth, who and was educated at the Westminster was cast destitute upon the shores of Japan, school. While there he paid a visit to his and through his own talent, and the empecousin, Mr. Richard Hakluyt, who seems to ror's justice and munificence, acquired great have first awakened his taste for cosmogra- wealth, and rose to the highest rank the phy and maritime discovery. He says, de- emperor could bestow on him; fourthly and lastly, of a large collection of notes on various subjects connected with Japan and the Japanese. These are entertaining in the mappe: he seeing me somewhat curious in the highest degree, and have been carefully selected from all writings, old and new, relating to the Japanese empire. Those who are interested in the subject cannot too much thank the Hakluyt Society, and more particularly the editor of this book, for giving them in one volume of good type, what has hitherto been scattered, and practically almost buried, in old manuscripts, to decipher which scarcely any motive short of a contemplated history of Japan would brace up one's courage. Within the small compass of this volume of some 200 pages is contained all the real knowledge that exists concerning the now closed empire.

From the notes we subjoin two curlous extracts, illustrative of Japanese manners and ways of thinking. The first is an account of the manner of punishing men gulated :--

"On the order of the sovereign being com-Thomas Rundall, and may be considered as municated to the offender he forthwith desforming a second volume of that work.

The "Memorials of Japan" consist of first, a prefuce by the editor, Mr. Rundall, in the first, a prefuce by the editor, Mr. Rundall, in certain quantity has been drunk, the host takes which he gives a sketch of Japanese history leave of his friends, preparatory to the second in connexion with the Europeans, shewing reading of the order for his death. This being done, usually among the highest, in the presence of the secretary and the government the national manner. offers some complimentary address to the com-pany: then inclining his head forward, he unsheathes his cattan, and inflicts two gashes on his abdomen, one horizontal, and the other perpendicular. A confidential servant, who is stationed for the purpose in the rear, imme-diately smites off the head of his master."

The performance of this peculiar kind of suicide is much studied in Japan, where the youth learn to slash themselves gracefully, as a necessary accomplishment, under efficient tutors. It is a mode of snieide chosen in all voluntary instances. Of such an instance our second extract affords a curious example :-

"Two high officers of the court met on the palace stairs, and jostled each other. One was an irascible man, and immediately demanded satisfaction. The other, of a placable disposition, represented that the circumstance was ac-cidental, and tendered ample apology, repre-senting that satisfaction could not be reasonably demanded. The irascible man, however, would not be appeased, and finding he could not provoke the other to a conflict, suddenly drew up his robes, unsheathed his cattan, and cut himself in the prescribed mode. As a point of honour his adversary was under the necessity of following his example, and the irascible man, before he breathed his last, had the gratification of seeing the object of his passion dying beside

This placable man, first trying to soothe his angry comrade by every concession consistent with honour, and still, when honour demanded it, unflinehingly inflicting on himself the fatal slash, gives us a high idea of the Japanese character. A third passage we had marked for extract, but for which we have not space, tells us of a noble Japanese lady who was forcibly robbed of her honour during the absence of her husband, and who, on his return, refused to receive him otherwise than as aguest till she should have revealed something to him, which she promised to do on the morrow. At the appointed time, she assembled her friends and relations, and, among them, the man who had dishonoured her. She then, weeping on her husband's shoulder, told her tale; but did not name the offender. Her husband and all the company endeavoured to shew her that she had done no wrong, though the author of her sorrow deserved death. She refused to be comforted, and springing suddenly from her husband's embrace, threw herself from the terrace. The unnamed culprit escaped amidst the confusion that followed, and was found by those who first article was in type, should have made it imdescended, weltering in his blood by the possible for us to consider the work in the

"The Discovery and Conquest of Florida," is an exceedingly amusing history, written by a gentleman of Elvas, and translated from the Portuguese by the indefatigable Riehard Hakluyt. It is now reprinted from the edition of 1611, not having been included in either of the editions of Hakluyt's celebrated collection; though it appeared in a supplement to that of 1809. There is, in addition, a translation from the Portuguese, relating some of the same in-cidents as the first. This translation is made by the editor, Mr. Rye, who has also written an amusing preface.

The next work issued by the Hakluyt Society is in two volumes, called "Notes upon Russia." They were written in Latin. by the Baron Sigismund von Herberstein, Ambassador from the Court of Germany to the Grand Prince Vasiley Ivanovich, in the years 1517 and 1526, and are now translated, for the first time, by Mr. Major. Not the least interesting part of this work is the editor's introduction, containing a biography of the author, which, together with some notices of Herberstein's predecessors in Russian history, form the great bulk of the Mr. Major has also given us first volume. three letters in verse, written by Master George Turbeville, who was attached to an embassy from Queen Elizabeth to the Court of Moscow, in 1568. This work, though not wanting in eurious matter, is perhaps less fitted than any of the foregoing volumes for occupying a place among the publications of the Hakluyt Society. It is rather a history than a work of observation and travel, and though well worth attention at a time like this, when the past and future of Russia are felt to be matters of world-wide interest and import, we think that it would have been better if the Society had left its translation and republication to some more suitable source, particularly since it will take many years, at the present rate of publication, to issue the numerous "rare or unpublished Voyages and Travels," which it is the avowed object of the Hakluyt Society to place before the world.

The last work upon our list is of equal popular interest with, and of scientific importance considerably greater than, any of its predecessors. We very much regret that the circumstance of our not having reecived this volume until the bulk of this

detailed manner it deserves. It contains ! much, but not enough famed Barents, in search of the North-East Passage. These voyages were performed nearly three hundred years ago, and with means and appliances far inferior to those of modern travellers; yet wonderful to say, this Dutehman may be considered as without a rival to this day, in the list of Aretic explorers. He succeeded in pushing his way twenty-four days' sail, and nearly one half the length of Nova Zembla, farther in the direction of the North-East Passage than any other discoverer before or since his time. He is also proved, by the editor of the present volume, who presents us with a map of Barents' course, according to his carefully recorded astronomical and other observations, to have circumnavigated Spitzbergen; -a feat not recorded as having been performed by any other man; yet, strange to say, into such negleet has the narrative of Barents' Aretic explorations fallen, and with so little care does it seem to have been at any time perused, that this fact is not alluded to by Barrow, Scoresby, Beechy, or any other writer on Arctic discovery.

The extreme northern point reached by Admiral Lütke, in his surveys in 1821-1824, was Cape Nassau, lat. 76° 34', regarded by him as the same with the Cape Nassau of Barents, lat. 76° 30'. The Russian academician, Baer, differs from Lutke's opinion of the accuracy of the maps in which Barents' Land-as the editor rightly designates the coast north of Cape Nassau -is given, and considers Cape Nassau as the extreme north of Nova Zembla. But it is impossible to follow the track of Barents' observations in the present work, without feeling that the question is once for all decided against Baer. There can be little doubt but that Barents, with the help of steam and modern appliances, would have accomplished the North-East Passage. There is no part of his course which is recorded with greater minuteness than the coast north of Cape Nassau; and the perfect coincidence of his observations, south of that point, with those of the modern explorer of Nova Zembla, Lütke, makes it impossible to doubt but that the erasure of Barents' Land from the maps, by Ziwolka and Baer, must have arisen from a very imperfect acquaintance with the work here reprinted. So much for the scientific value of this volume. As regards its popular interest, we can only say, that it contains the description of one of the most marvellous and heroic feats of courage, energy, and patient endurance upon record.

The third and most notable voyage, when the record of the three voyages of the Barents succeeded in turning the northern extremity of Nova Zembla, was performed in a vessel of 50 tons burthen. He and his company spent ten months-the first Aretie wintering-in that inhospitable region, without a murmur, and returned the whole distance in open boats, (!!) exposed to danger and difficulties, overwhelming to anything short of the most heroic degree of Christian fortitude,-which seems to have been theirs. Barents died on this famous returning voyage, in the arms, as it were, of a most noble victory.

Concerning the editorship of this volume, by Dr. Beke, we need say no more than that the industry and sagacity which it exhibits are worthy of its great subject.

ART. V .- The Church of Christ, in its Idea, Attributes, and Ministry, with a particular reference to the Controversy on the subject between Romanists and Protestants. By EDWARD ARTHUR LITTON, M.A., Perpetual Curate of Stockton Heath, Cheshire, and late Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford.* London, 1851.

Thus is a work of great excellence, and of great importance. Mr. Litton is a man of decided ability, and thoroughly conversant with the subjects of which he treats, both in their scriptural and in their ecclesiastical aspeets. The work is deserving of high commendation, both on account of the talent and erudition which it exhibits, and on account of the general soundness and practical importance of the views which it advocates, It discusses topics which are of peculiar interest and importance in the present day, and it discusses most of them in a way well fitted, in our judgment, to advance the interests of truth. Mr. Litton takes his stand, firmly and decidedly, on the great scriptural principles with respect to the Church, which were maintained by the great body of the Reformers, including the Reformers of the Church of England; and by a vigorous and effective application of these principles, he overturns from the foundation the notions on which some of the leading departments of the Popish and Tractarian systems are based.

The question as to what is the true doctrine of Scripture on the nature and properties of the Church, enters as an element of

^{*} We rejoice to see that since the publication of this work, Mr. Litton has been appointed Vice-Prin-cipal of St. Edmund Hall, Oxford.

fundamental importance into the controversy | and import of the sacred Scriptures. between Protestants and Romanists. Bos. definition of the visible Church, or rather of suet, one of the most skilful and dexterous a visible Church, given in the Nineteenth Ardefenders of Romanism, was accustomed to tiele of the Church of England, is thoroughly advise Papists, when disputing with Protest Protestant, and entirely accordant with the ants, to begin with the subject of the Church. And the advice was undoubtedly judicious; is this, that "the visible Church of Christ is 1st, because Papists can support their views on a congregation of faithful (believing) men, the subject of the Church, with fully as much in the which the pure Word of God is plausibility as any of those tenets in which preached, and the sacraments be duly ministhey differ from Protestants, and 2d, because tered according to Christ's ordinance, in all the establishment of Popish views on the sub-ject of the Church, goes far to settle in their to the same." This definition must be held favour the whole controversy between them in all fairness to teach by plain implication, and their opponents. Romanists hold up 1st, that the right or title of any society to the Church as a rule or standard of faith, be considered a Church of Christ, is not to and when they undertake to establish its be determined by the form of its external claims in this character from Scripture, the government, and, 2d, that its claim to this one common standard in the authority of character must be decided, by an exami-which both parties are agreed, and from which nation of the substantial accordance of its therefore, according to the rules of sound doctrines, and of its teaching and practice reasoning, all legitimate discussion between in regard to the sacraments, with the mind bound to meet their arguments, and to prove tures. I mess positions were need by all the that they are insufficient for the purpose for Reformers, including those of the Church of which are they adduced. The "Church principles" which the Tractarians have so strenuples of the Papists and of the High could be they have been so much in Bishop of Rome, or to any bishop, being an the habit of boasting, are certain notions, of a Popish complexion, with respect to the true Church. The second establishes the nature and properties of the Church, including its sacraments and ministry. And the society, taking precedence of the inquiry into Popery, which has been going on so extensively of late, has been manifestly produced, ministry, alleged to affect its ecclesiastical just by men having been led to form more standing, and the right of all to conduct this clear and definite conceptions of these investigation for themselves by a direct ap-

results.

The question as to what is the true scriptural definition or description of the Church, formed an important subject of controversy between the Reformers and the Church of Rome, and hence the prominence given to this topic in the Confessions of the Reformed and Romanists. The defenders of the Church, so well as in the theological systems of the Romanists. The defenders of the Church of Rome have usually laboured and Romanists, may be illustrated by a reference to one topic that has often been distense of the Church of Rome have usually a to they have been held by all Protestants worthy of the name—by all but High Church Prelatists.

The influential bearing of these questions and Romanists, may be illustrated by a reference to one topic that has often been distense to the Church of Rome have they have been held by all Protestants worthy of the name—by all but High Church Prolatists.

them must take its origin, Protestants are and will of Christ as revealed in the Scripbound to meet their arguments, and to prove tures. These positions were held by all the Church principles, and to follow them out peal to Scripture, untrammelled by any promore boldly and honestly to their legitimate tensions to ecclesiastical authority. These are the true principles of Protestantism, and

might go, more or less fully, to foreclose be no true Church: Protestants have not a the general questions at issue between them valid ministry, and, therefore, they are not and their opponents, while Protestants have a true Church. The major proposition in directed their efforts to prove, that scriptural this syllogism is based on the general idea, views of the Church give no countenance to that certain external qualities or features in the introduction of these ideas or elements the ministry, determine the right of a society into the definition or description that ought to be considered a true Church. The reto be given of it; but on the contrary, leave formers denied this principle, and disproved all the particular questions at issue, to be it by showing that there are no materials in decided by an appeal to the true meaning Scripture which require, or even warrant. the introduction of any specific doctrine this must be the primary, guiding, meaning concerning the ministry into the definition of the word, that from which its other meanof the Church, or into the description of ings must be derived, and by a reference to valid except that which can be traced, primary sense as invisible, because men dinations, to the apostles. The Reformers who the particular individuals are of whom were accustomed to meet this argument of it is composed. the Romanists in this way : Wherever there is a true Church, there is, or may be, a valid posed of those, and those only, who are ministry: Protestant societies are true united to Christ by faith, then this connects Churches, and, therefore, they have, or may the whole subject of the Church with most have, a right or title to, a valid ministry. The important doctrinal principles, and must major proposition in this syllogism, it will be observed, goes somewhat beyond the be taken of its nature and functions. More mere negation of the Popish major. It as than one half of Mr. Litton's work is occuserts not only that the question of the min-pied with an investigation of the Spiritual istry does not settle the question of the Church, but also, moreover, that the ques- important questions which have now been tion of the Church does settle the question briefly stated. The discussion of them is of the ministry, the question of the Church very complete and satisfactory. It exhibits being to be determined by a fair application not only a thorough acquaintance with the of the elements which alone Scripture war- special subjects under consideration, but an rants us to introduce into the definition of accurate knowledge of the substance of the Church, or into the description of what Christian theology, or the general scheme of is essential to it. This view of the relation doctrine taught in Scripture, a department of the two subjects, the Church and the min- in which a large proportion of the Church istry, was held by the Reformers; it is implied in the position laid down in the West. the Popish controversy since the period of minster Confession, that "to the catholic the Restoration and the Act of Uniformity, visible Church, Christ hath given the ministry, oracles, and ordinances of God," (c. xxv. s. 3,) and it is elaborately maintained in have been made of late to diffuse Popish Claude's Defence of the Reformation.

garding the Church, controverted between times called the sacerdotal and sacramental the Romanists and the Protestants, which principles. It ably advocates, and concluare not directly settled by anything usually sively establishes from Scripture, views embodied in the definition or description of upon all these points, which are thoroughly what is commonly called the visible Church, Protestant and evangelical, and entirely acand which must be determined by a more cordant with the grounds taken up by all thorough investigation of the primary and the ablest defenders of the Reformation. fundamental meaning of the word Church in Scripture. evident, from the nature of the case, that and extensive erudition, and contains a good

what is essential to it. Papists of course which they must be in some measure delaboured to establish their minor proposi- termined. Protestants have been accustion, by trying to show, that no ministry is tomed to speak of the Church in this its through an unbroken series of episcopal or cannot know with certainty during this life

If the Church in its primary sense is commaterially affect all the views that ought to "idea" of the Church, as comprehending the of England divines, who have engaged in have been greatly deficient. It furnishes an excellent antidote to the zealous efforts which and High-Church notions of the Church and There are, however, some questions re- its government, including what are some-

We are naturally led to contrast this Romanists usually contend work of Mr. Litton's with the "Treatise on that there is no other and higher meaning of the Church of Christ," published some the word Church in its application to men years ago by Mr. Palmer, one of the oriwhile on earth, than as a designation of those, ginators of the Tractarian movement. Mr. taken collectively, who make an external Palmer is entitled to some respect, beprofession of faith in Christ, or what Pro- cause of the manliness and decision with testants commonly call the visible Church. which he denounced the infidel tendency of Protestants deny this, and maintain, that the development theory, as put forth by the primary and fundamental sense of Newman and his friends, even before they the word Church as used in Scripture, is, left the Church of England, and because of that it designates the multitude or company the firmness and tenacity with which he of the κλητοι, the called, those who are really continues even now to cling to the via brought into vital union with Christ by true media, the narrow and slippery path which, faith, and are ultimately saved. If the word it is alleged, runs half way between Prois really used in Scripture in this sense, as testantism and Popery. His treatise on Protestants think they can prove, then it is the Church displays considerable ability deal of valuable and interesting information, ance it displays of the fundamental princi-

lowed out with the completeness and consisof the redeemed and the saved. "Church oracles? principles" represent the Church, viewed as fallibility to the Pope or to General Counthe centre of unity and the source of authority to the whole Church. But the Tractarians have no party to whom, as representing the Church, they could decently or plauwould be palpably absurd, and somewhat dangerous, to ascribe them to the Archbishop of Canterbury, or to the Bench of account, the infallibility and supreme authority of the Church are usually rather inopenly maintained; and Church principles, in their hands, become a miserable abortion, fitted only to lead men to adopt the more manly and consistent course of joining the Church of Rome.

This essential weakness of Anglican High-Churchism is well illustrated by Mr. Palmespecially to notice, is the miserable ignor-tion from Popery.

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It is an elaborate and unshrinking defence ples of Christian theology, a point of priof the High-Church notions, which were pro- mary importance in which it contrasts most pagated in the Church of England in Arch- unfavourably with Mr. Litton's work. In bishop Land's time, and have been main- arguing against the doctrine, that the proper tained by the Nonjurors and the Tractarians. matter of the Church, in the highest sense, Mr. Palmer's views with respect to the is saints or holy men, he gives us to undernature and constitution, the qualities and stand, that men may have repentance and prerogatives, of the Church, are, of course faith, without having regeneration or piety. to a large extent, identical in substance He disproves the above-mentioned position with those of Romanists, but are not fol- of the "Dissenters," with whom he is arguing, by trying to shew, that the baptism tency which characterize the Popish system. by which men are admitted into the visible The great practical difficulty which presses Church does not imply regeneration and upon Anglican Tractarians and High Church- piety, while he admits that it implies remen, in carrying out their principles fully, pentance and faith. He says, "the only is the want of any adequate or decent re- conditions for baptism (as administered by presentative of the Church, the want of any the Apostles) were repentance and faith: party who can be plausibly set forth as there was no mention of regeneration, sancpossessing and exercising the prerogatives tity, real piety, whether visible or invisible, which they ascribe to the Church in ge- as prerequisites to its reception." (Part I., neral. They concur with Romanists in applying to the Church as an external visible Mr. Palmer have of repentance and faith. society, statements in Scripture, which, in of regeneration and picty? Is it not plain, the judgment of Protestants, apply only to that, with all his crudition, he is still grossly the Church as designating the whole body ignorant of the first principles of God's

One great excellence of Mr. Litton's an external visible society, as conveying to book is, that it is based upon sound seripmen and conferring upon them, especially tural views of theology, of the leading docthrough the priesthood and the sacraments, trines revealed in Scripture, concerning the the spiritual blessings which are necessary great expect of Jesus Christ in establishing to salvation. The claims thus put forth on a Church on earth, and the way and manner behalf of the Church manifestly require that in which men individually become posit should possess infallibility or something sessed of the blessings of salvation, and are like it, in order that it may rightly execute prepared for the kingdom of heaven. The its high functions, and secure due sub- great doctrines of Scripture on these submission and obedience to its authority. jeets, as they are set forth in the Confessions Papists provide for all this by ascribing in- of the Reformed Churches and in the Articles of the Church of England, Mr. Litton cils, and by representing the Romish See as fully understands and appreciates; and he faithfully and ably applies them in his exposition of the Idea, the Attributes, and the Ministry of the Church of Christ.

We have not space or leisure at present sibly ascribe these high prerogatives. It to discuss the important topics brought before us in Mr. Litton's work, whether those in which we agree with, or those in which we differ from, him; and we shall Bishops, or to the Convocation. On this confine ourselves to the humbler task of simply describing what the work contains, allowing the author to speak for himself. sinuated by Anglicans, than boldly and The work is one which we think it very desirable that the clergy of the Church of England should read and ponder. It is well worthy of their careful study; and if its views were generally embraced by them, this would go far to bring back that important institution to the Protestant and evangelical position, which it occupied for the er's work; but what we wish at present greater part of a century after its reforma-

Mr. Litton has indicated some views on | can be said that it is the mystical body of the subject of infant baptism from which we decidedly dissent, believing them to be unfounded in themselves, and wholly unnecessary for the purpose for which they are adduced, viz., the refutation of the figment of baptismal regeneration. We differ from him also in some of his views as to the binding authority of Apostolic practice in matters of Church government. But not-withstanding these exceptions, we regard the work as embodying a very large amount of important Protestant truth.

The first Book, occupying more than one half of the volume, is devoted to the expo-sition of the "Idea" of the Church, or in other words, to the investigation of what the elements are, which the word of God warrants and requires us to introduce into the definition of the Church, or the description of what constitutes it or is essential to The first thing to be done is to bring out fully the opposite views of Romanists and Protestants in regard to the idea of the Church. This is done chiefly by producing quotations from the Trent Catechism in the one case, and from the Confessions of the Reformed Churches in the other. After giving a number of extracts from Protestant Confessions and Catechisms, Mr. Litton presents the following summary of what they concur in teaching upon this subiect :-

" Whatever be the merits or defects of Protestantism, it is evident, from the foregoing extracts, that it is not, as Bossuet would have us believe, a system of chaotic inconsistencies: the unanimity of sentiment, and even similarity of expression, proving that, however they may have occasionally clothed their ideas in ill-chosen language, the Reformers had a consistent view of their own, and were well aware at what points it diverged from that of their opponents. If the reader compares together the statements of the several formularies, he will perhaps deem the following a sufficiently accurate representation of the distinctive teaching of Protestantism on the subject of the idea of the Church.

"The one true Church, the holy Catholic Church of the Creed, is not a body of mixed composition, comprehending within its pale both the evil and the good: it is the community of those who, wherever they may be, are in living union with Christ by faith, and partake of the sanctifying influences of His Spirit. Properly, it comprises, besides its members now upon earth, all who shall ultimately be saved. In its more confined acceptation, the phrase de-notes the body of true believers existing at any given time in the world.

" The true Church is so far invisible as that it is not yet manifested in its corporate capacity; or, in other words, there is no one society, parable accident, and makes the essence of the or visible corporation upon earth, of which it Church to consist in what is external and visi-

Christ. Hence, of course, the Head of this body is not visible.

" Particular churches, otherwise unconnected societies, are one by reason of their common relation to, and connexion with, the one true Church or mystical body of Christ. The outward notes of this connexion, and therefore of a true visible Church, are, the pure preaching of the Word (in fundamentals at least), and the administration of the Sacraments 'according to Christ's ordinance in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same.' These are the two indispensable notes of a true Church: to them may be added, though it stands not in the same order of necessity, the exercise of discipline.

"Although visible Churches are, according to the idea, 'congregations of saints,' i.e., of really sanctified persons, and must be regarded as such if they are to have the name of Churches, yet they are never really so: in point of fact, they are always mixed communities, comprising hypocrites and nominal Christians, as well as true believers, a perfect separation between whom is, in the present life, impossi-ble, and is reserved to the second coming of Ohe and is reserved to the second common of the Christ to judgment. Hence the aggregate of visible Christian Churches throughout the world is not exactly identical with the true Church, which, as has been said, consists only of the living members of Christ.

"Such notes as, 'the succession of Bishops,' 'antiquity,' 'amplitude,' 'the name of Catholic,' &c., are, taken alone, not sufficient to prove a society to be a true Church of Christ.

" To the one truc Church, the body of Christ properly belong the promises of perpetuity, of the continued presence of Christ, and of pre-servation from fundamental error. The same may be said of the attributes of the Church, Unity, Sanctity, &c.; these, in their full and proper sense, can be predicated only of that body of Christ which is not yet fully manifested."--Pp. 50-52.

Mr. Litton is duly aware of the importance, in order to anything like a satisfactory discussion, of bringing out fully and accurately the true state of the question, or the precise points on which the contending parties agree and differ. Our readers will, we think, be interested in the following masterly statement upon this point :-

"The real point of distinction, then, between the two parties, consists, not in one's denying, and the other's maintaining, that the Church may be regarded from a twofold point of view, according as we make what is visible, and what is invisible in it, the subject of consideration; but in the relative importance, and the relative position, which each party, respectively, assigns to those two aspects of the Church. The difference is this:—the Roman-ist, while admitting that there is, or ought to be, in the Church an interior life, not cognisable by human eye, yet regards this as a se-

ble; the Protestant, on the contrary, while Protestant as the consequent of the life within; admitting that to be visible is an inseparable the former attributes a positive and independent property of the Church, makes the essence thereof to consist in what is spiritual and unseen; viz., the work of the Holy Spirit in the hearts of Christians. The one defines the Church by its outward, the other by its inward, characteristics. Neither party can absolutely refuse assent to the well-known aphorism of Irenæus, 'ubi ccelesia ibi et spiritus Dei; ubi spiritus Dei ibi ecclesia;' but since, in its two clauses, that aphorism may be held to represent different tendencies, on the one hand, to make the presence of the Spirit dependent upon, and posterior in point of time to, the existence of the Church, and, on the other, to make the existence of the Church dependent upon the presence of the Spirit, it accurately expresses the true point of controversy between Romanists and Protestants. To the question, What is the Church? the Romanist replies that it is a visible institution, in which men are placed in order to be made holy, and thus qualified for the presence of God hereafter; while the auswer of the Protestant is, that according to its true idea (propriè principaliter dieta), it is a society of those who are sanctified (pro ratione hujus vitæ) by the Spirit of God, and possess within them the earnest of the future inheritance: the former holds that to constitute a person a member of the Church, and therefore a member of Christ himself, it suffices that he profess the Christian faith, partake outwardly of the sacraments, and be subject to the juris-diction of the Bishop of Rome; the latter maintains that he only properly belongs to the Church who is in vital union with the Saviour by faith, and partakes of the quickening influence of Christ's Spirit. The distinction which the Romanist admits to exist between the living and the dead members of the Church, does not affect his definition of the latter, for he makes a distinction between church-membership and a state of salvation; the latter, indeed, can only be affirmed of those who are renewed in heart, but the former may be enjoyed even by those who are living in mortal sin. Divest-ing thus the idea of the Church, in its ultimate state, of everything moral, that is, making it a thing indifferent to the idea whether the Spirit of God, in his sanetifying influences, be present or not, he is, of course, compelled to consider the Church as, primarily, an external institution; the differentia, or specific difference, of which, lies in its policy, its rites, or its episcopal succession. The Protestant, on the contrary, can make no distinction between being a member of the Church, and being in a state of salvation; and as, confessedly, an inward change, the work of the Spirit, is necessary to salvation, for 'unless a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God,' it is, in his eyes, equally necessary to true church-membership; or, in other words, he defines the Church to be, primarily, a community of saints, making the presence of the Spirit the specific difference of the body, its visible polity a matter of se-condary moment. Or, the difference may be thus stated: the Romanist regards that which is visible in the Church as the antecedent; the true, as the Romish Catechism affirms, that the

value to the outward characteristics of the body; the latter values them chiefly as the evidences of the unseen work of the Spirit. Moehler is fairer and more accurate than usual. when he says, 'that the difference between the Protestant and the Romanist view of the Church may be briefly stated as follows :- the Romanist teaches that the visible Church is first in the order of time, afterwards the invisible; the relation of the former to the latter being that of cause and effect. The Lutherans (Protestants), on the contrary, affirm that the visible Church owes its existence to the invisible, the latter being the true basis of the former.' He adds, very justly, that this apparent unimportant difference of view is pregnant with important results.

"That the difference of view just mentioned lies at the root of the statements of the rival Confessions will be evident from the most cursory inspection of them. To recur to the positions of the Romish Catechism. Were we to frame from them a definition of the Church, it would be, that it is a company of men professing faith in Christ, outwardly partaking of the Sacraments, and in communion with the Roman pontiff; it being, as regards the idea, a matter of indifference whether they be, or be not sanetified by the Spirit of God. That this is the true doctrine of Rome is evident from the frequency and emphasis with which the Catechism affirms that both the good and the evil are, though in a different sense, yet equally as far as the definition, which expresses the idea of the thing defined, is concerned, members of the Church; for, if this be truc, it is clear that the essential being of the Church must lie, not in the internal work of the Holy Spirit, which, confessedly, as an active principle of holiness, is not found in all who are visi-bly within the ecclesiastical pale, but in that which may be common to the evil and that good; viz., subjection to the same central authority, and outward participation in the same Sacraments. The unrenewed in heart can, equally with those who are led by the Holy Spirit, profess faith in Christ, 'carnally and visibly press with' their 'teeth the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ,' and be under the jurisdiction of lawful pastors; and if this is all that is meant by being a member of Christ, that is, if internal union with the Saviour is not essential to the idea of the Church, most true it is that no reason exists why we should not apply that title to those whose lives prove them to be destitute of sanctifying faith, so long as they are not openly excommunicated. The Jew, however morally corrupt he might be, yet, as long as he fulfilled the requirements of the ceremonial law, was a recognised member of the Hebrew commonwealth and entitled to the temporal privileges thereto belonging; from which we justly infer that the Jewish economy was one rather of the letter than of the spirit, and had its essential being in its polity and ceremonial. The same inference must be drawn with respect to the Christian dispensation, if it be

good and the evil are equally members of the tical body, which signifies that the object de-Church, and equally partakors of Christian pri- noted by it is one, not of sight but of faith. vileges."-Pp. 70-74.

This is followed by a very full and claborate exposition of the scriptural evidence in support of the Protestant, and in opposition dence is collected from the whole word of God, and is classed under three heads, that derived from the Jewish dispensation, from the Christian dispensation, and from the teaching of the Apostolic Epistles.

This investigation into the meaning and import of Scripture is conducted in a very satisfactory and scholar-like way, and is of course thoroughly successful. It would have admitted with advantage of being somewhat condensed, as from its great length it rather overloads the book. The following passage presents a good summary of what it is shewn that Scripture sanctions upon this subject, exhibited in a way that exposes some of the ordinary Popish misrepresentations regarding it.

"It appears, then, that there is scriptural foundation for the distinction between the Church as the mystical body of Christ and the Church as an aggregate of local Christian societies; and we may add, in the words of Hooker, that ' for lack of diligent observing the difference, the oversights are neither few nor light that have been committed.' Romanism disposes of the difficulty by putting aside all that Scripture says concerning visible churches as separate, independent, communities, and applying its statements respecting the mystical body of Christ to the visible community of which the Pope is the head; they who reject the Romish theory, and yet deny the distinction, are compelled to resort to artificial explanations of the language of the inspired writers, and to suppose that they describe a thing which has not, and cannot have, any real existence on earth. The distinction being admitted, all becomes clear. The Apostles speak of visible churches, as the churches of Rome or Corinth; but they also speak of one body, which is united to one Head, and governed by one Spirit; if there is not here, to say the least, a two-fold aspect under which the Church is viewed, it is difficult to say what meaning we are to attach to the language of Scripture. The two-fold aspect is, as has been said, the Church as it is visible and the Church in its truth; the distinction which Scripture makes being, we may presume, expressly intended to impress upon us the fact that the two are not absolutely identical; that with the Church as it appears in the world, elements are in conjunction which do not belong to it as the body of Christ,—that is, as regarded according to its true idea. In the latter point of view, the Church, though it has a real, substantive existence, is, as a body, not visible, because no human eye can discern that which

"Do we, then, make the true Church absolutely invisible, or affirm that there are two Churches, one visible, the other invisible? In answering these questions, we shall be led to make some observations upon the Protestant doctrine of the invisible Church, respecting which so much misapprehension has prevailed; as well as upon the connexion between the Church visible and the Church invisible, or the manner in which the latter becomes visible.

"It must be admitted that the expression 'invisible Church,' commonly adopted in the Protestant formularies and in the writings of the Reformers, was unhappily chosen; for it gave occasion to the papal theologians to charge their adversaries sometimes with reducing the Church to a plutonic republic, having no actual existence, and sometimes with making two distinct Churches,-a visible and an invisible one. Yet the meaning of the expression is sufficiently clear, and involves nothing absurd or incon tent. When Protestants speak of the invisible Church, what they mean is, the mystical body of Christ, as distinguished from local churches; and when they say that the body of Christ, or the true Church, is invisible, they mean nothing more than that that which makes us members of the body of Christ, or of the true Church—viz., saving faith in Christ—is invisi-ble; it is but another mode of expressing the truth that, not outward participation of the Sacraments, but inward, and therefore invisible. union with Christ is that in which the essential being of the Church lies; and that, consequently, they only are in the full sense of the words, of the Church who are in Christ by a living faith, and are under the influence of His Spirit. Accordingly, the Reformers would have better expressed their meaning, and avoided the risk of misrepresentation, had they, instead of saying that the true Church is invisible, simply, affirmed that that which constitutes the true being of the Church is invisible. That this was the idea intended to be conveyed by a somewhat inconvenient terminology is abundantly evident from the earlier Protestant confessions, in which that terminology is not as yet found: the Te-trapolitan confession (A. D. 1530), for example, which nowhere speaks of the Church as being invisible; while yet it clearly intimates in what sense that phrase, which afterwards became a common one, is to be understood: 'Although that,' it says, 'which makes the Church of Christ what it is,-viz., faith in Christ—is invisible, and can be known by its

"The true Church, or body of Christ, is, according to Protestantism, invisible, inasmuch as that which makes us members of it-viz, vital union with Christ-is invisible, and none can know with certainty who are thus in union with Christ, and who are not. He who does know 'them that are His,' and could at any moment separate the wheat from the chaff, will not, we know, do so until He comes again to judgment. Then, indeed, the 'manifestation of the sons of God' will take place, and the holy Catholic makes it really the body of Christ,-viz., vital Church, at present an object of faith, will be union with Christ: hence the expression imps-come an object of sight; but until then, it is, as

regards its proper organic unity, or in its cor- done by Mr. Litton fully and successfully porate capacity, invisible. How, then, does its existence become known; for, as we have seen, the Protestant confessions, not less than the Ca-techism of Trent, affirm that it is, in one sense, visible? We reply that the one true Church becomes visible, not in its proper unity under Christ its Head, but under the form of particular congregations or churches, which are one by virtue of their presumed and, if they are true churches of Christ, actual and inseparable connexion with the one body of Christ. The latter, invisible in its proper corporate capacity, appears or becomes visible at Jerusalem, Corinth, Rome, England, &c., whether the Christian socicty at each of those places consist of one congregation or of an aggregate of congregations under a common government. Here we see the true import of the Protestant 'notes' of the The Protestant confessions assign no Church. notes to the one true Church : were they to do so, they would be taking up the ground which the adversary occupies: what they assign notes to are the visible churches of Christ, concerning which they affirm that that is a true Church in which the Word is truly preached, and the Sacraments duly administered. And they do so, because they believe that wherever the pure word is preached, and the sacraments administered, there will be a part of Christ's body; the presence of which actual, or at any rate presumed, makes the local Christian society a truc Church. The Word and the Sacraments are the means by which the new life is both imparted and sustained: we are certain, therefore, with the certainty of faith, that wherever these means are in active operation, the Spirit of God will by them both generate the sons of God and nourish them unto life eternal; certain, consequently, not that the local church, as such, is a part of Christ's body, but that there, in that locality there will be a portion of the latter. The local church remains a true church, whatever be the inward state of its members, so long as in it are found the preaching of the Word and the Sacraments; but it is a part of faithful men.' or saints.

"The point of inseparable connexion between the Church as invisible and the same Church as visible will now be understood. It is this: the members of Christ's body are never to be sought for save in the visible Churches of Christ: extra cœtum vocatorum non sunt quærendi electi. The true Church cannot, at present, manifest itself otherwise than under the form of local Christian communities; where they are, therefore, there, and not elsewhere, it is."

-Pp. 325-327.

The establishment of these positions from Scripture virtually settles the whole question of the Church, in so far as it bears upon the points controverted between Protestants on the one hand, and Romanists and Tractarians on the other. But the principles thus established require to be applied to a variety of topics which have been matter of controversial discussion, and this is

in the 2d and 3d books. The 2d book treats of the notes and attributes of the Church; and on the first of these heads Mr. Litton gives an able defence of the truth and relevancy of the two notes usually assigned by Protestants as marks of the true Church, or of true visible Churches, in other words, as the means of testing whether any particular visible society is entitled to be regarded as a true and real portion of the visible Catholic Church of Christ, viz., the preaching of the pure word of God and the due administration of the Sacraments. He indicates also pretty plainly, that for himself he would not object much to follow the example of some of the old Presbyterians in adding a third note of a similar kind, viz., the orderly administration of ecclesiastical discipline. Under the second head of the attributes or predicates of the Church, he considers the topics usually discussed by Romanists under the name of the notes or marks of the Church, -unity, sanctity, catholicity, and apostolicity, dealing with them in such a way as to bring out their unfitness to serve Tractarian as well as Popish purposes. He dwelis especially on the unity of the Church, a subject by the skilful management of which Papists and Tractarians are often very successful in making an impression on men's minds. Under this head he discusses and disproves the favourite notion of the Anglican High Churchmen, that the external organic unity of the Church is constituted by, and is dependent on, the existence of the episcopate, or of a prelatic form of government. He disproves this notion by establishing the following positions, 1st, that Prelacy is not of Divine institution, and is not binding upon the Church the true Church only so far as it actually is stitution, and is not binding upon the Church what it professes to be,—'a congregation of jure divino; and, 2d, that it cannot be proved, by the testimony of Scripture alone, to have been of apostolic origin. He gives the state of the question, and the divisions under which he intends to discuss it, in the following passage:-

> "In pursuance of the plan laid down, we have now to inquire whether and how far the organic unity of the mystical body of Christ, which in its proper essence is internal and un-seen, has succeeded in producing any visible representation of itself; whether, and how far, a visible organic unity is attainable, and has been attained? In discussing this question, we are necessarily led to consider the origin and nature of the episcopate, the third of those orders of the ministry for which a divine authority is claimed; a subject which, though its natural place may seem to be in immediate connexion with the foregoing inquiry concerning the rudiments of ecclesiastical polity, has been purposely reserved for discussion under the head

of the unity of the Church. For whatever other | istence, but simply as a supply for a felt want, an functions and prerogatives belong, according to extension of the organization of Christian sothree orders of the ministry that to which emphatically is assigned the office of representing the unity of the Church: while presbyters and deacons are but congregational officers, the bishop, on the contrary, is the representative of an order divinely instituted to be the means of binding the whole Church together, and to be the organ of its visible unity.

"That episcopacy should be represented by these writers as of divine institution—nay, traced up to Christ's own appointment-is only what might have been expected. As a part of that visible polity in which the essence or differentia of the Church is supposed to lie, it must claim this character; but besides what it has in common with the other two orders, it possesses a sacredness and an importance peculiar to itself. Of all the three, it is the most essential to the Church, the most divine. bishop is to each believer the representative of Christ, the chief organ through whom the covenanted grace of God is derived to the Church at large. More important still is the privilege which he only possesses, of furnishing the Church with pastors: presbyters may spiritually generate the sons of God, but presbyters themselves can only be generated by the bishop. He is in each Church the symbol and centre of unity. Moreover, the Church being an institution for moulding men, by means of outward discipline, into the image of God, the power of coercion, which is necessary to carry out such a system, and which must be lodged somewhere, is committed to the bishop, who is the repository of the Church's legislative and executive authority. Obedience to the bishop is therefore obedience to Christ himself. Such is each bishop in his own diocese; -a mighty spiritual potentate, invested with plenary authority over God's heritage, and accountable to none but Christ himself. From such a view of episcopacy, it follows, of course, that it is essential to the very being of a Church; for where there is no bishop, there is no covenanted grace, no legitimate ministry, no sacraments. conclusion may not be actually drawn from the premises: exceptions and allowances may be introduced into the theory: subtle distinctions may be instituted between the unavoidable and the culpable abandonment of the episcopal polity: but all such saving clauses are admitted at the expense of logical consistency, for if the essence of the Church lie in a certain external polity, the absence of that polity, however occasioned, must involve the destruction of the subject, just as the dissolution of the human body, whether it be the consequence of accident, or of an act of self-destruction, terminates the earthly existence of the individual.

"The historical facts bearing upon this sub-ject must now be investigated, and the results laid before the reader. If these facts furnish good reason for believing that the episcopate was instituted on the same principle which guided the Apostles in the institution of the two inferior orders,- that, like them, it came into being, not as a divinely prescribed ordinance

the Church theory, to the episcopute, it is of the cieties called for by the circumstances of those societies, and of the age,-that, in short, cpiscopacy is the offspring of the Church, not the Church of episcopacy,-we shall have gained an additional confirmation of the conclusion already arrived at, viz., that the Church is not, in its idea, an institution of external discipline, but has its true being, its specific difference, within. In this point of view, the following remarks may be regarded as a kind of supplement to those already made in a preceding section on the polity of the Church, and therefore as completing the proof of the main position insisted upon in the first part of the present work.
"With the view of fully considering the sub-

ject, it is proposed, in the following inquiry, to examine, first, whether episcopacy can be proved to be of divine right, or to have been instituted by Christ himself; secondly, whether the sale evidence of Scripture is sufficient to enable us to pronounce it to be of apostolic institution; and lastly, whether we can fairly draw this latter conclusion from the joint testimony of Scripture and ecclesiastical history."—I'p. 394-

The first two of these questions he answers in the negative, and the third in the affirmative, and expounds very ably and candidly the grounds on which he bases these conclusions. He shews that no sufficient argument in support of the Divine or apostolic institution of Episcopacy can be derived, from the mission by our Saviour of the twelve and the seventy, from the pretended succession of bishops to the Apostles, from the alleged Episcopate of James at Jerusalem, or from the cases of Timothy and Titus, though he thinks that some of these topics afford satisfactory answers to the arguments by which it has been attempted to prove, that episcopacy is unlawful and unwarrantable. On the third question proposed for consideration Mr. Litton states his opinion in this way :-"However difficult it may be to establish from Scripture alone the apostolicity of episcopacy, we have yet the strongest ground for believing it to be an apostolical institution. But the weight of the evidence rests upon uninspired testimony, or rather upon that testimony combined with the precedents furnished by Scripture. By the aid of history and Scripture combined, it may be satisfactorily made out that Apostles either instituted or sanctioned the episcopal form of Church government."-P. 430.

Mr. Litton has made so many important concessions under the two former heads, that we would not feel disposed at present to enter the lists with him on this third head, even if we had room for discussion; and all the less do we feel called upon to attempt without which the Church could have no ex- this, because, with his usual discrimination

and candour, he fully concedes, that the Scripture contains that portion of the apostoliimpossibility of proving the apostolicity of episcopacy from Scripture alone, and the necessity of calling in ordinary uninspired historical testimony in order to make out the case, essentially affects the question as to the universal permanent obligation of episcopacy, and its necessity in order to the maintenance of the unity of the Church. This last topic is one of great practical importance in its bearing not only upon prelacy, but on many other subjects, and it is admirably well put by Mr. Litton in the following passage :-

"There is, no doubt, a wide difference, as regards binding authority, between those of the apostolie appointments which are recorded in Scripture, and those the proof of which rests upon uninspired testimony. As regards the for-mer, we are absolutely certain of the fact, inasmuch as we have it from the immediate followers of the Apostles, and from persons supernaturally preserved from error; whereas, in the latter case, we depend upon the testimony of those who, for the most part, only transmit to us what they themselves had received from others, and who, being uninspired, were liable to human error and imperfection. When Ignatius, or Clement, tells us that such and such practices or institutions proceeded from the Apostles, or that they heard so from others, there is no prima facie reason why we should not give eredence to their testimony; but, inasmuch as we tread upon uninspired ground, we are compelled to be more circumspect in dealing with the evidence, and, above all, to consider carefully whether the alleged apostolical ordinance accords, in its spirit, with the undoubted principles of aposto-lical policy recorded in Holy Scripture. For to admit, without limitation, Augustin's maxim, that, whatever is universally prevalent in the Church, must, for this sole reason, be ascribed to the Apostles, is to open a wide door to abuse; stamping, as it does, with apostolic sanction, every superstitious and unscriptural practice which can plead in its behalf antiquity and uni-If the practice or institution in question is manifestly opposed to the spirit of the apostolic regulations as set forth in Scripture, we may be sure, however ancient it may profess to be, that it is not apostolic; in other words, that it has not really existed from the first. Furthermore, the appointments of the Apostles, which are actually recorded in Scripture, derive, from that very fact, an importance which does not belong to those which we gather from uninspired testimony, however unexceptionable that testimony may be. We may have equally strong grounds for believing that any two appointments are of apostolic origin; and yet if one rests up-on the testimony of Seripture, while the other has been handed down to us by uninspired his tory, they can by no means be placed in the same category; the difference in the medium of proof making a difference between them, not as admit, the first link in the chain : and thus far,

cal teaching, and the apostolical appointments, which is necessary either to the being or the wellbeing of the Church: it is the gift of God to His people, comprehending all the essential principles of Christianity, and belonging, like the Apostles, its authors, to the universal Church of every age; on which account its omissions are as significant as its contents. An apostolic appointment therefore, which is found recorded in Scripture, may be presumed to be of permanent use, and to possess a binding force, not so much because it is apostolic, for this another or-dinance not found in Scripture may equally be, as because it is recorded in Scripture, because it forms part of that divinely superintended selection of the apostolic practices which we possess in the inspired Word. The apostolicity of each may be equally undoubted: it is the vehicle of transmission that makes the difference. The ap-plication of this principle admits of degrees. Appointments which are so distinctly stated in Scripture to have proceeded from the Apostles as to need no confirmation of testimony from other quarters, must be considered as more ne-cessary to the Church than those which require extra Scriptural evidence to establish their claims; for we must believe that even the proportions in which Scripture unfolds divine truth, the relative distinctions with which it records the facts of early church history, are the result of that divine wisdom which presided over its com-position. On this ground, it should seem that presbyters and deacons, if a comparison is to be instituted between the three orders, are more essential to the Church than bishops, inasmuch as Scripture records the apostolic institution of the former more distinctly than it does that of the latter."-Pp. 431-433.

The third book treats of the Christian ministry, and it is divided into two chapters, the first on "the origin and perpetuation of the ministerial functions," and the second on "the powers of the elergy." Under the first of these heads he discusses the subjects of apostolical succession and of ordination, and establishes from Scripture the views held upon these subjects by the great body of the Reformers.

He is very successful in applying the principles previously established about the idea of the Church to the exposition of the right relation between the Church and the ministry, and in applying this again in bringing out the true place and influence of a visible succession, and of ordination to the office of the ministry. The following passages set forth sound and important views upon these points :-

"Thus far there is Scriptural ground for the doctrine of a ministerial, and, therefore, an apostolical, succession, the Apostles being, as all regards the fact, but as regards their binding therefore, there is no controversy between Proforce. This follows from the peculiar place testants and their opponents. The essential which Scripture holds in the Church of Christ. constitution and origin of the New Testament | the Spirit, despise not prophesyings.' ministry as contrasted with that of the Law : on which point the theory propounded by the Romish formularies appears to be entirely at variance with the statements of Scripture.

"Romanism, as we have seen, true to its gene-ral conception of the Church, considers the Christian ministry in the light of a positive in-stitution, delivered in a set form from without, and placed over, instead of emanating from, the Christian body: its connection with the Church being not natural but positive, or a matter of law. Very different is the light in which Scrip-ture teaches us to regard it. In order to under stand better the relation in which, according to Scripture, the ministry of the Church stands to the Church itself, we must recur for a moment to the primary idea of the latter, as expounded in a former part of this work. A Christian Church is, according to the idea, a congregation of faithful or believing men, sanctified by the Spirit of God. Upon this general idea of the Church, as a community inwardly constituted by the Spirit, we must now engraft the further one, so vividly set forth in St. Paul's epistlesviz., that each Church, like the mystical body of Christ itself, is a living organization, or a whole composed of different parts with different funetions, by the combination of which organic unity is effected."-Pp. 543-544.

"Now in a religious society of this kind, having its true differentia within, or in the presence of the Holy Spirit, whose ordinary influences are participated by all its members, it would be natural to expect that the diversities of function, or of office, which are necessary to its wellbeing, should follow the character of the society itself, and, instead of being imposed from without in the form of a literal prescription, should spring from within, and emanate directly from the same divine Spirit whose And so, in fact, it was divinely provided."—Pp. 544, 545. quickening influences pervade the whole mass.

"From these remarks the points in which the Romish theory of the origin and perpetuation of the ministry diverges from the view presented in Scripture will be evident. Instead of the ministry being, in the first instance, a posi-tive institution, coming to the Church from without, and, as it were, placed over it, it is a function of the Church itself, springs up from within the sacred enclosure, and, in its primary form, or before it is anything else, is a spiritual power flowing directly from Christ. The ministry does not, as Kome teaches, sustain the Church, but the Church sustains the ministry. The Church is supposed to be in existence, as a congregation of believers, sanctified by the Spirit of God: within the Church Christ, its divine llead, raises up, by the outpouring of spiritual gifts, its natural ministry, which then passes into a formal one; raises up, that is, men divinely qualified to teach, exhort, govern, and in other ways edify their brethren. Whether there men as yet bear formal offices in the Church or not is comparatively immaterial; the possession of the gift is their true warrant for

The single exception to this divinely appointed order, that of the Apostles themselves, who, no doubt, were given to the Church from without, is an additional proof, if any were needed, that their office was but a temporary one, instituted for the purpose of organizing the visible Church. but not intended to form a permanent part of its organization: it would not have been suitable that an order of ministers, whose special office it was to mould the polity of the Church into its appointed shape, should spring from the bosom of the Church itself. The Apostolate, therefore, and it alone of the ecclesiastical offices mentioned in the New Testament, was instituted before the Church came into existence, and stood related to the Church as an external authority. Moreover, they whom Christ thus endows with gifts for the ministry are supposed to be partakers of the common life of the Church; and extraordinary spiritual endow-ments always appear grafted upon the stock of a living faith. For divine wisdom, knowledge, or illumination are possessed only by the sanc-tified in heart, and the teachers of the Church must be themselves taught of God. 'Apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, and teachers' are members, as well as ministers, of the body of Christ: they are of the Church before they become its instructors and rulers. might be expected, no such notion is found in the New Testament as that of grace to qualify for sacerdotal functions, distinct from, and in-dependent of, the grace common to all Christians; or that the divine vocation to the ministry is a thing morally indifferent, possessed, if only the legitimate outward call be present, equally by the avil and the good. The inward call of the Spirit to the ministry pre-suppose sanotification by the same Spirit."—Pp. 560-562.

"The conclusions to which the inspired testi-

mony leads us on the subject under discussion may be briefly summed up thus: the ministry of the Church, in all that appertains to its essence, is the direct gift of Christ, to whom alone it properly belongs to perpetuate the succession of pastors: and in its primary state, or as it comes from Christ, it is not an external institotion, but a spiritual power emanating from the bosom of the Church itself; it roots in the Church, and has no existence independently thereof. Along with the general outpouring of the Spirit on the day of Penteeost, or rather as a constituent part of it, the ministerial gifts were given: they formed an element innate and natural of the spiritual constitution of the Christian body: they existed, and were exercised, before any positive institution of minis-terial offices took place. To assume a fixed outward form, and become identified with a separate order of men, is a secondary, though necessary, process. Thus between the idea of the Church and that of its ministry, a perfect correspondence exists: the latter is homogeneous with the former. As a church is first a congregation of sanctified believers, and then an organized society, so the ministry is, in the first instance, a spiritual power, and then an office transmitted in a visible line of succession. exercising it. The formal ministry, which was office transmitted in a visible line of succession. itself natural before it was formal, must not ln short, the natural ministry is prior, in order suppress the existing natural one :- 'quench not of time, to the positive, and constitutes the true

basis thereof. Romanism reverses the order, | and makes the ministry positive before it is natural. By the expression 'natural ministry' is meant simply, that wherever there is a church of Christ, there will be found in it, not as a superadded endowment, but as an inherent property, Christians spiritually qualified to edify their brethren; and who, whether they ever form part of the positive order or not, constitute the true clerisy of the Church. This is the only true sense in which the Christian ministry can be said to be of divine institution; and in this sense it is so.

"On the other hand, the positive ministry, or visible line of succession, is the ministry in its human, its ecclesiastical, aspect; the ministry, not as it comes from Christ, but as it is constituted mediately by the Church. Hence the positive is ever but an inadequate representation of the true ministry: it partakes of the imperfection which belongs to the Church itself in its visible aspect. For though the general assistance of the Spirit is promised to the elders, or bishop, in the work of 'trying the spirits,' or pronouncing upon the fitness of those who de-sire the office of a bishop, so that we may believe that the true and the positive ministry will, to a great extent, be coincident, yet, since infallibility in the exercise of this function is not secured, mistakes will from time to time occur; some whom Christ has not called will gain admission to the sacred office, and others, to whom He has given the necessary spiritual endowments, will be excluded therefrom. will be here exactly the same as with the Church itself: as the visible church, though it ought to be identical with the true, is never actually so in fact, so the positive succession is never actually identical with the true ministry. The approximation, however, to identity between the two may be continually progressive, and does, in fact, become closer in proportion as by persecution from without, and the energy of discipline within, the visible church becomes more and more one with the mystical body of Christ; the ministry approaching its ideal pari passu with the Church itself"—Pp. 581-673. "To sum up briefly:—the Protestant admits

that the ministerial commission was intended to be perpetuated in an uninterrupted visible succession from the Apostles, and that where such a succession exists, the ministry is in its proper normal state: but he cannot admit that the true essence of the ministry lies in the visible succession, any more than he can admit that the true essence of the Church lies in its ritual or polity; and consequently he does not venture to pronounce those churches which, from whatever cause, have lost the succession, to be without a legitimate ministry or efficacious sacraments. The Protestant impugns neither the fact nor the (general) necessity of the visible succession; while the Romanist would hardly maintain that nothing enters into the idea of a minister of the New Testament save the outward commission; the difference is, that the former lays more stress upon the inward preparation of the heart, which is the gift of God; the latter upon the external vocation, which comes from man : just as, to recur to the opposite conceptions which sentations to which in their hands it has been they entertain of the Church itself, the Protessubject. The assailants may in many cases be

tant regards the living faith wrought in the hearts of Christians by the Holy Ghost as the specific difference of the body of Christ, while the Romanist assigns the same place to its external characteristics."-Pp. 579, 580.

The chapter on the powers of the clergy is divided into two sections. The object of the first is to prove that "Christian ministers are not lords over God's heritage," and of the second, "that Christian ministers are not priests." We need scarcely say that he establishes conclusively from Scripture these two important positions, and thus overturns the hierarchical and sacerdotal principles, as they have been generally held by Romanists and High Church prelatists. In establishing the position that ministers are not lords over God's heritage, he lays down and proves this doctrine, that "the proper adjustment of lay and elerical influence depends upon the observance of three rules, 1st, free admission of the laity (meaning by this term all who are not ministers or pastors) to the deliberative assemblies of the Church; 2d, the consent of the laity to the local settlement of pastors; and, 3d, the concurrence of the laity to the exercise of discipline."

In establishing the position that Christian ministers are not priests, Mr. Litton has a good opportunity of explaining and applying his sound Scriptural views of the substance of theology, and he does not fail to improve it. We have room for only a short extract on this subject :-

"Protestantism rejects the dogma of a human priesthood on the same ground on which apos-tolic Christianity does so. When the reformed confessions enunciate, as the article of a falling or standing Church, that 'we are justified by faith only,' they intend not only to express, as has been already remarked, the inwardness of a ustified state, or the fact that a conscious reliance upon the Saviour's merits, and not an external act of the Church, is the instrument of justification, but to affirm further that, by this conscious act of faith, the believer is at once, and without the intervention of any hu-man mediator, made partaker of the saving efficacy of Christ's death. Faith connects us with the priestly office of Christ, both in its propitiatory and in its intercessory aspect; through Him directly and not mediately-the new and living way --we draw near to God and enter the most holy place. Wherever justification by faith is held in its true Protestant sense, the doctrine of a human priesthood becomes a use-less excrescence, and falls off of itself; for what need can he feel of a human mediator who already enjoys fellowship with God in and through Christ? Hence is to be explained the peculiar vehemence with which Romish writers have ever assailed this doctrine, and the misrepretoo well acquainted with the writings of the as the perpetual High Priest of His Church, is reformers not to know that solifidianism, so far as the word expresses a tendency to laxity of practice, is as carnestly repudiated by the latter as by themselves; the animosity exhibited proceeds from a different source; and the Lutheran doctrine of justification is assailed not so much because it is thought dangerous to morality, as because it robs the Church-that is, the clerical order-of its assumed priestly character. Hinc illæ lacrymæ. As the dogma of the corporate life makes the Church, not Christ, the author of spiritual life, so the doctrine of a human priesthood under the Gospel makes the clergy the arbiters of the Christian's destiny: for such surcly they are to whom is given the power of barring, or opening, as they please, access to God. With an instinct which never errs, the advocate of the tridentine system feels that justification by faith, by which is simply meant that Christ in his priestly office is present instead of being represented by a sacerdotal order, is out of place in their doctrinal structure, and must either remain to mar its symmetry, or be expelled from it.

And this leads us to remark, in conclusion, that the sacerdotal principle may be actively at work where Romanism is not formally professed. Wherever statements are put forth to the effect that the Church is the representative of Christ upon earth-or, as Moebler expresses it, the perpetual incarnation of the Son of God-we have reason to suspect its existence."-Pp.

652, 653.

The work concludes with the following admirable exposure of the Popish and Tractarian notion of the Church being Christ's representative:-

"In no respect can the Church be properly said to be the representative of Christ upon earth. For this is equivalent to saying that Christ having accomplished the work of redemption and ascended into heaven, has withdrawn from the active administration of the kingdom of God upon earth, having previously delegated the authority belonging to him to a priestly caste, the representatives of his representative, through which alone He ordinarily communicates with His people. A more unscriptural notion cannot be conceived. Christ has not withdrawn from His Church, or delegated to its pastors his own incommunicable powers. 'Vicarius est absentis, Christus est præsens.' In His own proper person, indeed, He is no longer present upon earth, but in His place the Comforter has come, and where the Spirit of Christ is, there is Christ himself. The Holy Spirit is the only real representative or vicar of Christ upon earth. By the exercise of his kingly power, Christ orders and disposes all things for the welfare of His people; by His Word and His Spirit He discharges amongst them His pro-phetical office; and if in His sacerdotal character-that is, as God and man united in one Person-He is at the right hand of God (the exercise of this office upon earth being incompatible with the nature of the Christian dispen- that a large proportion of those divines of

opened to every Christian, He is virtually present also in His priestly function; for to say that all Christians are everywhere present to Christ, is equivalent to saying that Christ is everywhere present to them; the Deity of our High Priest renders Him omnipresent.

"That the vicarious theory is incompatible with the hearty recognition of this great truth of Christ's presence amongst His people, is too evident to permit us to entertain any doubts upon the point. Experience has amply proved that where the Church is regarded as the imthat where the Church is regarded as the impersonation of Christ upon earth, the Sun of Righteousness speedily disappears behind the intervening body, and His life-giving beans are intercepted. The Church in every point becomes the proximate object of view, and the real source of salvation. If Christ is still supposed to work, it is only indirectly through the Church. Hence it is that what Protestants mean by faith can find a relace in the Church. mean by faith can find no place in the Church theory. Faith, according to the teaching of the reformed Churches, is a conscious reliance upon a present Person; but in the Church system the divine Person who is the proper object of faith is not present; the Church occupies His place, and the demand that we rely upon the Church in the same sense as we should upon Christ himself has not yet been made even by the theo-logians of Trent. The ingenious reasonings by which it is sometimes attempted to be proved that by justifying faith our Lord and St. Paul mean, an intellectual belief of the doctrines of Christianity, or the Christian religion itself, or the whole congeries of Christian virtues,-any thing, in short, but what it does actually mean in Scripture,—viz., such an acceptance of the word of promise as leads to trust in a Person are all prompted by the secret consciousness, that the Person upon whom faith should fix is withdrawn from view, nothing being left in His place but the dreary abstraction of the church." -Pp. 655-657.

We greatly admire the ability, the candour, and the boldness, with which Mr. Litton has defended important Protestant and We regard his work as evangelical truths. fitted to be extremely useful, as not unworthy, indeed, to take its place beside Mr. Goode's "Divine Rule of Faith and Practice." He will probably incur the displeasure even of many of his brethren in the Church of England who are not High Churchmen, by the frankness with which he has given up some points which ordinary Episcopalian controversialists are accustomed to defend. But he has maintained no position which, so far as we know, is inconsistent with anything to which the Church of England requires the assent of her members, nothing but what has been maintained before by some of her most eminent divines. It is indeed interesting and instructive to notice sation), yet, inasmuch as direct access to Him, the Church of England who have been the

most formidable opponents of Popery, have | might never have been inquired after. But also been the most liberal in their conces- there are few of our readers, we should sions on those very topics which Mr. Litton think, who have not felt an interest in the has discussed, such as Jewell, Whittaker, Reynolds, Morton, Field, Ussher, Stillingfleet, and Burnet.

ART. VI .- 1. Essays written in the intervals of Business. 5th Edition.

 The Claims of Labour. An Essay on the Duties of Employers to Employed. With additional Essay. 2d Edition.

3. Friends in Council. A Series of Readings and Discourses thereon. New Edition.

4. Companions of my Solitude. 3d Edition. 5. The Conquerors of the New World and their Bondsmen ;-being a Narrative of the Principal Events which led to Negro Slavery in the West Indies and America. Vols. I. & II.

6. King Henry the Second—an Historical Drama.

7. Catherine Douglas-a Tragedy.

THE above form a goodly number of volumes-all bearing obvious traces of the same gentle yet masterly hand. They are very diverse in their subjects; but the most important of them are in a literary respect closely associated, being, as their title for the most part bears, "Essays." It is as an Essayist undoubtedly that their author claims significance and consideration. are grateful to him, too, for his other labours. "Henry the Second," and "Ca-therine Douglas," are pleasing and skilful dramatic studies, abounding in quiet touches of power and many felicities of expression: but they do not manifest the vivid and creative genius which alone could purchase for them immortality, and crown their author with the laurel wreath.

The historical work entitled the "Conquerors of the New World and their Bondsmen,"-the second volume of which has just appeared-might by itself have claimed, as it deserves, our special notice. It is, we think, a luminous and graphic narrativeaiming at no striking breadth of delinea-tion or powerful variety of portraiturebut sweet and softly-flowing, and pictured here and there with a quaint rich pencil. Still, with all its unobtrusive excellence, it would not have won distinction for its anthor. His name, " in its connexion, we feel

author of "Friends in Council," and "Companions of my Solitude," to whom the rare beauty of these works has not brought an impression of literary skill inimitable within its range. It is not merely, however, from their peculiarly literary merits that we now propose devoting a few pages to them. These have been already recognised on all hands. But we are anxious also to indicate some progressive aspects of our literature, of which they seem to us significant.

Every one is familiar with the character of the "Essays" of the last century. What unfeigned delight have the pages of the "Tatler," the "Spectator," and their asso-ciates imparted! What pleasing reminis-cences do they recall! Their gossipy elegance, ingenious talk, bright and playful humour-their chastened and dainty and religious eloquence at times-whom have they not charmed! There is not much in our present Literature that can cope with them in these respects. And yet how few are there who do not now feel the strange want of vital human interest in those fine essayswho do not, amid all their glancing polish and exquisite savoir faire, desiderate any genuine depth and carnestness, and, in a word, insight! How elaborately shallow do most of their criticisms, and almost all their philosophy, now appear! And then among the numerous trim and dressed figures that move across the page-the erowds of Belindas and Celindas and Eugenias-how little of real life is there, we mean of honest, natural life; -for of certain aspects of life, of the pleasantries and follies of the "town," &c., we have enough,
—and get a peep even into the "good old" English country life in Sir Roger de Coverley. But of man, as he is, struggling amid actual toils and duties-of human hearts beating under wrong, darkened with earnest sorrow, or gay with leaping joy-of Life, save at its two extremes of fluttering Comedy or pompous Tragedy, how little do we find. We can never fancy ourselves looking at the real play of human affections, of living interests, in those Essays. We can

severingly he has himself withheld it. He pro-bably thinks, and is quite entitled to think, that it is the character of his works and not the name attached to them that mainly concerns the public. Other reasons, too, obvious enough from the qualities displayed in his works, we can imagine for his anonymousness. But the matter is so much his own, we need not here meddle with it. To those who may be curious, however, we whisper no secret, as we betray no confidence, and mean all honour, when we associate the name of Arthur Helps with works

^{*} The name of the author cannot be said to be any longer a matter of concealment, however per- so full of goodness and truth.

never get at the heart of that eighteenth and vindicate this Significance—to point out century existence, if indeed it had any heart the infinite beauty of all Nature's aspects, at all. All seems to move in idle and the infinite grandeur of all human relations flimsy costume, or in correct and decorous and obligations,-and thus in some sort, too, buckram. It is either coffeehouse Dilettant- to be a light to the feet and a lamp to the

ism, or "Blair's Sermons,"

rature, and eminently so in the Essays beholding converse with a man who feels probut a great and sacred reality—a mingled drama of intellect, passion, and affectiontears. It is this vivid sense of the reality of yet so hopeful a gaze on its abuses, in so manity.
many forms of social debasement and In cor itself fully in his first comparatively slender of all his literary labours.

ever momentous and influential, do not readily mingle themselves with the every-day employments and emotions of human life. special province of Literature to set forth significant for you as the chronicles of kings

path, amid the many perplexities, and even Now in a great deal of our present Lite- the solemn erises of our earthly lot. It is surely impossible to turn a frank and open fore us, it is peculiarly the deep and intelli- eye on Nature, with all its harmonious hints gent human interest pervading them which of a divine meaning-with all its ripe and gives them significance.' Human life as it sweet lessons, dropping thick as blossoms in is about us, burdened and tempted, and a May wind: still less on human Life with yet with the lustre of divine dignity around all its depths of unfathomed tenderness-its it and of divine duty before it—this is a melodies of passion—its most homely joys feature that comes out upon us continually and most common sorrows, without gatherfrom the pages of our author. With so ing endless instruction which intimately and many charms, this is to us their deepest practically concerns every man, and which charm. You are conscious that you are may largely help and bless him. It is the part of Literature to minister at this lower foundly for his fellow-men, with whom life altar of divine Truth, to serve in this outer is neither a mere farce nor a mere solemnity, sanctuary of the divine Glory; and just then most fitly will it fulfil its mission when it most perfectly does this-neither forgetting of duty and recreation-of gladness and its priestly dignity and becoming the tool of mere worldly interest, nor yet aspiring to life, and its grand meaning in all relations, usurp the function of a higher Priesthood, which makes him look with so saddened and and interpret all needful Truth for Hu-

In connexion with the vital human interest misery. It is this which inspires him with animating the works of our author, and, in such a deep enthusiasm in behalf of the op fact, constituting just another aspect of the pressed and unhappy of all classes. It is same quality, is their intense and pervading this, we should imagine, which, betraying religiousness. Looking upon human Life, as he does, with so profound and sympathework, has been the highest motive and guide tie an insight, as encompassed everywhere with the light of Truth and the infinite bear-And it is this spirit of human sympathy, ings of Duty, he could not fail to write in a of deep yearning over the physical and spi- Christian spirit, and rise often as he does into ritual improvement (two things more inti- a grand religious tone. We have been even mately allied than many fancy) of the race, awe struck in one or two places at the pethat is to us the most cheering of all pre-netrating and vivid glance which he easts sent aspects of our Literature. It is un-upon the depths of Christian duty,—the doubtedly as thus linking itself to the pro-gress of Humanity, and working in the clear Christian intelligence, he reads in the great cause of its purification and happiness, most ordinary relations. How impressive and not merely as a dilettante Recreation or the following, for example, - "You who have a grave moral School-mistress, that Litera- but a few dependents, or, perhaps, but one ture will ever win for itself the position drudge, dependent upon you, whether as which it claims, and vindicate its heaven-servant, apprentice, or hired labourer, do not appointed mission. There is a noble field think that you have not an ample opportubefore it in this way-a field in which, while nity for exercising the duties of an employer leaving the pulpit to its own work, it may of labour. Do not suppose that these duyet tread closely on its function. The latter ties belong to the great manufacturer, with is apt to expend its strength perhaps too ex- the population of a small town in his own clusively in a region of dogmata, which how- factory, and that you have nothing to do with them. The Searcher of all hearts may make as ample a trial of you in your conduct to one poor dependent as of the man who is In expounding the divine Truth above us, it appointed to lead armies and administer prohas been apt to forget the divine Significance vinces. Nay, your treatment of some animal in us and around us everywhere. It is the entrusted to your care may be a history as

world may be tried with the smallest quanti- term their Catholicity. One may read volumes of professed Christian Literature, innumerable sermons, without meeting in them a touch of Christian truth so deep and hitting as this. And it is the same quiet yet keen and pervasive Christian spirit which breathes in all the essays of our author. The spirit is there, as a delicate and searching aroma, shedding a fragrance on all his work, mingling with it as an embalming and purifying essence. You could not well tell what special doctrines the author believes, but you feel that he is a Christian, for there is in all his writings the impress of Christian Truth and Purity and There is at once such an acutely comprehensive and mildly loving intuition of all human responsibilities-such a lofty vindication of the right, and yet such a tender and trustful pity towards the erring-such a calm sustaining charity-the meck eye of Hope looking out beyond his darkest pictures, of our present social degradation, -that you feel that Christianity lives here more brightly and happily than in many writings expressly devoted to its teaching.

We need not say with what peculiar satisfaction we of the North British Review must regard works such as those before us in this point of view. They represent in the best form some of the qualities by which we desire to see our Literature marked. Never. we believe, does Christianity appear so truly divine, or Literature shine with so worthy and enduring a lustre, as when thus wedded. Works such as these, -not professedly religious, but treating of common subjects in a truly Christian spirit, (the aspiration of the devoted Arnold,)-not expositions in any express form of the relations of common duty to Christianity, but shewing how all the deepest reaches of the one naturally run into the other, and concentrate there,-arc worth, in our opinion, many elaborate apologies. The latter may or may not convince the intellect, but the former go right to the heart, with many home-touches of irresistible power. You see that Christianity is not only a noble and beautiful thing, but something so true and real that every bearing of human Life only finds its right and adequate meaning in it-that the worth of human labour and the beauty of human affection -the divinity that is everywhere in man, yet everywhere obscured in him, only comes forth into living lustre and harmonious strength in the light of that higher Divinity which came down from above to draw all men unto it.

The moral experiments of the our author's work is one which we may We have seldom ties."-" The Claims of Labour," p. 28. read any works marked by a more comprehensive insight. Widely free and varied in the range of their topics, it is yet never any single point or aspect of them merely that is discussed; but, like a man whose life has been one of patient observation and reflectiveness-the author, often in a very few brief touches glances at all sides of a subject, brings into view their mutual adaptations and compensatory meanings, and leaves you pleased and satisfied just because of the obvious fairness and balanced discrimination with which he has set all before you. This is a great virtue in a writer-the more to be prized that it is so seldom found. There is an overbearing tendency in most minds to contemplate only certain aspects of a subject, to be for ever aiming at an artificial consistency of view. Nay, a man's intellectual ability is often reckoned just as he forms with decision, and earries forward with unbending strictness, given principles on all subjects. A hesitating acknowledgment of the strength of opposing arguments, of the value and justice of what may be said on the other side of almost every question, is considered an evidence of mental incapacity, or at the best of mere sentimental epicureanism. Now, while there may be truth in the idea that this characteristic is apt to be allied to delicacy rather than strength of the intellectual faculty, it is yet, we think, undeniable that the highest mind is not that which seizes with logical directness and mere firmness of grasp on certain points of a subject, and aims to bring all others into rigid conformity with them, which settles it, in short, in straight, arbitrary, dogmatic fashion,-but that rather which, by the help of a quiet and loving intuition, sees or endeavours to see, all points of a subject-how complex and manifold it is, how incapable of being taken up in any mere formula, and expressed, in all its meaning, therein.

The fact is, the more we study Nature, and the more we learn of Truth, in all relations, the more outreaching and logically incomprehensible are they found to be. They stretch away into bearings and multiply into combinations which the intellect in vain essays to hold. It is ever only the Newtonian story of gathering a few pebbles on the shore of a boundless sea. All goes to falsify the proud old dictum, that "man is the measure of things," and to teach him that he must accept many things as they are, and because they are, without being able to say how or why they are. They are for ever breaking, with the full force of nature, the The next most general characteristic of withes of formula in which he glories to bind them. Now, the more a man opens his | pass more truth than a more aspiring and inmind to all this, -and he will do so the more just the more genuine and truth loving he becomes-the less will he aim at abstract and scientific conclusiveness on all subjects. He will see that Truth everywhere is many sided-not a Proteus, indeed, changing its shapes, so that what is truth to-day may be a lie to-morrow; but rather, (if we may venture on a comparison,) like a landscape, of endlessly varied and multiform hue and aspect-here glancing in sunshine, and there lying in masses of shifting and mysterious shadow-here running forth in breezy uplands, and green and quiet resting-places, and there into dark hollows and impenetrable forests. It is the same glorious Nature ever, but ever moving with the restless freedom and grace of life. And all truth is thus living-waiting in its beauty to be wooedin its grandeur to be worshipped, but scorning to be bound in the trammels of an unequal yoke with the mere postulates of man's understanding. She is content to be the mistress of all his fairest imaginings and brightest aspirations, and holiest dreams, but she will not become his wife for entire possession and fixed control.

The man who knows this cannot be a dogmatist, nor yet a sectarian, using these terms in their very widest signification. He will at once be too modest and too just. Loving Truth for her own sake-wrapped in the contemplation of her ideal and transcending beauty, he will see vividly the imperfection of the various forms in which she is presented to him, or (which amounts to the same thing) he will see how her living image is distributed more or less in all such forms, and his soul will shrink therefore from that abstract decisiveness which gives itself up to one form, and can see no good in others. He cannot help seeing the good all around him, and loving it wherever he sees it. He will be fond of viewing things not so much as they appear in the region of bare argument-of hard intellectualism, but as they exist in Life-as concrete realities, with all the limitations and compromises which Life and Reality everywhere assume-" where nothing is tied up neatly, but all is odds and ends, where the doctrine of compensation enters largely,-where there is no third volume to make things straight."* This is no doubt a spirit which, like every other, may be carried too far-which may degenerate into a mere eclectic vanity, or soft indifferentism: but apart from abuse, it is, we think, a beautiful, and a healthful, and trained mind, in clear and graceful language. happy spirit—a spirit really likely to com- His periods run on with undeviating smooth-

tellectual one. It is, at least, eminently the spirit of our author-characterizing largely his treatment of every subject-leaving it often, as might be expected, fragmentary and incomplete, (in a logical sense,) but never unfair or unsatisfactory-casting on all his works a smooth, calm, lustrous clearness, if never flooding them with intense bursts of light, carrying rapid and resistless

conviction to the mind. The other intellectual qualities of our author, which chiefly deserve notice, are his shrewd turn of worldly observation, condensing itself sometimes into very pithy and memorable expressions, and his light and playful humour. It is obvious that he has seen much of the world, and marked its ways well. This it is, perhaps, which has strengthened in him that toleraut catholic tendency of which we have spoken. This it is, at least, which gives so much practical value to many of his views. You see at once that he is no mere theorist, dealing with difficult and complex social problems; but a man familiar with details-conversant with practicalities-and whose proposals you do not, therefore, at once turn away from, as devout imaginations, but give your earnest consideration as likely and tangible issues. His humour is of that graceful, lambent kind which he has himself described,* in speaking of an old college friend, never coruscating in bursting flashes, but "lighting up every topic with grace and variety, and hurting nobody." It is eminently true of it, as indeed of all its pervading excellencies, as a writer, that you cannot often carry away anything, and give it as a specimen of the rest. It seems comparatively poor and trifling when separated from the continuity in which it occurred; yet, read it again in its place, and the same bright and felicitous effect comes upon you. It will not gather up in bouquets to impress and dazzle, but it is everywhere fair and gay, waving on its own green stalk. "A pailful of water from any river will no more give a notion of its beauty" than a quotation will bring before you that of the gentle and gladsome flow of his wit. It is a genial element through the whole-a playful gleam flitting in streaks of graceful and

The style of the author is of the same quiet and happy order-the same diffused excellence which mark his genius throughout. He works, from the repose of a well-

ever-vanishing beauty.

^{* &}quot; Friends in Council," vol i., p. 97,

^{* &}quot;Friends in Council," p. 329.

ness and facility. You never need to turn | broad and loving an eye, and too keen a back and gather in the drift of his meaning from amid a complication of clauses, or a disorderly exuberance of language. You grace, and nice discrimination which mark are always up to it, and carried along by it, his intellectual apprehension throughout, if you read with the most ordinary attention. It is impossible to conceive any works more free from the characteristic defects of the writing of the present day-He is tumidity, vehemence, mysticism. everywhere clear, free, calm, temperatetoo uniformly level, perhaps. Even in his most impressive passages, there is scarcely ever any hurry,-or sweep,-or rapid, bold grouping. There may be generally a deficiency of passion and force,—although it is really preposterous to make such demands upon a writer, and suppose that he can combine all the excellencies of composition. He is no more to be blamed for not doing so, than a flower is to be charged with not being at once gorgeous and meekly beauti-We cannot have, -- save in some rare and surpassing instances,-quietness and sweetness, and musical softness, united with energy, and boldness, and grandeur. Our author's predominant qualities are all of the former kind.

Yet it would be a great mistake to judge him at all tame and spiritless. No one There is a vital pulse could be less so. beating in his softest and most level utter-There is a heartiness beaming all throughout—a chastened glow warming and animating every page. In this respect, too, he contrasts, we think, favourably with the Essavists of the last century. Rivalling them in perspicuity, (their unfailing merit,) approaching them, if no more, in neatness and polish of diction, he excels them in variety and freedom. Their uniform ele-gance is beautiful, but cold and often stately. He moves with a frank and animated gesture-with a careless, yet never infelicitous ease. And if his humour, as we have described it, be less exquisite and flavorous than theirs, it is yet ever delicate, and draws perhaps a deeper power from the deep vein of seriousness-of earnest, and even mournful thoughtfulness, that is clearly seen under all its variety of manifestations, to be the main ingredient of the author's mind. His characteristic composure, in short, is not a mere constitutional qualitythe natural expression of a naturally placid nature, but obviously, and as he has himself indeed indicated, the chosen mode in which he has aimed artistically to clothe his He has wrought himself to peacefulness through struggle and earnest

rule also his language, and give it its delightfulness and felicity. And if it sometimes sinks even to baldness, when the theme is trite and commonplace, it yet often rises into passages of the most rich and picturesque beauty, or of the sweetest and most touching tenderness.

His first publication at the head of our list is a thin little volume, entitled, "Essays written in the Intervals of Business," and now in its fifth edition. It does not demand much comment from us. Full of the same observant shrewdness, gentle seriousness, and genial penetration, which distinguish his other works, these and all the qualities of the author are yet less ripely developed in it. There is, if we may say so, with all respect, a thinness in the intellectual matter as well as in the external appearance of the volume. The second part, which treats continuously of business, its duties and responsibilities, interested us but little, probably because it addressed us so remotely, but also in a considerable measure from a feeling that much of the advice given is too minute and pedantic, if we may use an expression than which nothing is less applicable to our author generally. The rules laid down for the proper and successful "transaction of business" are obviously of a valuable and important character; but it is somehow too much as if it were the schoolmaster taking us to task,-a much needed and very reasonable tuition we do not doubt; but the lessons are withal somewhat tedious, and the demand on our attentions somewhat irksome.

"The Claims of Labour," with the additional essay "On the Means of Improving the Health of the Labouring Classes," is in every respect a more notable production. Dealing with a subject of such momentous consequence, it everywhere displays a larger grasp, and a fuller and more robust style. It is throughout, in fact, a volume of the deepest interest, conceived and executed in the finest spirit. We could not imagine the subject set forth in a way more likely to win attention from the reluctant, and to inspire with intelligent zeal and hopefulness those whose attention is already aroused. The vast importance of the subject it is certainly impossible to overrate; and it is a matter of thankfulness that there are at length so many high minds among us earnestly directing their thoughts to it. A betendeavour, believing in his own words, that ter and a brighter time is surely at length "violence is always loss." He has too coming to the human race, and especially to of industrial misrule, when so many warm houses as poverty alone could not make. hearts and noble intelligences are turning with a hitherto unknown earnestness, to the great problem of social wellbeing. man, in whom all the faculties of heart and fever, the healthy huddled together with the soul are full, who has a mind to see, and a sick, deceney outraged, and self-respect all gone. bosom to be touched with the miseries around him, and upon whom has come even some dim sense of the infinite capacities and issues of all human life, it must be the very saddest contemplation, that with all our advancing civilisation-with our vast and ever strengthening resources of science, and art. and wealth, there should remain so black and fearful a shadow to the bright picturethat by the side of all this glittering increase, there should harbour such dreadful sickening masses of human degradation and suffering. We may well ask with our author,-

"What do all these mechanical triumphs come to ? It is in vain that you have learned to move with double or treble the velocity of your immediate predecessors : it is in vain that you can shew new modes of luxury or new re-sources in art. The inquiring historian will give these things their weight, but will never-theless persevere in asking how the great mass of the people were fed, and clothed, and taught; and whether the improvement in their condition corresponded at all with the improvement of the condition of the middle and upper classes. . What condition of the induce and upper classes. What a sorry answer any one replying for this age would have to give him. Nor would it be enough, indeed, if we could make a satisfactory reply to his questions about the physical state of the people. We ought to be able to say, that the different orders of society were bound together by links of gratitude and regard; that they were not like layers of various colored sand, but that they formed one solid whole of masonry, each part having its relation of use and beauty to all the others. Certainly, if we look at the matter, we have not much to say for ourselves, unless it be in that dawning of good intentions which I have alluded to before. There is to be found in our metropolis, in our great towns, and even in our rural districts, an extent of squalid misery such as we are almost afraid to give heed to, and which we are glad to forget as soon as we have read or heard of it. It may be that our ancestors endured-it may be that many savage tribes still endure, far more privation than is to be found in the sufferings of our lowest class; but the mind refuses to consider the two states as analogous, and insists upon thinking that the state of physical and moral degradation often found amongst our working classes, with the arabesque of splendour and luxury which surrounds it, as a more shocking thing to contemplate than a passing scarcity of provisions, endured by a wandering horde of savage men sunk in equal barbarism. When we follow men home who have been co-operating with other eivilized men in continuous labor throughout the live-long day, we should not, It is like leaving off pleasant company and

the children of toil and poverty-the victims | dreary, comfortless, deformed with filth, such less, when we gaze upon some pleasant looking village, fair enough in outward seeming for poets' songs to celebrate, should we expect scarcity of fuel, scantiness of food, prevalence of And yet such sights, both in town and country, if not of habitual occurrence, are, at any rate, sadly too numerous for us to pass them by as rare and exceptional cases."—Claims of Labour, pp. 3-5.

> We cannot pretend to present our readers with any outline of the mode in which our author pursues his subject in either of the conjoined essays before us. He is not given here, nor anywhere, to what may be called strictly systematic treatment. He does not lay down a formal plan, and fill it in rigidly. There are, however, few or no relations of his subject overlooked. He leads you round it all in his own quiet, and attractive way, till your interest is thoroughly quickened. and you are fully prepared to enter into the remedial measures which he somewhat specifically proposes. Most earnestly we commend the volume to all who may not yet have read it. It is only a perusal that can give any idea of its impressive truth and

"Friends in Council" is a more varied and elaborate work than either of its predecessors-forming a series of readings or essays, with conversations upon them interspersed. The readings are on the most varied subjects, and of course of very various interest, but all pleasing and instructive. What may be called the setting of the work is to us its most pleasant feature. It takes away altogether the monotony of a mere series of essays and conversations, and imparts to the whole a living interest. The reader comes to feel as it were that he is sharing the companionship and really listening to the talk of "Friends." The kind and placid old Dunsford-the grave and earnest Milverton-the clever and sarcastic Ellesmere, and the demure and gentle Lucy,-you seem to know them all. With no special effort at portraiture on the part of the author, it is wonderful how vivid is your acquaintance with all the four before you close the book,-with what clear individuality they stand out before you-how you learn to love them all, even the externally cold and captious Ellesmere, whom you yet somehow feel has a warm heart within, folded up and repressed as are its impulses,-how you welcome their next meeting and conversation, and how reluctant you are at length to part with them. without experience, expect to find their houses returning to your silent and lonely room.

The work opens with a brief introduction, membrance of these glad college days, now of the "Friends." It is Dunsford who, as lying so far behind him, and yet so clear and professed editor of the volumes, introduces vivid in his heart. the others to us. He is a country clergyman, and has grown old in the discharge of his loving and unostentatious duties. His comparative solitude has long since become dear to him. He would not exchange, probably, for all else the world could give him, the familiar faces of his parishioners, and the aspects of nature on which he has daily gazed, till he has taken them all into his heart, and loves them more than he can tell. He has reminiscences however of bright days of former companionship, of "intellectual society in which he once lived;" and he hears, therefore, with gladness, that his "old pupil Milverton has taken a house which had long been vacant" in his neighbourhood. To add to his pleasure, Milverton's college friend Ellesmere, "the great Lawyer," also an old pupil, came on frequent visits "in the course of the autumn."

This was great joy to the kindly tutor, and awakens in him pleasant thoughts of his former intercourse with his pupils. "Milverton and Ellesmere," he says, were his favourite pupils. "Many is the heartache I have had at finding that these boys with all their abilities would do nothing at the university. But it was in vain to urge them. I grieve to say that neither of them had any ambition of the right kind. Once I thought I had stimulated Ellesmere to the proper care and exertion; when to my astonishment and vexation, going into his room about a month before an examination I found that, instead of getting up his subjects like a reasonable man, he was absolutely endeavouring to invent some new method for proving something which had been proved before in a hundred ways. Over this he had wasted two days, and from that moment I saw it was useless to waste any more of my time and patience in urging a scholar so indocile for the beaten path. What tricks he and Milverton used to play me, pretending not to understand my demonstration of some mathematical problem, inventing all manner of subtle difficulties, and declaring they could not go on while these stumbling-blocks lay in their way. But I am getting into college gossip, which may in no way delight my readers. And I am faneying too that Milverton and Ellesmere are the boys they were to me, but I am now the child to them. During the years that I have been quietly living here, they have become versed in the ways of the busy world. And though they never think of asserting their superiority, I feel it and am glad to do so."—(Pp. 2-3.)

The good old man! who does not fancy V OL. XVIII. 18-B

The "Friends" thus brought into each other's vicinity, arrange for regular meetings at which Milverton reads some essays "which he was at that time writing," and these, with the conversations following, chronieled by Dunsford, constitute the work, "The place where we generally met in fine weather," he says, " was on the lawn before Milverton's house. It was an eminence which commanded a series of valleys sloping towards the sea. And as the sea was not more than nine miles off, it was a matter of frequent speculation with us whether the landscape was bounded by air or water. In the first valley was a little town of red brick houses, with poplars coming up amongst them. The ruins of a eastle and some water, which in olden times had been the lake in 'the pleasaunce,' were between us and the town. The clang of an anvil, or the elamour of a horn, or busy wheelwright's sounds, came faintly up to us when the wind was gentle.'

Such is the agreeable setting of the work, which is never lost sight of. By a few simple touches the tableau is preserved, and new life and freshness now and then imparted to How simple, yet how effective in this way, for example, the device by which Lucy is introduced and the brief traits which describe her and her mother !-- (Pp. 301-3.) And again how vividly real the meeting at the inn and the ride home; Ellesmere's restive mare carrying him beyond reach of his friend's conversation! And then again, the meeting at Cologne, the "City of many Churches," among the great stones of the unfinished Cathedral.

The topics discussed by the Friends in Council are, as we have said, very diversified: some of them hackneyed enough and reminiscent of schoolboy themes: such as "Truth." " Greatness," "Reading," " History." Perhaps, however, there could be no greter proof of the homely freshness of the genius of our Essayist than the grace and interest and fine vein of instructiveness often, which he imparts to his treatment of such themes. Of Truth, for instance, he says,-

"Truth needs the wisdom of the serpent as well as the simplicity of the dove. He has gone but a little way in his matter who supposes that it is an easy thing for a man to speak the truth, 'the thing he troweth;' and that it is a natural function which may be filled at once after any lapse of exercise. But, in the first place, the man who would speak the truth, must know what he troweth. To do that, he must have an uncorrupted judgment. By this is not meant him, as the soft tears fill his eyes at the re- a perfect judgment, or even a wise one, but one

or rooms as everything so durenessy, that they wants. It evintation required this chilation see nothing truly: they cannot interpret the would be a failure. Still less should we fancy world of reality. And this is the saddest form that we are serving the cause of godliness, of lying, 'the lie that sinketh in,' as Bacon says, when we are discouraging recreation. Let us which becomes part of the character, and goes be hearty in our pleasures, as well as in our on eating the rest away. Again, to speak truth, a man must not only have that martial courage which goes out with sound of drum and trumpet to do and suffer great things: but that domestic courage which compels him to utter small-sounding truths in spite of present inconvenience and outraged sensitiveness or sensibility. Then he must not be in any respect a slave to self-interest. Often it seems as if but a little misrepresentation would gain a great good for us; or perhaps we have only to con-ceal some trifling thing, which if told, might hinder unreasonably, as we think, a profitable bargain. The true man takes care to tell, notwithstanding. When we think that truth interferes at one time or another with all a man's likings, hatings, and wishes, we must admit, I think, that it is the most comprehensive and varied form of self-denial."—Vol. i. pp. 7, 8.

Our author devotes a reading to "Recreation," which is a very favourite subject with in business or the less active in benevolence. him, not only in this, but in his other works. He is most earnest in his advocacy of its worthiness. "Noble work is a noble thing," he says; but then men must have also leisure and play. The notion which would denounce amusement as frivolous almost awakens a touch of wrath in his commonly gentle temper; while our northern love of dullness receives a special blow in passing. For ourselves, we will not plead an arrest of judgment : although here also there is no doubt something to be said on the other side. It must not be forgotten that recreation is in every case relative, and not to be measured by the mere vivacity of "Unreasonable Claims on Social Affecits expression. An Anglo-Saxon finds real amusement in ways that seem tedious dullness to a Frenchman or Southern German, Yet it cannot be doubted, that we are not clever at amusing ourselves. There is a want of lightness and grace and easy happiness in our chief modes of employment. "They take their pleasures sadly," according to the saying of old Froissart, "after their fashion." "We need not ask," says our author, "of what nation Froissart was speak-ing." That this is a flaw in our civilization him. we firmly believe. There is probably, indeed, in reference to human progress, more poble meaning and high use in the modes of a people's recreation, than even its warmest advocates yet fairey. We agree entirely much too little power to the will.

"Milection.—I daresay I may have done so.

which, however it may be biassed, is not bought
—is still a judgment. But some people's judgments are so entirely gained over by vanity,
selfsahees, passion, or inflated prejudices and
fancies long indulged in, or they have the habit

still bine at averything so carelessly, that they
would be a failure. Still less should we fancy be hearty in our pleasures, as well as in our work, and not think that the gracious Being who has made us so open-hearted to delight, looks with dissatisfaction at our enjoyment, as a hard taskmaster might, who in the glee of his slaves, could see only a hindrance to their profitable working. And with reference to our individual cultivation we may remember that we are not here to promote incalculable quantities of law, physic, or manufactured goods, but to become men: not narrow pedants, but wide-seeing, mind-travelled men. Who are the men of history to be admired most? Those who most things became: who could be weighty in debate, of much device in council, considerate in a sick room, genial at a feast, joyous at a festival, capable of di-course with many minds, large-souled, not to be shrivelled up into any one form, fashion, or temperament. Their contemporaries would have told us that men might have various accomplishments and hearty enjoyments, and not for that be the less effective distrust the wisdom of asceticism as much as I do that of sensuality—Simeon Stylites no less than Sardanapalus."—Vol. i pp. 62, 63.

> The conversational part of the work is perhaps, in some respects, the most interesting-Ellesmere's liveliness breaking forth in all manner of bright and dashing ways, starting sometimes subtle traces of thought, and Dunsford, with his old fashioned caution. eliciting deeper and more comprehensive views of the subject discussed. With our space filling rapidly, we can only give one brief and imperfect quotation from the "Discourses." An essay has been read on tions:"-

> "Ellesmere, (clapping his hands.)—An essay after my own heart: worth tons of soft trash. In general, you are amplifying duties, telling everybody that they are to be so good to every other body. Now, it is as well to let every other body know that he is not to expect all he may fancy from everybody. A man complains that his prosperous friend neglects him, infinitely overrating, in all probability, his claims, and his friend's power of doing anything for

> "Dunsford .- I do not see exactly how to answer all that you or Milverton have said; but I am not prepared, as official people say, to agree with you. I specially disagree with what Milverton has said about love; he leaves

These are very deep matters, and any one view | These dogs are dear creatures, it must be about them does not exhaust them. I remember C. owned. Come, Milverton, let us have a walk." once saying to me that a man never utters anything without error. He may even think of it rightly; but he cannot bring it out rightly. It turns a little false as it were when it quits the brain and comes into life.

"Ellesmere.- I thought you would soon go over to the soft side. Here, Rollo; there's a good dog. You do not form unreasonable expectations, do you ! A very little petting puts you into an ecstasy, and you are much wiser than many a biped who is full of his claims for gratitude and friendship and love; and who is always longing for well-merited rewards to fall

Down, dog!

"Milverton.-Poor animal! It little knows that all this sudden notice is only by way of ridiculing us. Why I did not maintain my ground stoutly against Dunsford is, that I am always afraid of pushing moral conclusions too far. Since we have been talking, I think I see convey by the Essay, namely, that men fall into unreasonable views respecting the affections, from imagining that the general laws of the mind are suspended for the sake of the affections, "Dunsford.—That seems safer ground, &c.

" Dunsford.—There was another comment l had to make. I think when you speak about should say more upon the neglect of the just demands of merit.

"Milrerton.- I would have the government and the public in general try by all means to understand and reward merit, especially in those matters wherein excellence cannot otherwise meet with large present reward. But to say the truth, I would have this done, not with the view of fostering genius so much as of ful-filling duty. I would say to a minister—It is becoming in you, it is well for the nation to reward, as far as you can, and dignify men of genius; whether you will do them any good, or bring forth more of them, I do not know.

"Ellesmere.-Men of great genius are often such a sensitive race, so apt to be miserable in many other than pecuniary ways, and want of public estimation, that I am not sure that distress and neglect do not take their minds off worse discomforts. It is a kind of grievance too

that they like to have.

"Dunsford .- Really, Ellesmere, that is a

most unfeeling speech.

" Milrerton .- At any rate, it is right for us to know and observe a great man. It is our nature to do so, if we are worth anything. We may put aside the question, whether our honour will do him more good than our neglect. This is a question for him to look to. The world has not yet so largely honoured deserving men in their own time that we can easily pronounce what effect it would have upon them

Ellesmere.-Come, Rollo, let us leave the men of sentiment. Oh, you will not go, as your master does not move. Look how he wags his tail, and almost says, 'I should dearly like to loeophy, and requires an intelligent audience.' light of humour and fancy, of thoughtful,

We have indicated, but in the slightest manner, what the reader will find in 'Friends in Council;' but we cannot occupy our space with further extracts from it. At the risk of lingering, however, we must still say, that the greater part of the second volume is devoted to the discussion of slavery. The subject is one intensely interesting to the author, and to which he has given much attention. It is treated by him here under the several heads :- 1. That slavery is cruel. -2. That slavery is needless. -3. That it is unauthorized. -4. That it is mischievous to the master as well as to the slave .- 5. That there are no races in respect to which the preceding propositions do not apply .-- 6. That more clearly than I did before what I mean to slavery can be done away. There is no aspect of the subject overlooked or superficially discussed; and many noble things he says about it in beautiful and pathetic language. We have to notice especially the same wise moderation of tone and balance of judgment which characterize his treatment of the "Claims of Labour," He never the exorbitant demands of neglected merit, you denounces merely; but he vindicates and reasons, and expostulates with all the patience and force of one who has observed all the bearings of his subject, made himself familiar with its lase horrors and melancholy difficulties, and resolved with a calm earnestness to do what in him lay to help forward human enlightenment and progress regarding it. There is but little hard and pushing argumentation, according to the manner of the author. He reaches his points in the main illustratively, presenting the truth in pictures rather than in formulas to the mind. Yet the effect of the whole, in an argumentative way, is very convincing and satisfactory.

"Companions of my Solitude" is undoubtedly the gem of our author's works. It has, we suppose, introduced him to many readers whom his former works had scarcely reached. It has set all inquiring more who the author was, who could write so pleasantly, whose thoughts were at once such sweet and solemn "Companions," so illuminating and instructive withal. It contains, moreover, all the intellectual and literary characteristics of the author in richer strength and grace, or at least in a more compact and impressive form. There is a mellownessan autumn ripeness about both the sentiments and style which touches, with a pensive softness, the heart, and leaves on it deep have a hunt after the water-rat we saw in the and lingering traces of many wise and impond the other day; but master is talking phi portant lessons. A chastened and lustrous diffused through it, leaving no page unillu- to do so too; but I cannot help thinking of the mined with quiet meaning, and concentration state and fortunes of large masses of mankind, ing itself here and there into the most vivid gleams of truth and the most exquisite erally returns to one thing-the education of touches of beauty. The utmost frankness and sincerity are stamped on it. Its simplicity charms you, while its earnestness of what avail for example, is it for any one solemnizes you. You feel that it has been written from the heart-that it is a brother that speaks to you from the depths of his most sacred convictions, on subjects that may have often lain near to your own thoughts, but which you have never felt so strongly, nor seen so clearly before.

There is no essential connexion in the various topics it embraces. They have a subjective association in the author's mind, as the "spiritual Companions" of his varying too have straved over the fields or by the moods of solitude; but they do not relate themselves in any direct mode to one another.

brightness or in softened and changing Lucy, in the distance, again make their shadows. The idea of the volume will be appearance. best conveyed in the author's own words :-

live much alone; and as I wander over downs and commons, and through lanes with lofty in the "Companions of my Solitude." We hedges, many thoughts come into my mind. I see, moreover, that this is no mere mood find, too, the same ones come again and again, with the author, but that his mind has been and are spiritual companions. At times they insist upon being with me, and are resolutely intrusive. I think I will describe them, that so I may have more mastery over them. Instead present. His thoughts in his solitude often of suffering them to torment me as vague faces, and half-fashioned resemblances, I will make them into distinct pictures, which I can give away or hang up in my room, turning them, if I please, with their faces to the wall; and, in hort, be free to do what I like with them. Ellesmere will then be able to deride them at his pleasure, and so they will go through the alembic of sarcasm; Dunsford will have something more to approve or rebuke; Lucy some-thing more to love or to hate. Even my dogs and my trees will be the better for this work, as when it is done they will perhaps have a more disengaged attention from me. Faithful, stedfast creatures, both dogs and trees; how easy and charming is your converse with me compared with the eager, exclusive, anxious way in which the creatures of my own brain, who at least should have some filial love and respect for me, insist upon my attention.

"It was a thoroughly English day to-day, sombre and quiet, the sky coming close to the earth, and everything seeming to be of one colour. I wandered over the downs, not heeding much which way I went, and driven by one set of thoughts which of late have had great way!"-(P. 30.) hold upon me. I think often of the hopes of the race here, of what is to become of our western civilisation, and what can be made of it. Church of England, he says :-

playful, and picturesque meditativeness is Others may pursue Science or Art, and I long and hoping that thought may do something for them. After all my cogitations, my mind gensuperstition, while his neighbours lie sunk in it. His conduct in reference to them becomes a constant care and burden."-Pp. 1-3.

And so on he goes, from topic to topic, in the most natural and pleasing way. Even, as in actual life, you are scarcely sensible of the transitions, although they are often to the most dissimilar subjects. It is just as your own thoughts have often wandered, as you sheltering hedgerows, and the changing face of nature has drawn you now to thoughts of They come and go, just as thoughts do gladness, and now to thoughts "too deep for come and go; and the light of a pleasant humour or the time of a pleasant." It is our old friend Milverton, the humour, or the tinge of an earnest sadness, reader will observe, that personates the auplays around them, as it may be, in pure thor; and Dunsford, and Ellesmere, and

We have already spoken in express terms of the religious tone of the author's mind. deeply exercised on religious and ecclesiastical questions, especially as they stand at

"As the shades of evening came in on the woods, my thoughts went away from these simple topics; the refrain too,

"Quasi presto se va el placer,"

sounded in my ears again; and I passed on to meditations of like colour to those in the former part of my walk. In addition to the other hindrances I alluded to before, this also must come home to the mind of every man of the present generation-how is he to discern, much more to teach, even in small things, without having clear views or distinct conceptions upon some of the greatest matters—upon religious questions for instance? And yet I suppose it must be tried. Even a man of Goethe's immense industry, and great intellectual resources, feared to throw himself upon the sea of Bibli-cal criticism. But at the same time how poor, timid, and tentative must be all discourse built upon inferior motives. Ah, if we could but discern what is the right way, and the highest

Again, with special reference to the

"As I went along I thought of the Church expressed a feeling this is in our present of England, and of what might be its future Literature. Thinking minds are everywhere fortunes. I had just been reading the works of two brothers; last night I had finished an ela-borate attack from the Roman Catholic side upon the Anglican Church by one brother; and this morning I had read a very skilful attack upon all present religious systems by another brother. And I thought to myself, the Church of England suffers from both attacks.

" For my own part, it has long appeared to me that our Church stands upon foundations which need more breadth and solidity, both as regards the hold it ought to have on the reason, and on the affection of its members. As to the hold upon the reason: suppose we were taught to study scientifically up to a certain point something that admitted of all the lights of study, and were then called upon to take the rest for granted, not being allowed to use to the uttermost the lights of history and of criticism which had been admitted at first; how very inconclusive the so-called conclusions would appear to us. It would be like placing a young forest tree in a hot-house, and saying, Grow so far, if you can, spread to the uttermost in the space allowed to you, but there is no more room after you have obtained these limits; thenceforward grow inwards or downwards, or wither away. Our Church is too impersonal, if I may use that expression : it belongs too much to books, set creeds, and articles, and not enough to living men: it does not admit easily of those modifications which life requires, and which guard life by adapting it to what it has to bear. Again, as regards affection : how can any, except those who are naturally devout and affectionate, which is not the largest class, have an affectionate regard for anything which presents so cold and formal an appearance as the Church of England! The services are too long; and, for the most part, are surrounded with the most prosaic circumstances. Too many sermons are preached, and yet, after all, too little is made of preaching. The preachers are apt to confine themselves to certain topics which, however really great and solemn, are exhaustible, at least so far as men can tell us aught about them. Order, decency, cleanliness, propriety, and very often good sense are to be seen in full force in Anglican Churches once aweek: but there is a deficiency of heartiness.

"The perfection to be aimed at, as it seems to me, and as I have said before, would be a Church with a very simple creed, a very grand ritual, and a useful and devoted priesthood. But these combinations are only in Utopias, Blessed Islands, and other fabulous places; no vessel enters their ports, for they are as yet only in the minds of thoughtful men."—Pp. 231-35.

These extracts are significant enough of our author's religious thoughtfulness. They are Astronomy, the law of the stars, has ever

astir about religion; and there is in manifold vague forms a groping after higher light and a purer worship. In such a time as ours, something of this sort is indeed apt to become a fashion, and to degenerate into a eant, as unworthy and contemptible as anything on the other side. Yet this ignoble shadow, which stalks beside every movement, must not be allowed to hide the genuine fact which it caricatures. It is there ouly because a living reality reflects it. And what deep injustice there would be in hinting any doubt of the earnestness of the convictions and aspirations of such men as our author, we need not say. There is no man who is not utterly blind, or utterly uncandid, who can doubt that there is abroad much honest and well-principled dissatisfaction with existing religious phenomena. This is not the place nor the time to point to any higher meaning-any more harmonious solution of religious problems, which all this may indicate for the Church. It is well, however, that the Church should not ignore the fact,—but face it. No good can ever come from blindness. Especially the Church must work more earnestly, and in all things more Christian-wise.

We must now bid farewell to our author, grateful for the happy hours his books have given us. We could not wish a pleasanter wish for any of our readers who do not know them, than that they should speedily make their acquaintance. The fault will be theirs if they do not love them, and either a strange hardness or a rare merit must be theirs, if they do not profit by them.

ART. VII .- History of Physical Astronomy from the Earliest Ages to the middle of the Nineteenth Century; comprehending a Detailed Account of the Establishment of the Theory of Gravitation by Newton, and its Development by his successors; with an Exposition of the Progress of Research on all the other subjects of Celestial Physics. By ROBERT GRANT, F.R.A.S. 8vo, Pp. 672. London, 1852.

significant of more; they express an ear-been, and ever will be, a subject of the nest dissatisfaction, a yearning after some- most intense and varied interest - the thing better-something more hearty and widest in its range-the most fascinating in congenial than the Church of England as it its details—the most startling in its concluis, or any other Church presents. It is im-sions-and the most exciting to the specupossible to help remarking how commonly lative and spiritual nature of man. Carry-

ing us back to primaval times, before the revolving firmament with its host of sun nounced to be almost "above the reach of human reason and experience." Nor does the gratify our curiosity respecting the forms of life, intellectual and organic, which doubtless adom the planetary domains. It is to the telescope alone that we must look for the solution of this great problem—a problem, however, which would not be solved even were it proved that there were no inhabitants in the moon. We are thus eleft, and probably ever will be left, in the belief, if we choose to believe, that the planet we inhabit, though occupying no peculiar place, and marked with no distinguishing character, is yet the favoured spot from which alone it has pleased the Abound the laws of his glorious universe. the laws of his glorious universe,

birth of life and reason, its truths are and moon and stars, the very idea of a the earliest to be impressed upon the youthful mind; and carrying us forward to the earth becomes the centre and the favoured future, when life shall be without end, spot of creation, while the orbs that rule the and reason without error, it would be well day and the night seem created for our spewere they among the last when the soul cific use. In travelling, however, from his wings its way to a happier sphere. A own observatory, the astronomer finds each planet has been our birth-place—a star may horizon descending from his view, and unit-be our home. Thus associated with our ing them together, in every direction around earliest intelligence-and thus related to him, he is driven to the conclusion that he our final destiny, Astronomy is indeed dwells upon a globe that is round like the universal science, and its laws the luminaries that accompany it. In continulaws of the Universe. Embracing at once ing his studies he finds that all the stars, all that is sidereal as well as all that is except a few, are fixed at invariable dissublunary, Astronomy proclaims the same tances; and the studded firmament thus belaw of force for the most remote as well as comes a scale by which he can measure the for the nearest of the celestial motions. If motions of the sun, moon, and moveable stars, the law of gravity guides our satellite in its which change their places in the heavens. monthly course, it guides also the most dis- In this manner he soon ascertains the appamonthly course, it guides also the most dis. In this manuer he soon ascertains the apparant planet of our system; and if it is thus rent motions of the planets, their stations, the law of the Solar System, it must be the law which guides that system round the tor distant ceutre about which it is now proved distant ceutre about which it is now proved line on the sea-shore or on a level plane, he to revolve. The law of gravity is, therefore, the law of the Universe, and with a degree of the meridian, and thus ascerthis peculiar character, above all other laws, that it enables us to declare what were the with this as an element he determines the phenomena, and what the position of the distance and magnitude of the sun and heavenly bodies for thousands of years that moon. The motion of the moon round the are past, and to predict the same for thou- earth, and of the earth round the sun, disare past, and to predict the same for thou-sands of years that are to come. It gives play to him the character of that part of us no information respecting the soil or pro-the system with which he is more imme-duction of the planets of our system, but diately connected—a planet with its satellite it enables us to compute with an accuracy revolving round the sun. The periods and inconceivable the weight and density of relative distances of the other planets, and matter in the sun, the planets and the satellites, a result which Adam Smith pronounced to be almost "above the reach of with the number and nature of its planets,

double, triple, and multiple systems, in By what means and by what men this which one or more stars revolve round anogreat work has been accomplished, the historian of astronomy delights to tell us. Lord Rosse had elevated to the heavens, we Placed on an extended plane of hill and deserv in the faintest nebulæ groups of stars, dale, of earth and ocean, and viewing the and spiral forms of arrangement, indicating

forces of which we know nothing, and on a not prepared to expect. Without the use

will probably never grasp.

but know even as we are known.

By such means, as we have very imperfeetly delineated, has the astronomer sketched, in their true outline, three different sysnebulæ which extend all around, and fill up, erty and afflictions of Kepler. as it were, the rest of the universe. To these connect our planetary system with bodies and importance as Mr. Grant's.*

far beyond it.

When these various departments of Asat any past or at any future instant. To light, or the functions of vision. work which we are about to analyze.

student and general reader, who require a of luminous objects, the astronomer would more popular exposition of the systems of not have required to study the subjects of the world than is to be found in the Principia the world than is to be folint in the Principla of Newton, or in the Mecanique Cleste of Laplace. The work of Mr. Grant supplies the principla of the unusual size of its page, and the smallness of its type, this single volume contain valuability than the result of the principla of the unusual size of its page, and the smallness of its type, this single volume contain valuability than the principla of the unusual size of its page, and the smallness of its type, this single volume contains the principla of the unusual size of its page, and the smallness of its type, this single volume contains the principla of the unusual size of its page, and the smallness of its type, this single volume contains the principla of the unusual size of its page, and the smallness of its type, this single volume contains the principla of the unusual size of its page. The unusual size of its page, and the smallness of its type, this single volume contains the principla of the unusual size of its type, the size of the unusual size of its type, the size of the unusual size of its type, the size of the unusual size of its type, the size of the unusual size of its type, the size of the unusual size of its type, the size of the unusual size of its type, the size of the unusual size of its type, the size of the unusual size of the un the desideratum in a manner which we were umes.

scale of magnitude which the highest reason of formulæ or even of mathematical symbols, and without a single geometrical diagram, We are thus conducted to the almost in- excepting a few in an appendix, he has provisible verge of the universe—to that mys-terious bourne beyond which the human eye it will permit, written with much elegance is too dim to explore, and the human facul-ties too feeble to apprehend. We ponder thorough knowledge of his subject, and over the wondrous scene, and failing to comprehend the infinite in space and time, the discoveries which he records, and of the Reason resigns itself to Faith, and pants for researches which he reviews. In language that eternal day under whose sunshine we at once lofty and eloquent, he characterizes shall no longer see through a glass darkly, the grandeur of his theme and the dignity of its cultivation; and in studying the history of those great men, who in the darkness of civil and ecclesiastical despotism, had to defend truth as well as to discover it, he has tems of worlds,-the system of the earth not learned the dogma of some modern hisand moon on which he himself lives, and torians, that science is its own reward, nor reasons, and in which alone we know that has he found any trace of its truth in the life exists,-the solar system, including his pensions and persecutions of Galilco, in the own and the sidereal systems of stars and exile and sorrows of Tycho, or in the pov-

It would be impossible within the narrow systems he adds, what he knows little about, limits of a single article, to convey to our the system of the comets, which, for purpo- readers anything like an idea of the merits ses we cannot even conjecture, seems to and contents of a work of such magnitude We shall, therefore, endeavour to give a brief abstract or its chapters, and dwell more fully upon tronomy have been separated and studied, those more popular topics of recent discovand their general character ascertained, the ery, which we have not already fully dis-Astronomer has scarcely sounded, and still cussed in preceding numbers of this Journal, less explored the depths of his science. He The History of Physical Astronomy, prohas established the facts, and explained the perly so called, occupies the first thirteen phenomena of Descriptive Astronomy, or chapters of the work, or scarcely one-third what may be called the Natural History of of the volume. In his fourteenth chapter he the Heavens. The mathematician and the treats of the physical constitution of the philosopher now come to his aid, to deter-primary and secondary planets, and he de-mine from mechanical principles, the laws votes the whole of the fifteenth chapter to which regulate the celestial motions, to com- comets, whether they are the occasional pute the changes in the planetary orbits visitors of our system, or complete their which are produced by their mutual action, course within the orbit of Neptune. The and thus to determine with accuracy their sixteenth chapter contains an interesting periods of revolution, the form and position discussion of various physical principles of their orbits, and the other elements which which affect the apparent place of the heavenable him to compute their places, their enly bodies, depending either on the posiphases, their occultations, and their eclipses, tion of the observer, or the properties of Were the this branch of the science is given the name astronomer placed in the centre of the earth, of Physical Astronomy, the subject of the and the earth without an atmosphere, the subjects of parallax and refraction would A complete history of Physical Astron-omy has long been a desideratum in science, nomy; and had light passed by bodies not so much for the use of the mathemati- without suffering a change in its condition, cian, and mechanical philosopher, as for the and the human eye given a sharp definition

a prominent part to play.

diffraction and irradiation. In like manner, in their course. The idea of a transparent had light been propagated instantaneously, revolving sphere, to which the planet was and the earth been a perfect sphere, the attached, was in early times not a very exaberration of light, the nutation of the travagant conjecture. Kepler surmounted earth's axis, and the procession of the equi- the difficulties of solid orbs by supposing noxes would not have embarrased astrono the planets to be animated; and Descartes mers in their calculations. The seventeenth advanced a step farther, by maintaining chapter is occupied with the phenomena of that the planets revolved in ethereal vorsolar and lunar eclipses, the transits of Ve-tices, of which the Sun was the centre. nus and Mercury over the sun's disc, and while the satellites revolved round their prithe occultation of the stars and planets; and mary planets by the same agency. Nota peculiar interest is given to the chapter withstanding the extravagance of these specby an excellent description of the phenom-ulations, sounder opinions began to prevail. ena which have been recently observed in The idea of a mutual attraction between the different parts of the world during total bodies of the system, similar to that of mageclipses of the sun, and an examination of nets, as maintained by Gilbert, was a step the views which they suggest respecting the in the right direction; and Kepler, as if to physical condition of the sun itself. The make amends for his early and absurd history of Practical Astronomy, from the speculation, announced in 1609, the great period when the Chaldees estimated space fact of mutual attraction or gravitation, and and figure by the eye, and measured time by maintained that two stones in absolute dials and water-clocks, to the chronometers space would approach each other and meet of Frodsham, the great telescopes of Lord at a point, each of them having described a Rosse, the mural and transit instruments of space inversely proportional to its mass. Greenwich, and the electro-magnetic appa. Halley, Hook, and Wren had, at a subseratus of Mr. Bond, forms the eighteenth quent period, correct ideas of gravity, and chapter of the volume, and is treated with had even discovered that the force which the usual ability of the author. From the kept the planets in their orbits was in the history of Instrumental Astronomy, and a inverse ratio of the square of the distance; special account of the Royal Observatory but it was reserved for Newton to establish of Greenwich, now pre-eminent among the the law of gravitation in its most general form, Observatories of Europe, both from the ta- namely, that every individual particle of matlents of its director, and the magnificence ter in the universe attracts every other particle of its instruments, Mr. Grant passes to the with a force directly as the mass of the attractless interesting, though not less important ing particle, and inversely as the square of subject of the construction of catalogues of their distances. Under the guidance of this stars, a branch of Astronomy the perfection simple principle, Newton accounted for all of which is necessary for the observation of the great motions of the solar system. In phenomena, and the determination of ques- considering the mutual action of two bodies tions which will occupy a prominent place under the influence of gravity, he demon-in the future history of the science. The strated that their orbits must be conic sechistory of the telescope, from the little Dutch tions; and in applying the theorem to cylinder which the observer put in his planets revolving round the sun, he shewed pocket, to the tower-like tube of Birr Castle, that they all revolved in elliptic orbits, in through which the public are allowed to one of the foci of which the sun was placed. walk without being able to touch its roof, When the action of a third body was taken occupies the twentieth chapter; and in the into account the problem became much twenty-first the work reaches its maturity more difficult, as in the case of the Earth and manhood in a history and discussion of and Moon when the latter is disturbed by Stellar Astronomy, that branch of the science the action of the sun. Even in this case, over which imagination exercises some pow- however, Newton surmounted many of the er, and in which the principles of optics, and difficulties; but though he succeeded in rethe improvement of the telescope have yet ferring several of the lunar inequalities to the disturbing action of the sun, he left it to In the infancy of Astronomy, and long the French Geometers, and to Laplace esbefore the planets and stars were arranged pecially, to complete the theory of the under their proper systems, philosophers moon, nearly a century after it had been ex-were anxious to learn how the Sun and plained in the Principia. Directed by the Moon could wheel their way among the same law, Newton concluded that the comets stars without a charioteer to guide them, revolved round the sun in very eccentric and without any apparent power to urge ellipses,-that the figure of the earth ought them along their path, and maintain them to be an oblate spheroid, with its polar and

equatorial diameters in a certain ratio,-lof the infinitesimal calculus was the instruthat the action of the sun and moon on the ment by which alone the discoveries of equatorial parts of this spheroid ought to Newton could be extended and perfected; produce a motion in its axis, and a retroces- and Leibnitz, and John and James Bernousion in the equinoctial points, and that the illi, were among its most active cultivators. flux and reflux of the ocean had its origin in In the state in which it was left by Newton the action of the two great luminaries. and Leibnitz, its inventors, it was not fitted to These grand discoveries are contained in his grapple with the higher problems in Physi-Principia Philosophia Naturalis, a work cal Astronomy which remained to be solved; which, from the original and profound views and it was fortunate for the farther progress which it contains, and the elegance with of the science that distinguished mathemawhich they are expounded, will, to use the ticians devoted themselves to the perfection language of Laplace, ensure to the Principia of the method of fluxions, and to the invena pre-eminence above all other productions tion of new instruments of research, of human genius.

truths indeed were appreciated and ex- which he demonstrated formed the basis of Scotland* and England; but his distin- Euler provided a notation and an algorithm, guished contemporaries abroad—the men which have rendered it one of the most simmost capable of following him in the same ple and valuable instruments of astronomical paralyzed by the grandeur of his discoveries, partial differences by d'Alembert, which he or to have been withheld, by a jealousy not first introduced in 1747, in his solution of unknown among philosophers, from ac-knowledging their truth, and propagating wards extended, in 1752, in his new theory them among their countrymen. Huyghens of the resistance of fluids, was particularly and Leibnitz, and John Bernouilli, the most applicable to the more difficult problems on profound mathematicians of their day, though Physical Astronomy, and when improved truths, had no fixed theories of their own valuable instrument of research in every invortical system of Descartes as a reverie; pure or mixed mathematics. while Leibnitz so far supported the idea of an ethereal fluid, as to endeavour to deduce of analysis, the calculus of variations, discothe law of the inverse square of the distance vered by Lagrange in 1760, is doubtless from the elliptic motion of a planet in a the grandest step in the history of the infivortex. Cassini and Maraldi, and almost nitesimal calculus which was made in the all their contemporaries on the Continent, last century. It not only afforded the most rejected the theory of gravitation; and it complete solution of the problem that gave was to Voltaire that science is indebted for rise to it, but had an application of the most the first popular account of Newton's dis-extensive kind, beyond even the expectacoveries, and for their diffusion as great tions of its inventor. Euler, who had made truths among all ranks of society and intelligence on the Continent.

During the long interregnum which followed the intellectual apotheosis of Newton, the very rivals who had rejected his discoveries were themselves preparing the elements of fresh laurels for the English philosopher,-laurels which, though plaited by themselves, were to be planted by other hands upon his brow. The improvement

In the very year in which Newton died, Nearly half a century elapsed after the Christian Mayer published, in the Commenpublication of this immortal work before taria Petropolitana for 1727, an interesting any attempt was made to develop and ex- memoir on the application of algebra to tend the views of its author. Its great trigonometry; and the geometrical theorems pounded by several of his countrymen in the arithmetic of sines,—a calculus for which train of research, seemed to have been either inquiry. The invention of the calculus of they all agreed in opposing the Newtonian and extended by Euler, it became an into guide them. Huyghens denounced the quiry which demanded the aid either of the

> Important as were these new instruments some progress in the same direction, at once acknowledged the superiority of his youthful rival, and with a nobility of mind, not frequently evinced even among the greatest men, renounced his own imperfect methods, and devoted himself to the study and extension of the new calculus.

> Were this the place to record the obligations of Physical Astronomy to the mathematicians of the last century, the labours of Euler would occupy a distinguished place. With an ardour as intense in his old age as it was in his youth, he devoted the whole of his life to the labours of science; and while, during a period of fifty years, he an-nually communicated original and valuable

^{*} The doctrines of the Principia were taught in St. Andrews, in 1690, by James Gregory, and by his brother David, in Edinburgh, before they were in-troduced into either of the English Universities.— See Brewster's Life of Sir Isaac Newton, pp. 173,

memoirs to the Academies of Berlin and | memoirs ready for publication, in order to plan, mathematicians had prepared to scale the fulfil a pledge which he had given to Count Orloff, that for twenty years after his death he would supply memoirs for the Acta Pe-

tropolitana.

But though methods on pure mathematics were essentially necessary to the progress of Physical Astronomy, yet new mechanical principles, or more extended applications of those which were known, were equally required for the profound problems which were yet to be solved. Among these principles, that first hinted at by Fontaine, though discovered also by d'Alembert, is the most important; and though it is based action and reaction, it is nevertheless entitled to the character of being new. D'Alembert has shewn, that if we resolve into two motions a, a', b, b', &c., the velocities A. B', &c., of two or more systems of particles or bodies attracting or repelling one another, and if their resolved motions are such, that if the bodies had only the motions a, b, &c., they would be able to preserve their motion without materially affecting each other, and that if they had only the motions a, b', &c., they would remain in equilibrio, then the motions a', b', &c., will be those which they will take in consequence of their mutual action. Lagrange, in his Mécanique Analytique, simplified this principle, and exhibited its true value by his successful application of it in Physical Astronomy.

Among the other mechanical principles which contributed to the advancement of Physical Astronomy, was that of the conservation of the momentum of rotatory motion discovered by Euler, Daniel Bernouilli, and the Chevalier d'Arcy, in 1746. Euler Bernouilli, while investigating the motions of several bodies in a curve of a given form, and capable only of turning round a fixed centre, discovered that the sum of the products of the mass of each body, multiplied by the velocity of its revolution and by its distance from the centre, is independent of the mutual action of the bodies, and remains constant, provided that the bodies are not acted upon by an external This principle, which was almost similarly expressed by d'Arcy, is to a great extent a generalization of Newton's theorem, that the radius vector of every planetary orbit describes equal areas in equal times. The principle of least action introduced by Maupertuis, improved by Euler, and greatly extended by Lagrange, was another principle of Göttingen, himself a skilful astronomer, diwhich lent its aid in the problems of Phy-

sical Astronomy.

Such were the implements and munitions Petersburg, he left behind him two hundred of war which, when Newton had given the heavens, and reduce to the obedience of law the wandering and wayward planets. The restless giants of the sphere had long yielded an unsatisfactory allegiance to Geometry and Analysis; but a century had scarcely elapsed after the completion of the Principia, before every act of irregularity within the planetary domains was traced to its cause; and in our own day, the last disturber of our system has been tracked by his own misdeeds, into the dark and distant cave in which he had since his creation been concealed.

About twenty years after the death of on the recognised principle of the equality of Newton, between 1745 and 1747, Euler, Clairaut, and d'Alembert were engaged in the solution of the problem of three bodies. The determination of the longitude at sea had given a peculiar interest to the construction of accurate tables for computing the place of the Moon; and with this stimulus to research, these great men devoted themselves to the study of the lunar perturbations. Clairaut is supposed to have started first in this race of fame, but however this may, they all arrived at the same goal with nearly equal honours; and what is not unusual in the history of Science, another aspirant for fame, without sharing in the heat and toil of the intellectual strife, carried off nobly and honestly, the material prize. In 1746, Euler constructed a set of lunar tables, founded on the results of his researches, but when compared with observation, they were not found to be very superior to those in common use. Clairaut, who had at first tried to compute the inequalities of the Moon's motions by the method of Newton, was obliged to abandon it, and resort to analysis. In the year 1754, Clairaut and d'Alembert published lunar upon the theoretical tables founded results they had obtained. Those of Clairaut were singularly correct, giving the Moon's place very near the truth, while those of d'Alembert, owing to his neglecting the guidance of observation, were of very inferior accuracy. In the year 1758, Euler published a new and more complete set of tables, to accompany his researches on the lunar theory; but though much more conformable with observation than his former set, they yet wanted that degree of accuracy which the necessities of Navigation required.

At this time, the celebrated Tobias Mayer rected his undivided attention to the improvement of the solar and lunar tables. Guided by the researches of Euler, and a number acterizes all physical laws, and maintained of accurate observations of his own, he com- that there was no sufficient reason for deterputed a new set, which he transmitted to the mining which part of the attraction should English Board of Admiralty in 1755. When follow the simple law of the square, and compared with the observations of Bradley, which part should follow the biquadrate these tables were found to give the place of the distance. The three mathematicians refused to admit the aid of metaphy-The German astronomer continued till the sical argument, but the metaphysician triday of his death to give additional accuracy umphed. Clairant was driven back to his to the tables, and he left behind him a com- Calculus. He found that he had neglected plete set of solar and lunar tables, for which to include some quantities which he had bethe Lords of the Admiralty awarded his lieved to be too small to affect the result, widow the sum of three thousand pounds, a and carrying his approximation farther than portion of the reward which they had offered before, he found that the numerator of the for the discovery of the longitude. These fractional term which measured the part of tables were first given to the world in 1770, the Earth from which followed the biquadrate and when compared with observation by Dr. power of the distance to be nothing, so that Bradley the Astronomer Royal, their error no such force was exerted by the Earth. was found never to exceed one minute and a Clairaut publiely acknowledged the mistake quarter. As these tables were founded on he had committed; and by amending his the theorems furnished by Euler, the Board calculation, the theory of the motion of the of Longitude awarded to the distinguished lunar apogee was found to coincide accuanalyst the sum of three hundred pounds. rately with observation. This interesting As Euler was still in the prime of his intelepisode in astronomical history is worthy of lectual life, though physically advanced in being studied as a perturbation in the orbit years, he continued to labour at the lunar of the Inductive Philosophy. The mathetheory, and with the assistance of his son, matician trusted too much to his Calculus, and MM. Krafft and Lexell, two eminent and was willing to surrender, at its challenge, Russian astronomers, he constructed a new a law which Newton had established upon set of lunar tables, which appeared in 1772, the firmest basis; while the philosopher, and which, at the suggestion of the illus with more enlarged conceptions,-with a trious Turgot, were rewarded by the Board firmer reliance on the systematic government of Longitude in France.

problem of three bodies, an incident of pe- so powerfully the continuity of the law of culiar interest occurred, which may prove at gravity as a necessary truth, that the matheonce a beacon and guide to philosophers in matician was sent back into his stronghold other researches than those of Astronomy. to discover the weakness of the position In computing from his formulæ the motion which he had deemed impregnable. of the Moon's apogee, or of the major axis of her elliptical orbit, Clairaut found it to be ments in the lunar theory and the wonderful the same as that given by Newton, namely, accuracy of Mayer's tables of the sun and only one half of what it was known to be by observation. Euler and d'Alembert had oblairty in the moon's motions, to which the tained the same result, and even Clairaut, theory of gravity did not respond. From a placing too little faith in a law which had comparison of ancient with modern observaotherwise proved its correctness and general- tions, Dr. Halley had proved that the annual ity, was led to believe that the law of gra-revolution of our satellite was performed in vitation was neither true nor universal, less time than formerly. This important From this dilemma he endeavoured to extri- fact known by the name of the acceleration cate himself by the strange supposition that of the moon, was admitted by every astro-the force with which the Moon is kept in her nomer, and its magnitude ascertained to be orbit by the Earth does not decrease as the nearly ten seconds in a century. Numerous

of the material universe, and without any At an early stage in the history of the specific knowledge of the subject, defended

orbit by the Earth does not decrease as the learly ten seconds in a century. Numerous square of the distance, but that only a part hypotheses were framed to account for it, of it followed this law, while another part of the most plausible of these was that the it was inversely proportional to the fourth planets moved in an ethereal medium by power of the distance! On this occasion which their motion was resisted, so that the philosopher stepped in to correct and guide the mathematician. Buffon attacked this law with all the severity of criticism, velocity, and thus shorten their annual period. He objected to it justly on the ground of its round the central body. This hypothesis being defective in that simplicity which char-laws a naturally supported by the abettors of

the undulatory theory who required the ex-|phenomena which had the character of pewarmly adopted by another class of specu-succeeded in finding the true cause of the lators, who saw in the acceleration of the lunar acceleration. It was known to all the finite wisdom was to put an end to the solar that there were changes in the eccentricities system, by precipitating the secondary pla- of the planetary orbits that had a very long nets upon their primary, and the primary period, and therefore the eccentricity of the planets upon the sun. Laplace admitted earth's orbit must experience the same which in both hemispheres extend from the this diminution ceases, and the earth's orbit equator to the poles; but Laplace, who sub- becomes again more elliptical, the sun's acmitted this view of the subject to a rigorous tion will increase, and the moon's mean moexamination, came to the conclusion that the tion will be retarded. Laplace, upon these earth could not experience any retardation principles, computed the acceleration, and from such a cause. Another hypothesis still found it to be about ten seconds in a century, remained to which the astronomer might as had been previously deduced from obserappeal not only for an explanation of the se- vation. The existence of a retarding ether, cular acceleration of the moon, but also of the influence of eastern gales upon mountain certain inequalities in the motion of Jupiter ranges, and the transmission of gravity in and Saturn, which appeared to be in the same time, ceased to be hypotheses recognised in category, of not having a periodical charac- Physical Astronomy. ter. Gravity had always been conceived as a force which was instantaneous, that is, not lunar motions, the disturbances produced propagated in time like rays of light, and by the mutual action of the planets occupied hence it occurred to Laplace that if time was the attention of the same mathematician, necessary for the transmission of gravity, and were all finally explained by the law the effect of it would be to modify the in- of universal gravitation. The problem of tensity of the force. He therefore computed these bodies was greatly simplified in the the extent of this modification, and found that it would have no sensible effect upon in so far as the sun had a mass so much the moon's motion, unless it exceeded a velocity eight millions of times greater than that was situated at such a great distance from of light, that is, unless it were 192,000 mul- both, but in the case of the Sun, Jupiter, tiplied by 8,000,000 or 1,536,000,000,000 and Saturn, the distance of Jupiter from Samiles, a velocity which we cannot express in turn may sometimes be nearly the same as words. After establishing the result Laplace the distance of either from the Sun, and observes that if the moon's acceleration is hence it is more difficult in such a case to produced by any other cause, then it will obtain a quickly converging expression of

was placed beyond a doubt that every in-turn. In Euler's Memoir, which gained the equality in the solar system produced by the prize, he proved that both Jupiter and Saaction of gravity must be periodical, that is, turn were subject to considerable inequalimust, after reaching its maximum, again ties, arising from their mutual action, but as diminish by the same law according to all these were periodical, returning at interwhich it had increased, and hence it became vals not exceeding twenty or thirty years, doubly interesting to discover the cause of and depending on the relative positions of

istence of an ethereal medium for the pro- riodicity. Laplace again devoted himself pagation of light, and it was still more to the inquiry, and about the end of 1787 celestial motions, the method by which in- mathematicians engaged in these researches, that this hypothesis was sufficient to account change from the action of the planets. The for the acceleration, but he justly remarked mean action of the sun must therefore vary that there were no independent grounds for with the earth's eccentricity, and the earth believing in the existence of an ether univer- having thus more or less power over the sally diffused, and that we were not warrant- moon will accelerate or retard her in her ed in adopting such a hypothesis, until it orbit, and thus produce a secular inequality was found that gravitation was incapable of in her mean motion. When the eccentricity accounting for the fact. In order to explain is diminishing, or the earth's orbit approachthe moon's acceleration it was supposed that ing to a circular form, which has been the the diurnal motion of the earth might be re- case from the time of the earliest observatarded by the blowing of the easterly gales tions to the present day, the mean motion of the tropics against the mountain ranges of the moon will be accelerated; but when

Having thus completed the theory of the ease of the Sun, the Earth, and the Moon, greater than either of the other two, and follow that the velocity of gravity must be the force which the one planet exerts over at least fifty millions of times greater than that of light. In the course of these investigations it for 1748, the inequalities of Jupiter and Sathe subject of their prize for 1752. Euler Jupiter differing only nine minutes from tities equal and additive. with a grave difficulty.

their mutual action. By a method of his own universe. invention he found that they could not,the solar system.

became more probable than before that the conditions of the planetary system which are secular inequalities of Jupiter and Saturn necessary to its stability, and to consider had their origin in some cause different from whether they appear to be the result of netheir mutual action, and this truth was cessity or of design. It is an unquestionable placed beyond a doubt by the discovery of corollary from the discoveries of Lagrange its true cause. This great honour was re- and Laplace, that there are three conditions served for Laplace. By a rigorous inquiry essential to the stability of the solar sysinto all the circumstances of this perplexing tem, namely, the motion of all the bodies problem, he found that, in virtue of their which compose it in the same direction; mutual action, the mean motion of Jupiter their motion in orbits slightly elliptical; and would be accelerated, while that of Saturn the commensurability of their annual periods. was retarded; and that in inequalities of These conditions are certainly not the only

the planets themselves, the great secular in- of the two planets would be as the masses equalities, which in Jupiter had produced of each multiplied by the square root of the in twenty centuries an acceleration of 3° 33', mean distance of each; that is, that the and in Saturn a retardation of 5° 13', still effect upon Jupiter would be to that on Saremained to be accounted for. The Acade- turn as 3 to 7, or 3° 58' for the acceleration of my of Sciences was therefore induced to Jupiter, when the retardation of Saturn was propose the theory of Jupiter and Saturn as 9° 16', as found by Halley,-the result for again carried off the prize, and in the Me- that obtained by Halley. In continuing his moir which was crowned, he pointed out inquiry into the cause of these inequalities, two inequalities of long periods, depending he discovered that they arose from the fact on the angle formed by the line of the that the mean motion of Jupiter was to that apsides of each planet; but, what was con- of Saturn nearly in the ratio of 5 to 2, the trary to observation, he made the two quan-difference being only about the 1-74th part Lagrange and of the mean motion of Jupiter. By inte-Laplace failed in the same research, and grating the terms containing this quantity, Physical Astronomy was again embarrassed and making the calculation, he found that each planet was subject to an inequality In this emergency Lagrange appeared to which had a period of 929 years, that of throw new light upon this perplexing sub-Saturn when a maximum amounting to 48' jeet. At the early age of twenty seven 44", and that of Jupiter to 20' 49", with a this distinguished mathematician published contrary sign. These inequalities reached in the Turin Memoirs for 1763, a new solu-their maximum in the year 1560, and from tion of the problem of three bodies, and in that time the apparent mean motions of the applying it to the motions of Jupiter and two planets have been approaching to their Saturn he obtained for the former an addi- true mean motions, and became the same tive secular equation of nearly three seconds, in 1790. In comparing the theory with and for the latter a subtractive one of four-observation, Laplace found that the error in teen seconds; but though this was a better 43 oppositions of Saturn never exceeded 2', result than that obtained by Enler, it af and was generally correct. He afterwards forded no explanation of the inequalities reduced the error in the case of both planets, in the mean motions of the two bodies. to 12", although a few years before the best Having observed that periodical inequalities tables of Saturn did not give his place to a only had been obtained from the theory of greater accuracy than within 20'. In this gravitation, Lagrange set himself to inquire manner did the illustrious mathematician if continually increasing or continually di-liberate the Newtonian theory from the last minishing inequalities affecting the mean mo- difficulty with which it was beset, and estabtions of the planets could be produced by lish the law of gravitation as the law of the

We cannot conclude this brief notice of that all such inequalities must be periodical, the progress of Physical Astronomy in a few and that amid all the changes arising from of its leading topics, without pondering on the their mutual gravitation, the annual period great truths of the stability and permanence round the sun of each planet, and the dis- of the solar system as established by the tance of that planet from the sun, suffered discoveries of Lagrange and Laplace. In the no change, thus excluding every source of present day when worlds and systems of disorder, and establishing the stability of worlds,—when life physical and life intellectual are supposed to be the result of general After the discovery of this great truth it law, it becomes interesting to look into those very long periods the relative derangement ones by which a system might be characterized. The planets might, like the comets, alluding to the discovery of universal graviposite paths. determined. future contingency in the system.

orbits between Mars and Jupiter. they are the fragments of a planet that has burst, it is impossible to doubt; and guished above all that preceded it in the

ness of the beings he has made.

lunar theory, so that no motive, which a regard to reputation or to interest could create, was wanting to engage the mathematicians of England in the inquiry." Equally to ascertain if it had previously been objections of the glory of his country, which served as a fixed star. Dr. Petersen of

have been launched in different directions tation, had said no Frenchman can reflect and consequently might have moved in op- without an aching heart on the small parti-They might have been eipation of his own country in that memoralaunched, too, with such degrees of tan- ble achievement; and Mr. Grant, in respondgential force as to have made them move in ing to this sentiment, has added, in the lanorbits of all degrees of ellipticity; and no guage of just severity, that "if an Englishreason can be assigned why their annual re- man could be supposed to be equally sensitive, volutions might not have been incommen- he has ample reason to regret the inglorious surable. The opposite arrangement of the part his country played during the long pesystem, therefore, upon which its stability riod which marked the development of the depends, must be the result of design—the Newtonian theory. At the beginning of the contrivance of that omniscience which forespaces are all that was future, and of that infinite hardly an individual in this country who skill which could provide for the sure per-possessed an intimate acquaintance with the manence of his work. How far the order of methods of investigation which had conour system may be affected by comets mov- dueted the foreign mathematicians to so ing in so many directions, or by comets many sublime results." Mr. Playfair has that are yet to come, cannot, of course, be stated at some length what he considered as We know that the comets the causes of this condition of British Sciwhich have periodically visited us, whether ence, and Mr. Grant has briefly referred to they complete their orbits within or without one of the least influential. It is doubtless our system, have hitherto, owing to the mortifying to that just pride which every smallness of their mass, produced no per great man must feel in the intellectual glory ceptible disturbance; and we cannot doubt of his country, that century after century that the same wisdom which has established should pass away without any systematic such harmony among the planetary bodies, and national correction of so great an evil. that the inequalities necessarily arising from More than half a century has passed since gravity reach their maximum and then distilled great discoveries in Physical Astronomy appear, will also have provided for every have been achieved by foreign mathematicians; and though the number be small, Amid all this order, however, we are thankful to mention the names of startled by the discovery of sixteen plane. Airy and Adams as having greatly contritary bodies now revolving in interlacing buted to maintain by their labours and dis-That coveries the scientific honour of England.

while we stand aghast at an event like this, advancement of Physical Astronomy, the so little in harmony with the rest of the nineteenth has surpassed it by the solution system, we may rest assured that, like analogous phenomena in the history of our own
globe, it will be found to be the result of
some general law calculated to display the
glory of the Creator, and contribute to the place and its elements, by the disturbing
law can be the proper of the purious and to the heart of the purious and to the purious and the purious and to the purious and the puriou harmony of the universe, and to the happi- action which it exercises upon another. In our thirteenth number, (published in 1847,) In concluding an able and interesting review of the Micanique Céleste of Laplace, history of the discovery of the new planet the late Professor Playfair asks the question Neptune by Mr. Adams and M. Leverrier's why no British name is ever mentioned in solution of what is called the inverse problem the list of mathematicians who followed of perturbation; and we are glad to find, Newton in his brilliant career, and completed that in so far as concerns the relative merits the magnificent edifice of which he laid the of the two great mathematicians who solved foundation,-a fact, he adds, "the more re- it, Mr. Grant's opinion differs very little, if markable that the interests of navigation at all, from ours, though we differ from him were deeply involved in the question of the essentially on other points connected with

he has so largely advanced, M. Arago, when Altona, and Mr. S. Walker of Washington,

found that it had been observed on the the elements of its orbit as assumed by 10th of May 1795, by M. le François la Adams and Leverrier with those deduced Céleste of that astronomer. planet had been observed by several astro- beside those obtained from observation:nomers, it became interesting to compare

Lande, and its place inserted in the Histoire from observation. The following numbers, . When the as deduced from their theories, are placed

	Longitude.		Radius Vector.	Leverrier's Theory.		1st Approxim		
1840.	312°	17'	30.06	312°	36'	314°	30'	
1850.	334	12	29.96	332	25	335	36	
1860.	356	14	29.87	351	17	356	1	

1st A	pproxi	nation.	2d Approximation.					
314°	30'	32.22	316°	10'	33.11			
335	36	32.48	335	50	33.67			
356	1	33.30	354	39	34.57			

orbit, as computed by Mr. Walker, are as Starfield, near Liverpool. This discovery follows :-- *

Meen distance. Mean Long., Jan. 1st, 1847, 30.0368 30.0305 328° 32′ 44″.20 Mean time, Greenwich. .00871946 Eccentricity, Longitude of Perihelion, .0087 1946 47° 12′ 6″.50 130° 4′ 20″.81 1° 36′38″.97 21″.554448 Longitude of ascending, Inclination of orbit, Mean daily motion, Periodic time, 164.6181 tropical years.

The great difference between these elements and those of the hypothetical planets of Adams and Leverrier, and the near commensurability of the mean motions of the two actual planets, has led Professor Piercet of Harvard College, U.S., and Mr. Gould of Cambridge, U.S., to maintain that Neptune was not discovered by the analysis of the two physical astronomers, but that its discovery was the result of a happy accident. "Their solutions," says Mr. Pierce, "are perfectly correct for the assumption to which they are limited, and must be classed with the boldest and most brilliant attempts at analytical investigation, richly entitling their authors to all the éclat which has been lavished upon them on account of the singular success with which they are thought to have been crowned. But their investigations are nevertheless wholly inapplicable to the theory of the mutual perturbations of Uranus and Neptune." This is, we think, rather a harsh decision of our American friends; for though it is doubtless true that the investigations referred to are inapplicable to the theory of the mutual perturbations of the two planets, yet it is a matter of absolute historical truth that the two mathematicians did discover the planet, and that analysis was the instrument they employed.

After Neptune had been discovered instrumentally, by Dr. Galle of Berlin, the astronomical world were delighted with the intelligence that one of his satellites, for we presume there will be several, was dis-

The most perfect elements of Neptune's covered by our countryman, Mr. Lassels, at was made in 1847, with a 20 feet reflector and a 2 feet mirror, which Mr. Lassels had constructed with his own hands. The satellite was subsequently discovered by Otto Struve at Pulkowa, and by Mr. Bond at Cambridge, U.S., with the fine aeromatic telescopes which the Emperor of Russia had provided for the one observatory, and the citizens of Boston for the other. following are its elements, as deduced by Professor Pierce and M. O. Struve.

Periodic Time,	5 21 12.4 5 21 15	Professor Pierce. Otto Struve.
Greatest Elongation,	16".5	Professor Pierce.
Do. do.	18	Otto Struve.

Inclination of orbit about 35°, but whether direct or retrograde is not known.

Among the recent discoveries in Astronomy, of which Mr. Grant has given an account, are those of the satellites of Uranus. Towards the close of the last century, Sir William Herschel discovered the six satellites which revolve round this planet, and obtained the following results respecting their periodic times and distances,

		days					ı. sec.	
	Satellite,				Period.	0	25.05	Distance
2d	do.	8	17	1		0	33.09	
3d	do.	10	23	4		0	38.57	
4th	do.	13	11	5		0	44.23	
5th	do.	38	1	49		1	08.46	
6th	do.	107	16	40		2	57.92	

Owing to the smallness of these bodies, and the faintness of their lights, they have been seen only by a few astronomers. Sir John Herschel observed them in 1828, Mr. Lassels saw the first and the third, Mr. Lamont the second and sixth. The remarkable peculiarity in Uranus's system of satellites is, that their orbits are inclined at nearly right angles to the eeliptic, and that their motions are retrograde. In continuing to observe these small bodies, Mr. Lassels discovered two new satellites, on the 24th October, 1851. Their periods are about 2.506 days and 4.150 days, and they seem, like the rest, to move in orbits, inclined al-

^{*} Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge, vol.

ii. p. 32, 1851.

† Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Science, vol. i. p. 341.

most at right angles to the plane of the ecliptic.

discovered by the independent observation their own centrifugal force. new satellite, whose period seems to be a rotatory motion of the ring. riations in its light as sometimes to disapmoon, revolved round its axis, in the same Saturn; and Sir William Herschel found that the variation in its brightness was equal magnitude.
The most interesting results have been

very recently obtained respecting the ring of Saturn, one of those celestial objects which has astonished the vulgar as much as it has perplexed the philosopher. Cassini discovered what was long called the list of the ring, by which it was divided into two concentric rings. This fact was confirmed by Sir William Herschel, Short and various modern astronomers have observed certain lines on the ring, which they consider as indicating the existence of several concentric rings; but such a structure has not been observed by the telescopes of Herschel, Struve, or Lord Rosse. The following dimensions of the two rings of Struve will enable the reader to understand the recent discoveries which we are about to mention. One second in this table corresponds to 4387 miles.

 Exterior diameter of the Exterior Ring,
 Interior diameter of the Exterior Ring,
 Sexterior diameter of the Exterior Ring,
 Exterior diameter of the Interior Ring,
 Interior diameter of the Interior Ring,
 Equation id aimeter of Sexterior Ring,
 Breadth of the Exterior Ring,
 Breadth of the division between the Rings,
 Breadth of the Interior Ring,
 Distance of the Interior Ring, 35 .289 34 .475 26 .669 17 .991 403 903 9. Distance of the Interior Ring from the Plane
10. Radius of Saturn's Equalor,
11. Thickness of the ring estimated at from .339 0 05 to 0.3

When the edge of the ring was turned to the earth, Sir William Herschel observed Of all the recent discoveries in Astrono-several lucid protuberances, and from the my, the most interesting are those which change in their position, he inferred that the relate to the satellites and ring of Saturn. ring moved round Saturn in 10h 32' 15".4', Astronomers had observed that a wide a result which Laplace deduced from a space separated the orbits of the fourth and consideration of the conditions under which fifth satellites of this planet, and in this the rings would be maintained in equispace an eighth satellite has been recently librio, by the action of the planet and These conof Mr. Lassels in England, and Professor ditions were, that the particles com-Bond in America, on the very same day, posing the rings should be homogenenamely, the 19th September, 1848. It is a ous, and move freely among one another curious circumstance, mentioned by Mr. like those of a fluid. The period of rota-Grant, that Huygens in his Cosmotheorees tion thus obtained was only 1'21" greater had predicted the existence of this satellite, than that given by Sir William Herschel, In conformity with the barbarous nomen- It is proper, however, to state, that various clature of the satellites of this planet,* the phenomena have been observed by different name of Hyperion has been given to the Astronomers, which seem incompatible with One of the about twenty-two days and a half. The most singular of these facts is that observed fifth satellite of Saturn, discovered by Cas- by Struve, who, in 1826, found that the sini in 1684, and now enjoying the name of ring was not situated concentrically with Rhea, was found to undergo such great va- the body of Saturn. The distance of the outer edge of the ring from the body of the pear altogether. Cassini concluded from planet was 11".288 on the east side, and his observations, that this satellite, like our 11".073 on the west side, the difference between which is 0".215, or about 943 miles. time that it performed its revolution round In examining the extremely black shadow of the ring upon the body of the planet, in a singularly favourable state of the atmoto a change from the second to the fifth sphere, Mr. Lassels observed notches in the line of the shadow, as if it were broken up into a line of dots, indicating, as he thinks, mountains upon the plane of the ring.

> Such are the phenomena of the two rings of Saturn, so long known to astronomers; but we have now to record the discovery of another ring within the two bright rings already described. This discovery was made on the 4th December 1850 by Mr. Bond. Mr. Dawes had also observed it in England on the 29th November, and what is still more strange, it had been seen by Dr. Galle of Berlin so early as 1838. We have had an opportunity of seeing it more than once through Lord Rosse's telescopes. This new ring is much inferior in brightness to the two outer ones. It occupies about two-fifths of the interval between the inner side of the interior ring and the body of the planet, and is supposed to be merely a continuation of the inner ring. Since Mr. Grant's volume was published, we have obtained new and more correct information respecting this remarkable addition to the appendages of Saturn.* When Mr. Bond, however, visited, in 1851, the central observatory of Pulkowa in Russia, it was arranged between him and

^{*} See this Review, No. xvi.

^{*} L'Institut, January 5, 1853, p. 6, where an extract is given from Fuss's Report of the Proceedings of the Academy of Sciences of St. Petersburg.

M. Otto Struve, that they should together; even the vestige of truth. Before we can with the great Munich telescope at Pulkowa. With this noble instrument they discovered and saw distinctly the dark interval which separates the new ring from the two old ones, and the limits of this interval were so well marked, that they were able to measure its dimensions. They perceived also at the inner margin of the new ring an edge or border (lisere) feebly illuminated, which might well be the commencement of another accurate micrometrical measurements of this ring, which form the subject of a joint memoir, of which the following are the principal results:—"1. The new ring is not subject to very rapid changes. 2. It is not dozen of years, to see the rings united with

the body of the planet!"

There is no branch of astronomy more exciting to our curiosity than that which relates to the nature and structure of the sun, the great source of light and heat, on which depends the very existence of organic life. Mr. Grant has, therefore, treated very fully of the subject of the solar spots, and he has devoted nearly a whole chapter to a highly interesting detail of those curious optical phenomena which have been studied in every part of Europe during the total eclipse of the sun in 1851. We have already,* in a preceding Number, treated of the subject of the solar spots, and given a brief account of Sir John Herschel's theory of their formation, though we considered all such theories as founded upon facts too few in number, and too limited in their character, to have

make a series of observations on Saturn form any decided opinion on the nature of the sun's spots, we must know something precise of the nature of the sun's surface on which these spots exist,-of the character of the light which issues from its different parts, and of the distribution of heat in radiating from different parts of his disc. From a long series of experiments, we have placed it beyond a doubt that the light which cmanates from different parts of the sun has the same composition, that is, it contains fixed similar appendage or formation, although lines, similar in number and character. So These two able astronomers have taken Lucas Valerio and Frederick Cesi had asserted that the solar rays were more powerful in the centre than at the margin of his disc. M. Volpicelli, during the solar celipse of the 28th July 1851, had ascertained, by means of the thermo-actinometer of Melloni, of very recent formation; for it is quite that the calorific radiations of the sun incertain that it has been seen, if not recognised creased from the circumference to the centre according to its true character, ever since the of his disc, and M. Secchi, after having con-improvements upon astronomical telescopes firmed this fact, found that the maximum have enabled astronomers to see the belts on the surface of the planet, or at least sines the beginning of the last century. 3. That the inner border of the annular system of Saturn has, since the time of Huygens, been gradually approaching to the body of the planet, and therefore it follows that there has been a successive enlargement of this system. 4. That it is at least very probable that the approach of the rings towards the planet is caused particularly by the successive extension of the inner or middle ring. Hence it follows that Saturu's system of rings does in a state of stable equilibrium, and that we that the other than the planet is a state of stable equilibrium, and that we the successive of the atmosphere which they are some of the principal results, which, as a state of stable equilibrium, and that we think the proportion of the follows that the following may expect, sooner or luter, perhaps in some have enabled astronomers to see the belts effect was produced in the equator of the may expect, sooner or later, perhaps in some are some of the principal results, which, as they have not appeared in any English work, we hope will interest the reader. In the following table the calorific energy of the incident solar ray is supposed to be 100, and the table is divided into two groups, one in which the calorific radiation diminishes, and another in which it increases in passing from the meridian to the horizon.

CALORIFIC RADIATION.

Finst Gi	CUL		Second (
Near t	be !	icar (he Near	the ?	Vear	the
Meridi	BB.	Horiz	on. Merid	lan l	Hork	zon.
Water	60	40	Quartz, not smo	ked.	70	80
Oil of Turpentine.	54	4.5	Glass, clear,		84	
Solution of Alum,	87	43	Alum, .		5	10
Nitric Acid	65	52	Sulphate of lime	e.	6 5	8
Alcohol,	63	51	Glass, green,			
Sulphuric other.	68	35	Glass, vellow,		12	18
Ordinary glass,	73	58	Glass, blue,		13	18
Cramor) Brand			Glass, blue,		76	100
			Rock Salt,		461	48
			Sulphuric Acld		88	60
			Quartz, smoked		6	11
			Back Salt smol		5	0

From these experiments M. Volpicelli

concludes that the calorific rays of the sun are | We regret that our limits will not permit composed of heterogeneous elements,—that us to give even the substance of the very the atmosphere of the earth absorbs these instructive and interesting details which elements in different ways, accordingly as they are more or less thick,—that the intensity of phenomena of total eclipses, and especially the incident solar ray depends on the thick-oness of atmosphere through which it passes, and that on this thickness depends the quali-and Mr. Baily, and other astronomers placed ties of the calorifie element.

mal substances whose thickness was about But as Mr. Grant's work, probably from

lowing results.

have traversed the atmosphere.

transmitting very copiously ordinary heat, Moon's limb, and often shading off so gratransmits much less copiously than many dually that it is difficult to trace its limit, others the solar heat. Admitting what M. It was intensely brilliant at Lipesk as ob-Volpicelli thinks very probable, that the Sun served in 1842 by Otto Struve, who traced it is the source of all kinds of calorific radia- to a distance of 25' from the Moon's limb. tions, he concludes that the two atmospheres, Diverging rays of unequal length generally the one solar and the other terrestrial, ex- issue from the corona. Mr. Baily observed tinguish a great portion of the rays which that the diverging rays were so numerous abound in the sources of terrestrial light, that they deprived the corona of the appearnamely, of those which Melloni calls obscure ance of a ring. At Lipesk the light of the radiations, and which he has shown to have corona seemed to be in a state of violent specific properties of transmission and diffu- agitation, and Mr. Baily observed at Pavia sion very different from those of luminous that it had a flickering appearance. In 1851

sulphate of lime, when combined give seve- irregularly radiating bundles or masses." rally a white light deprived of heat, which At Sarpsborg "the corona seen by the proves that the alum and the sulphate of naked eye appeared a ring of white light in the lime destroy each other's effects. By such a clouds, its breadth being nearly equal to the combination we can make the calorific radi-Moon's radius, and gradually fading away ations of the Sun as feeble as those of the without radiation." At Fredrichsvaarn "the Moon, and yet preserve more intense light. corona was a little irregular, and as if compos-

of sunset.

points, viz., two maxima in the Sun's equa-tor, and two minima in the poles.* presented the appearance of luminous brushes shot from behind the Moon." At

* See Comptes Rendus, &c., tom. xxxv. p. 953, December 27, 1852; or L'Institut, January 5, 1853. in his Appendix, No. VI.

in different parts of the earth over which the In continuing his experiments on diather- centre of the moon's shadow was to pass. 1 centimetre, M. Volpicelli obtained the fol- having been printed before the publication of the accounts of the solar cclipse of July 1. Quartz and glass, when both are colour- 28, 1851,* does not contain any account of less, are the most diathermal substances in them, we shall give our readers a brief acrelation to the solar rays, that is, they transcount of the principal phenomena which mit them more copiously than any other were observed in various parts of the world, substance, the incident solar ray and the by English, French, German, and Russian transmitted solar ray differing in tempera- astronomers. The most interesting phenoture only one degree of the galvanometer menon in a total eclipse is what is called the from noon till three-quarters of an hour be- corona or luminous ring, interesting not fore sunset, so that we may regard these merely from its beauty and splendour, but two substances as giving a free passage to from its obvious connexion with the Sun all the kinds of calorific solar rays after they itself. Generally speaking, the corona is a uniform ring of light, extending to the dis-2. Rock salt, which has the property of tance of from 3 to 5 minutes from the at Christiania, Mr. Snow saw the corona

3. Three plates, one of rock salt, another through a pretty thick cloud, and describes of clear alum, and a third of crystallized its light "as not uniformly dispersed, but in 4. The free solar radiation maintains its ed of separate diverging rays." Mr. Lassels's calorific energy from noon till 3h 30m. It observations on the corona at the Trolhatta then grows feeble, and does not become Falls are very interesting. He describes the invisible till within three-quarters of an hour corona as perfectly concentric, brilliant, and radiating, some of the rays appearing larger In addition to the facts we have already than the rest. He thought the corona gave stated respecting the distribution of heat in as much light as the full Moon. Mr. Wilthe Sun's disc, M. Volpicelli expects to be liams, observing at the same place, says that able to shew that there are four singular the corona "was divided by radial lines, and

* Mr. Grant has noticed this eclipse in a few lines

Gottenburg the corona appeared to be com-| moon's disc that was about to enter upon Moon's diameter, of a soft silvery white, flickering appearance. In one place these coruscations extended to about 2-3ds of the Moon's diameter." Mr. Airy, who has given the best description of the corona, represents it in his drawing as composed of bundles of rays. Its breadth was a little less than the Moon's diameter, its structure radiated, and terminating very indefinitely, in a way which reminded him of the ornament placed round a mariner's compass.

We have given these copious descriptions of the corona because we consider it a most important phenomenon, and proving that this is the corona of the Sun itself, rendered visible by the interposition of the Moon. The existence of such a corona round the Sun was long ago deduced from observations of a totally different kind, by the writer of this article, and connected with some new affections of light, which, though read to one of our Scientific Societies, has not yet been published.*

The phenomena which have been called "Baily's beads," and the red cusps and protuberances which protrude from the dark limb of the Moon, have attracted the peculiar notice of astronomers. In observing the annular eclipse of the 15th May 1836, Mr. Baily noticed that when the cusps of the sun were separated about 40°, there was suddenly formed round that part of the

posed of rays proceeding from the centre of the sun's disc, a row of bright points like a the double disc. Mr. Swan describes the string of luminous beads, irregular in their corona seen in the telescope as silvery white, shape, and at unequal distances from one distinctly radiated, and without any trace of another. They were formed as rapidly as an annular structure. Brilliant beams of if by the ignition of a train of gunpowder. light shone out in various directions, to some Believing that this phenomenon indicated distance beyond its general outline. Mr. John | the completion of the annulus, he was about Adie says, "the corona was brightest near to note the time of its occurrence, when he the Sun, and extended about 1-3d of the was surprised by the sight of other phenomena-"by finding that these luminous with brighter coruscations shooting through points as well as the dark intervening it beyond the general light, which gave it a spaces increased in magnitude, some of the contiguous ones appearing to run into each other like drops of water: for the rapidity of the change was so great, and the singularity of the appearance so fascinating and attractive, that the mind was for the moment distracted and lost in the contemplation of the scene; so as to be unable to attend to every minute occurrence. Finally," he continues, "as the moon pursues her course, these dark intervening spaces (which at their origin had the appearance of lunar mountains in high relief, and which still continued attached to the Sun's border), were stretched out into long, black, thick parallel line's joining the limbs of the Sun and Moon, when all at once they suddenly gave way, and left the circumference of the Sun and Moon in these points, as in the rest, comparatively smooth and circular, and the Moon perceptibly advancing on the face of the Sun.

The singular nature of these phenomena excited much interest, but neither in the annular eclipse of February 18, 1838, observed in the United States, both at Princetown and Washington, were the beads or the dark lines seen, as described by Mr. Baily. In some cases beads were seen at the formation and rupture of the annulus, but they seemed to depend on the colour of the darkening glass. Mr. Baily himself, who went to Italy to observe the total eclipse of 1842, was unable to perceive any trace either of the beads or the threads. In the eclipse of July 28, 1851, Mr. Airy saw distinctly "the extremely mountainous outline of the sun's disc," and " watching carefully the approach of the Moon's limb, he saw both limbs perfectly well defined to the last, and saw the line becoming narrower, and the cusps becoming sharper, without any distortion or prolongation of the limbs." "I saw," he continues, "the Moon's serrated limb advance up to the Sun's, and saw the light of the Sun glimmering through the hollows between the mountain peaks, and saw those glimmering spots extinguished one after another, in extremely rapid succession, but without any of the appearances which Mr. Baily

^{*} Since this part of our article was written, the views which it contains respecting the corona have been singularly confimed by the descriptions of the Russian astronomers who occupied twenty-two dif-Aussian astronomers was occupied the my-two dif-ferent stations stretching along the whole width of the dark belt from the west of Russia to the shores of the Caspian Sea. The weather was favourable at ten of the Caspian can he weather was lavourable a ter-only of these stations, but in all of these the success of the observers was complete. The conclusions deduced from these observations are, that the red prominences which were observed in the eclipse of 1842, are part of the luminous sphere of the Sun, and are intimately connected with the phenomena of the spots or facules, and that the corona is also an integrant part of the body of that luminary. The brilliant aspect which the corona presented to Colonel Choctzko in the Caucasus at the height of 4000 yards, or about 21 miles above the level of the sea, placed it in his opinion beyond a doubt that this lumi-nous phenomenon was not produced by the earth's atmosphere.

Mr. Baily, which he describes as a string of protuberances hidden from more northerly them, of irregular size and shape; and about observers. In the report of the Council althree or four seconds before the colipse was ready quoted, they affirm it to be most decitotal, Mr. Dawes saw them to the amount sively proved from the observations, that of nine or ten: and both he and Mr. Hind rethese wonderful phenomena belong to the gard them as caused by the light passing be. Sun. "Those," they add, "that were obtween the mountains on the Moon's edge. served on the eastern limb became quickly That the beads are an optical phenomenon hidden, while others sprang up on the westcannot be doubted, and we think there can ern limb, that is, they were respectively be as little doubt that they are produced covered and revealed on the eastern and principally by the diffraction of the edges of rugged and angular apertures, such as Moon. Those also that were immediately those which must be formed between the seen on the western limb increased in height summits of mountain ranges or of individual during the totality of the edipse. Finally, mountains.

The red cusps or protuberances, the insulated red patches, and the red sierras or whatever with the limb." notehed mountain-ranges, which appear to hidden from the more southern observers, dissipated."

Mr. Hind saw the beads of and those near the southern boundary saw one, at least, was seen suspended, as it were, above the Sun's disc, having no connexion

Arising, doubtless, from the same cause, project from the moon's disc in total celipses, whatever it may be, are the deep red sierras, project from the moon's disc in total empses, whatever it may be, are the deep red servas, are phenomena not so easily explained. Or jagged mountain-chains, which were distracted by the servers is not the attention of astronomers was particularly called to them by Mr. Airy and Mr. Baily, in their account of the total eclipse of 1842. They were seen, however, most advantageously, by a great much more brilliant in its scarlet colour than number of observers during the sclipse of a word the decision of a word the decision of a word the decision of the servers. number of observers, during the eclipse of any of the detached prominences, he ob-1851, and an excellent abstract of the re- served along the north horizon to about 30° sults which they obtained was published in or 35° of altitude, that the sky was illumithe Report of the Council of the Astronomical Society.* The protuberances have about 90° of azimuth, which he considered been differently described by those who saw as the probable effect of the brilliantly red them. One large one was seen by several sierra. In the report already quoted, the of the astronomers. Mr. Airy describes it Council speak of their appearance only as of the astronomers. All, Arry describes to come speak or their appearance congress like a bonerang; and in his drawing it red, but in the separate reports, other colours consists of two arms very nearly at right are mentioned. Eight of the astronomers angles to each other. Mr. Dawes likens it describe the colour of the protuberances as to a Turkis seimitar, bent rather suddenly pink, or full rose colour; Mr. Dawes as rich at the apex; while others make it like a carmine, purplish at the apex. Mr. Hind siekle with the top broken off. The insula-speaks of the rose red at the tops of the production of ted mass which accompanied it has also been minences gradually fading towards their variously described. Mr. Airy saw it like bases, and in their place a bright narrow line a balloon with well-defined borders; and of a deep riolet tint appearing along the Mr. Dawes, like the top of a conical moun-tain with its top cut off by mist. Some their colour was a most brilliant lake, or a describe it as a spiderlike irregular mass; splendid pink. In the celipse of 1842, Mr. while others distinctly saw arches of light Baily saw them of a peach blossom colour, connecting it with the large protuberance and what we consider as interesting, M. "It seems indeed," says the Report, "im-Littrow, of Vienna, saw them first white or possible to reconcile these statements with colourless, and then of rose colour, which out some hypothesis of mirage-effect, or other changed to violet, passing afterwards, in a modifying cause, existing either in the neigh- reverse order, through the same tints. In bourhood of the moon, or in our own atmo- order to mark the correctness and imporsphere." The position of these protuberances on the moon's limb was carefully observed.

The observers situated farthest to the north before they assumed a coloured hue, and they saw on the northern limb protuberances continued to be visible after their colour was

Although it seems to be the present opi-

^{*} See their Monthly Notices, vol. xii. p. 107, Feb.

^{*} Annuaire, p. 434.

nion, that these protuberances neither belong to the Moon nor are produced by our atmosphere, yet there are great difficulties attending the hypothesis that they are phenomena produced in the Sun's atmosphere, and are meteorological phenomena. In the first place, there is no proof whatever that the Sun is surrounded with an atmosphere, and even if the facts which are brought forward to prove it were real and well-observed phenomena, they might have arisen from other causes than an atmosphere. Mr. Grant, and we presume all who the spectrum except the red, as in the case of terrestrial clouds when they are seen ilunder the horizon. But surely these cusps have no resemblance to clouds, and if they had been blue instead of red the argument know nothing about the absorbing power of an atmosphere round the Sun, which must have very different properties from ours. The radial appearance, and the constant ema nation of the rays outwards prove only a radiating cause which may exist without either an atmosphere or clouds. In the corona of the eclipse of 1733, some of the Grant, "although the comet of 1844 has radiations of unequal length were observed doubtless formed a part of the solar system to maintain constantly the same position, and for many ages, and has frequently ap-Mr. Grant argues from this, that the phenomena could not be due to the irregular scintillation of a luminous object. But we would previous to the year 1844. The planet Judesire to know how many seconds are included in the term constantly, and why successive scintillations might not, while the day act upon it with equal intensity, but in impression of the first remains on the retina, an opposite direction; and we may reasonshoot out to the same distance. Neither ably presume that when it has escaped from astronomers nor optical writers have yet his influence it will again fly off into infinite considered what the phenomena should be space, describing a parabola or hyperbola."

The motion of the whole of the solar the collision of the waves or rays issu-ing in such a condensed state as they must round some distant centre, at the rate of 57 do from every part of the Sun's disc, and in miles in a second, has now become one of every possible direction from that part into the great truths of Astronomy. We have on the authority of experiment, that some of the rays which cross one another in the account of the researches of Argelander, focus of a speculum are either destroyed or Otto Struve, and M. Peters, and of the altered in their character, how much greater general result deduced from them by M. changes must take place in the space immediately surrounding the Sun, where rays of point of the celestial sphere to which the such intensity are crossing each other in solar system is approaching is situated in every possible direction. The simplest of all conceptions respecting the red cusps is, that they are outbursts of flame modified by the exhalations which may accidentally accompany them.

Among the interesting topics of modern Astronomy we must rank the discovery of comets revolving in elliptic orbits within the limits of the solar system. On the 22d November 1843, M. Faye, of the Royal Observatory of Paris, discovered a comet whose motions could not be reconciled by supposing it to move in a parabola. Dr. Goldschmidt found that the observations indicated an elliptic orbit with a period of 71 years; and M. Leverrier, after determining that it would be retarded 7.67 days by the action of the planets, predicted its rebelieve the cusps and protuberances to be turn to its perihelion on the 4th of April meteorological, regard their red colour as 1851. The comet did return to its apindicating that they possess the property of pointed time. It was first observed by Proabsorbing in a great degree all the rays of fessor Challis with the Northumberland achromatic on the 20th November 1850, and the observations which he has made luminated by the Sun after his disappearance upon it harmonize remarkably with the calculations of the French astronomer.

Another periodic comet was discovered on the 29th August 1844, by M. de Vico, would have been equally strong; for we of the Observatory at Rome. M. Faye found that it had an elliptic orbit, with a period of about 51 years. It was at first supposed that it was the same comet which Tycho and Rothmann had observed in 1585; but Leverrier has shewn that it is not the same, but is identical with that observed by De la Hire in 1670. "Thus," says Mr. proached very near the Earth, history records only one instance of its appearance piter, which in all probability chained it down originally to the system, will one

Right ascension. 259° 9'.4

Declination north. 34° 36'.5

^{*} See this Review, vol. viii. p. 285.

obtained a remarkable confirmation of this Naples has discovered six of them. The result by examining the proper motions of following Table exhibits the names given 81 stars, determined by comparing their to the new planets, the date of their displaces in La Caille's catalogue, about the covery, and the name of the astronomers by middle of the eighteenth century, with their whom they were discovered :places as deduced from the observations of Johnson and Henderson. He found the point in the heavens to which our system is approaching to be in

Declination north. Right ascension. 259° 46',2 32° 29',6

More recently, Mr. Main has communicated to the Astronomical Society * a paper on the proper motion of 875 stars, which, Mr. Grant says, establishes beyond all doubt the general accuracy of the various investigations respecting the part of the heavens to which our system is advancing at the rate of 154 millions of miles annually,

There is no branch of Astronomy where the progress of discovery has been more planetary bodies. Our countryman, Mr. J. In this Table the longitude of the Russell Hind, the celebrated astronomer in Mr. Bishop's observatory in Regent's for the equinox of 1852. Park, has discovered no fewer than eight

Our countryman, the late Mr. Galloway, of these bodies, while Mr. Gasparis of

Ceres, . Pallas, 1801 January 1, 1802 March 28, Piazzl. Juno, . Vesta, . 1804 September I, 1807 March 29, Harding. 1845 December 8, 1847 July 1, 1847 August 18, 1847 July 1, 1847 August 18, 1847 October 18, 1848 April 26, 1849 April 12, 1850 May 11, 1850 November 2, 1881 May 19, 1851 May 19, 1852 March 17, 1852 March 17, 1852 April 17, 1852 April 17, 1853 November 2, 1881 July 29, 1852 March 17, 1852 April 17, 1852 April 17, 1852 April 17, 1853 November 18, 1855 April 17, 1855 Olbers. Astrea, Hebe, Hencke. Hencke. lris, . Flora, . Hind. Gasparis. Metis. Hygeia, Partheno Victoria, Gasparis. Gaspa Hind. Gasparis. Hind. l'geria, Irene, Eunomia, Gasparis. Psyche, Thetis, Gasparis. 1852 April 17, 1852 June 24, Melpomene, Fortuna, Hind. 1852 August 22. Hind. 1852 September 9, 1852 November 16, 1852 November 15, Massilia Calliope, Goldschmidt. 1852 December 15,

The elements of the orbits of all these rapid than in that which relates to the planets, excepting the two last, have been new planets between Mars and Jupiter, to accurately computed, and through the which we have already referred. Between kindness of Mr. Hind we are enabled to the years 1801 and 1807 four of these present our readers with the following small planets were discovered, and between interesting Table, containing the elements the year 1845 and 1853 no fewer than of their orbits, from which the position of nineteen have been added to the list of planetary bodies. Our countryman, Mr. J. In this Table the longitude of the

Elements of twenty-one of the twenty-three new Planets between Mars and Jupiter.

Names.	Longitude of Perihelion.	Longitude of Ascending Node.	Inclination of Orbit.	Eccentri- city.	Mean dis- tance from the sun.	Period in Years.
Ceres,	148• 20′	800 51'	100 37'	0.0765	2.7676	4.604
Pallas,	121 26	172 45	34 37	0.5333	2.7726	4.617
Juno,	54 15	170 56	13 3	0.2562	2.6688	4.360
Vesta,	250 56	103 22	7 8	0.0889	2:3613	3.629
Astrara,	135 43	141 28	5 19	0.1887	2:5774	4.138
Hebe,	15 15	138 32	14 47	0.5050	2.4253	3.777
Iris,	41 20	259 44	5 28	0.5353	2:3853	3.684
Flora,	32 50	110 21	5 53	0.1568	2-2018	3.267
Metis,	71 33	68 29	5 36	0.1228	2:3869	3.681
Hygeia,	228 3	287 39	3 47	0.1009	3.1514	5.594
Penelope,	317 4	125 0	4 37	0.0980	2'4481	3.830
Victoria,	301 54	235 20	8 23	0:2185	2:3348	3.268
Egeria,	118 17	43 17 86 51	16 33	0.0863	2:5825	4.150
Irene,	178 27		9 6	0.1690	2.5819	4.149
Eunomia,	28 9	293 55	11 44	0.1872	2.6398	4.289
Psyche,	6 20	150 33	3 2	0.1157	2.9466	5.058
Thetis,	259 13	125 26	5 36	0.1309	2.4798	3.904
Melpomene,	15 25	149 59	10 10	0.2159	2.2945	3.475
Fortuna,	31 16	211 1	1 33	0.1554	2.4459	3.825
Massilia,	94 32	207 8	0 40	0.1746	2.4493	3.833
Calliope,	58 44	66 41	13 54	0.1001	2.9129	4.972
Lutetia, }		The Elemen	nts not yet a	curately det	ermined.	

^{*} Mem. Astron. Sec. vol. xix, p. 121.

Such is a brief notice of the more recent | the Great Exhibition, where it was honoured with such rapidity as that of Astronomy, and whether we look to the liberality with which it is encouraged by enlightened governments, or to the munificence with which private individuals have contributed magnificent telescopes, and erected observatories, discovery. The grand results obtained with Lord Rosse's telescopes; the discovery of eight new planets by Mr. Hind in Mr. Bishop's observatory; the discovery of four new satellites, two to Uranus, one to Saturn, and one to Neptune, by Mr. Lassels; the discovery of a new planet, and the formation of a catalogue of 14,888 stars, at Mr. Cooper's observatory, at Markree Castle, in the north of Ireland; the work done by Mr. Challis at Cambridge, with the Northumberland telescope, without mentioning the labours of astronomers located at royal and public observatories, hold out reasonable hopes of fresh achievements in practical astronomy.*

In the United States of America great progress has been recently made in practical astronomy. A central observatory, under the superintendence of Licutenant Maury, has been established at Washing-In other cities similar institutions have been founded, the most celebrated of which is the observatory of Harvard University, Cambridge, under the direction of Mr. Bond, furnished with one of the finest achromatic telescopes that has come from the great workshop of Merz at Munich. It is to America also that we are indebted for the successful application of electro-magnetism for the purposes of geodesy and astronomy. In 1844 the electric telegraph was employed in determining the difference of time between Washington and Baltimore, and more recently between other places. To America belongs also the invention of the collimating telescope and of the electromagnetic apparatus for recording transit observations of the celestial bodies. This apparatus, which is said to be of the joint invention of Mr. Bond, Mr. S. Walker, Professor Mitchell, and Dr. Locke, was exhibited at the British Association by Mr. Bond, junior, and afterwards, on our earnest application to the commissioners, at

discoveries in Astronomy, both as made in with a council medal.* As soon as a trausit Europe and America. There are, perhaps, wire is seen to bisect a star, the observer, none of the sciences which are advancing with his finger, presses upon a key, which breaks or completes the galvanic circuit, and the record of the observation is, within the 20th of a second, instantaneously made upon a cylinder, which revolves uniformly by means of a clock. The Astronomer Royal has introduced this instrument into we anticipate an early and a rich harvest of the Observatory at Greenwich, and Mr. Grant informs us that it is contemplated in connexion with this improvement, to transmit Greenwich time, by means of the electric telegraph, to the chief places in the The Royal Observatory will kingdom. thus also be enabled to record transits simultaneously with foreign observatories, and thus determine more accurately their respective longitudes.

But, in looking into the future of Astronomy, our mind rests with most satisfaction on the prospect of sending out to a tropical climate, and planting high above the grosser regions of the atmosphere a gigantic telescope, fitted at once to penetrate far into the nebular regions of space, to detect small planets, comets, and satellites, within the limits of the Solar System, and to disclose the phenomena which exist on the surfaces of our own planets and satellites. This plan was, we believe, first proposed by ourselves in this Journal, so far back as 1844, in a review on Lord Rosse's Telescope. "In cherishing these high expectations," we said, "we have not forgotten that the state of our atmosphere must put some limits to the magnifying power of our telescopes. In our variable climate, indeed, the vapours and local changes of temperature, and consequent inequalities of refraction, offer various obstructions to the extension of astronomical discovery. But we must meet the difficulty in the only way in which it can be met. The astronomer cannot command a thunderstorm to cleanse the atmosphere, and he must therefore undertake a pilgrimage to better climates-to Egypt or to India, in search of a purer and more homogeneous medium, or even to the flanks of the Himalaya and the Andes, that he may creet his watch-tower above the grosser elements of the atmosphere. In some of those brief yet lucid intervals which precede or follow rain, when the remotest objects present themselves in sharp outline, and minute detail, discoveries of the highest value might be grasped by the lynx-eyed astronomer. The resolution of a nebula—the bisection of a

^{*} We hope soon to hear of the successful use of the Rev. Mr. Craig's large achromatic refractor at Wandsworth, and of the conversion into a telescope of the magnificent disc of glass 29 inches in diameter, belonging to the Messrs. Chance at the Smethwick Glass Works.

^{*} See Report of British Association, 1851, p. 21; and Report of the Juries, Class X., p. 251.

double star-the details of a planet's ring-16. Remarks on the Indian Civil Service. By the evanescent markings on its disc, or perhaps the display of some of the dark worlds ment, and would amply repay the transporthe summit of a lofty mountain." At the for the purpose of sending an astronomer to purchase and equipment of a ship to trade in diameter. The Royal Society agreed to the Portuguese, and the dawning prosperity second this application, and an able memo- of the Flemings in the Indian seas, had ex-Minister. From causes to which we would the mercantile activity of the compatriots rather not allude, the application was unsued of Drake and Raleigh; and now, just as the cessful; but as the British Association and sixteenth century was in the agony of dissothe Royal Society have again combined to lution, these London traders, headed by the apply to the Government, we have strong grounds for believing that the necessary funds will be granted. The committee apshare of the fabulous wealth to be derived pointed to carry out this scheme have named from a continual traffic with the spice-islands Professor Piazza Smyth as highly qualified of the Indian Ocean and the Kingdom of the to take charge of the telescope, and he has Great Mogul. agreed to accept of the appointment on three conditions, of which we do not hesitate to for the support of a Governor-General in the express our warmest approbation. The first present day. But from that little subscripis, that he shall be consulted respecting the tion, and from those meetings of a few Lonconstruction of the instrument; 2d, that the don citizens at Alderman Goddard's house, telescope shall not be inferior to any that sprung our present Indian Empire, with its have yet been made; and 3d, that it shall revenue of twenty-six millions sterling, and be placed at a height of nearly 10,000 feet its hundred and twenty millions of inhabiabove the level of the sea. To these conditions the committee and the Government will doubtless agree, and in a few years we ration, and live in the present age of wonders, may expect results doing honour to our think nothing of these things. We look at country, and extending widely the boundaries of Astronomy.

ART. VIII .- 1. Minutes of Evidence on Indian Affairs, taken before Select Committee

(With an Appendix.) 1852.

3. Modern India: a Sketch of the System of some Account of the Natives and Native Institutions. By GEORGE CAMPBELL, Esq., Bengal Civil Service. London, 1852.

4. Remarks on the Affairs of India; with Observations on some of the Evidence given before the Parliamentary Committees. By

JOHN SULLIVAN, Esq. London, 1852.
5. Contributions to the Statistical Society of sident, v.p.

SIR E. T. COLEBROOKE. London, 1852.

of Bessel, might be the revelation of a mo- The East Indian Company is not merely a "great" fact; it is a gigantie one. Two centation of a huge telescope to the shoulder or to turies and a half ago, a little party of London merchants, meeting chiefly at the house Birmingham meeting of the British Associ- of a worthy citizen and alderman named ation, in 1849, a resolution was passed to Goddard, subscribed, in sums ranging from petition Government for a grant of money £100 to £3,000, a capital of £30,000, for the a southern elimate with a reflector three feet with the Far Indies. The great success of rial by Dr. Robinson was submitted to the cited the commercial cupidity and stimulated

The sum subscribed is barely sufficient

tants.

We who belong to this expansive gene-British India on the map, read letters from our friends at Prome and Peshawur, visit the great house in Leadenhall Street, solicit cadetships for our sons, and take things as we find them, without a feeling of astonishment or awe. We know that it all is so; and are content with the knowledge. We do not trouble ourselves to wonder about it. But, if Mr. Thomas Kerridge, the first dian Affairs, taken organical distribution of the House of Lords. 1852.

2. Minutes of Evidence taken before Select or Sir Thomas Roo, the Lord Ambassador, whom King James despatched to the Coura with supernatural of the Great Mogul, were, with supernatural range of vision, to look down on our present Civil Government; to which is prefixed mighty Indian Empire, to see his descendants cantoning at the furthest point of the kingdom of Lahore, and quietly "annexing" the great province of Pegu; white men everywhere between these two points, drilling soldiers, administering laws, lording it over the Gentoos with absolute rule and authority; the Great Mogul himself scarcely a pageant, the wreek or shadow of a pageant, London. By Col. W. H. SYKES, Vice-Pre a feeble reminiscence of royalty, whining for more pay-the whole country bristling with

fortresses raised by the very people who in and law-givers to Hindostan. his time could not obtain a rood of land to thought of was the carrying on of business, build upon—and the few princes not absolas they phrased it, on "a pure mercantile lutely absorbed or extinguished, only maklottom." They loaded their vessels with ing a dim show of independence, existing by English goods, for sale, if they could be suffrance of the paramount European power, sold—though often the report was, that our and waiting with fear and trembling the in- commodities would "not vend among the evitable day when the "resident" who rules at their Courts, and the "contingent" which overawes them, will become openly, as they now virtually are, the administrative and bouring states. When one of their servants protective machinery of the Company itself. Thomas Roe, were now to look down on this great revolution, it may be doubted whether either the Chief Factor, or the Lord Ambassador would over cease from giving utterance to the exclamations of the "Bailie Nicol Jarvie" and the "Dominie" of our own great national novelist-" Ma conscience !" "Pro-di-gious!"-unto the end of time.

There is matter for profound thoughtfulness in all this. Passing per saltum from the small beginning to the mighty end, it is wonderfully suggestive of those truths which it most concerns us to accept with humble reverence and cherish with deep affection. But more suggestive still than the spectacle of the great result is the his-tory of the process by which the little factory at Surat grew into the British-Indian Empire. That empire has become what it is in defiance of all human calculations, and in spite of all human efforts. It has been the unceasing endeavour of the East India Company to prevent the expansion of their territories. From the time when having no territory they were eager to limit the number of their factories, and did all that they could do to curb the military ardour of their servants, and to keep before their eyes, clear and unclouded, the fact that they were sent out only to trade, up to these days, when, as we believe, the acquisition of new territory forced upon them by the Burmese war is regarded as a great calamity, the Company have unceasingly counselled and attempted to enforce compression. But the British-Indian empire was not to be compressed. There was a principle of expansiveness within it which no human power could control. A list of the Company's covenanted servants in India could once be written on a page of note-paper: it now fills an octavo volume. But earnestly and consistently have the Company endeavoured to keep down this rapid growth of dominion. With fortresses and with armies they desired and strove to have no concern. They never dreamt of establishing principalities everything before it. But this great empire, in India-of conquering native states and reared by violence and oppression, was corruling native tribes-of sending out soldiers rupt to the very core; and, in God's good

Gentiles," and brought home the rich produce of the Indies to be dispersed among our own people, or to be exported to neigh--Mr. Day-took upon himself to com-If Mr. Thomas Kerridge, we say, or Sir mence the erection of a fort at Madras, he was severely censured by the Company, who wondered what right he had to put them to charges for such unprofitable work. The increase of their "dead stock" was a constant source of complaint with them. They protested against the unthrift of locking up their capital in public buildings, which yielded no return; and seemed desirous that their factors should have the lightest possible hold upon the soil. They wished them, indeed, to live with "one foot on sea and one on shore;" and to be able to depart from the different places of trade, at a moment's notice, without any sacrifice of public property-any abandonment of dead stock. But, in spite of all this, little by little, our factories struck root in the soil, and whilst everything, humanly speaking, seemed to be against the extension of trade, and the establishment of empire, we were everywhere extending our trade, and laying the foundation of a mighty empire.

The very discouragements and disasters, indeed, which seemed to threaten the extinction of our trade, and the entire severance of our connexion with India, wrought mightily in our favour, and preserved the Company from the destruction which would assuredly have descended on their monopoly, if they had been irresistibly carried forward on the wings of dominant success. The rapid growth of the Portuguese empire in India had been the natural forerunner of its rapid decline. The extraordinary success which attended the first efforts of the Lusitanian conquerors inflated them with a boastful self-reliance, and urged them on to those excesses which precipitated their overthrow. The Portuguese settlements were filled with desperate adventurers, whose undisguised licentiousness dishonoured alike their country and their religion. They were bound by no laws, and restrained by no scruples. For a while the recklessness of their conduct overawed the timid natives of India, and their swollen insolence carried time, it perished by the innate force of its of the Portuguese had been their ruin. own corruptness. It seemed impossible, in The immigration into India of thousands the early days of our connexion with India, that we should ever supplant this mighty European power, which had erected for itself a great eastern empire, at a time when the Far Indies were to us almost as the regions of dreamland, fabulous, indistinct; but the "braggart Portugals," as our early English settlers were wont to call them in their quaint old English despatches. have long since ceased to occupy any other than the lowest place in the varied family of Indian inhabitants. They have been stripped of all national importance. They have lost even the dignity of successful crime. They are a scattered, servile people; no longer proud warriors and gorgeous merchant-princes, but drummers, fiddlers, cooks, tavern-keepers, petty traders. Nationally, their degradation is complete. Whilst the English, whose people they persecuted, and whose trade they obstructed, lord it over the whole continent of India from Peshawur to Pegu.

It is hard to say how much, under Providence, we owe to these very persecutions and obstructions. There were adventurers enough in England, during the early days of our Indian trade—the gallants of Paul's Walk, and the returned desperadoes of the Flemish wars-to have overrun with their bloated licentiousness, the southern and western coasts of India, and to have held temporary possession of many tracts of country by the power of the sword. But the tidings which our merchant-ships brought home were tidings of little but failure. The trade was unpopular in England. In India it seemed to be disastrous. There were all sorts of dangers and difficulties in our way-much to deter; nothing If, occasionally, a young to encourage. gentleman sailed out to India, without a covenant with the Company, he spent a few wretched months in India, returned home disappointed and disgusted, and reported that there was nothing to be got in the country but fevers, fluxes, serpent bites, and had diet. As an open region for general adventure, nothing was to be made of it. Even the trade was not profitable. So many difficulties and obstructions beset it -there were so many jealous enemies to encounter, and so many deceitful friends to escape-that the general body of the mercantile community were slow to covet a share of it; and so the Company's monopoly was either tolerated by the people, or so the cause and the effect. Certainly, no hufeebly opposed, that the opposition had no man architect would have thought of buildpermanent effect upon the interest of the ing up a great empire after such a fashion great corporation. The vehement success as this. Of all the three great European

of European adventurers had caused an unwholesome growth of empire. The Lusitanian power outgrew its strength. had the dimensions without the wisdom and restraint of mature manhood; and its successes hurried it into a rapid decline. There is no reason to think that a like copious immigration of English adventurers would not have been followed by the same retributory results. Our slow success at the outset preserved the Company from extinction, and it is, under Providence, to the preservation of the Company, that we owe our British empire in the East.

The more closely we study the history of British India, whether in its early or later periods of progressive advancement, the more apparent becomes the fact, that all the adverse circumstances which, from time to time, have threatened the extinction first of our trade, then of our empire, in the East, have tended greatly to increase the extent and the stability of both. It is a trite remark, that in the lives of individual men, the elements of eventual happiness and prosperity are often to be found in those very discouragements and disasters which, at the time of their occurrence are bewailed with an intensity of passion, as though they were special marks of God's displeasure. The remark is a trite, because it is a true one, such as most men's experience confirms. And, as with men, each in his individual unity, so with men in the concrete-with communities-with nationsthe elements of their ultimate prosperity are often to be found in their early disasters. That which seems to human comprehension of all things the least likely to promote success, is often the chief agent of our successes. We arrive at the goal after all, but by a road in no way resembling that which we purposed to traverse. Our own designs are set at nought. Our own wisdom is shown to be mere foolishness. Our ends are shaped by a higher power. Strength is drawn out of weakness-success out of failure. His ways are not our ways. There are many great lessons to be learnt from history; but none greater than this.

It is in the mood of mind which such considerations as these naturally induce, that the history of British India ought to be studied. The hand of God is never so clearly visible in human events as when there is this seeming antagonism between powers which, at the commencement of the Under these Mogul princes the people of seventeenth century, were contending for India were subject to an unmixed despotism the rich traffic of the East, it seemed to human eyes as though the English were the least likely to obtain supremacy in the Indian seas. To the gross vision of men, persecutions, buffetings, and humiliations, such as we were condemned to suffer in our infancy, seemed to portend anything but a manhood of lusty vigour-a life of victory and triumph. It is only by a distinct recognition of the shaping hand of the great divine Architect, that we can reconcile this mighty inconsistency-or rather make it wholly disappear. There can be nothing more beautiful and harmonious than such a scheme, when we once come to understand it. It is in exact accordance indeed with all that we learn from revelation about the "ways of God to man."

The subordination of the mighty continent of India, with all its millions of inhabitants, to a handful of white men from an obscure island on the northern seas, is so prodigious a fact, that any man, not an atheist or an idiot, regarding it for the first time in all its significance, would exclaim at once that Providence, for some special purpose, had ordained this seeming inversion of the laws which ordinarily govern human affairs. It would be proclaimed aloud as a standing miracle-a monument of God's power-and something of awe would mingle in the contemplation of so stupendous a fact. It would be well if we, in whose minds familiarity with this greatest wonder of the age may have bred something of irreverence, should sometimes endeavour to regard it with the eye of a stranger and the faith of a neophyte. For it is only by cherishing the conviction that God has entrusted the government of India to the British nation for some special purpose of His own, and that that purpose is a good and a wise one, connected with the furtherance of the ultimate happiness of the great family of mankind, that we can rightly understand our duties towards India, and enter, without the certainty of groping painfully in the dark, and stumbling over many grievous errors, upon the consideration of the great questions of the past and future government of the countless millions who have submitted themselves patiently to our rule.

We confess that we are not of the number of those who, looking for good in the government of the East India Company, see "all barren from Dan to Beersheba." We confess that we are not of the number of those who see in the short-comings of the benevolence" of the Mahomedan kings, their souls. That we have, to a great ex-

of the worst kind. It is true that some few of them erected great public works, and reared magnificent regal structures, and that one was a wise, liberal, and enlightened monarch, worthy to be placed in the front rank of the beneficent sovereigns of the world, and to be held in honour throughout all generations. But in all that line of great kings, from Tamerlane to Aurungzebe, we look in vain for another Acbar. His successor, whom we found on the Mogul throne, when we first made our way from Surat to the imperial city, was a feeble sensualist; and there was nothing in any part of the country to indicate the existence of a prosperous people. Our early travellers described the natives of India as "very poor Gentiles," and the King as the richest monarch in the world. They reported that the country was infested with robbers, whom the smallest coin would tempt to the commission of crime, that life and property were so inscenre, especially when civil war was rending the land, (and the country was seldom without the burden of that deadly evil.) that men buried their money in the earth lest it should be violently taken from them, and their heads pay the penalty of complaint. Looking at the Mogul monarchy from first to last, one sees nothing but convulsive throes and spasms of beneficence, dependent upon the personal character of the reigning prince, and not communicable even to his satraps. There were no fixed and recognised principles of action, there was no such thing as the restraining power of public opinion. Legal authority and regal pleasure were convertible terms. Every man in office was a little king, and violated the law at his own convenience as bravely as though he had been a great one.

It is said that under the Mogul monarchies there was at least no governing caste, that high office under the crown was held alike by Mahomedans and Hindoos, but that since the country has passed under British rule all the high offices under government have been monopolized by the European invaders. The fact is very much as stated; but we deny the inference which some writers have drawn from it. It has been said that this monopoly renders our rule distasteful in the extreme to the great mass of the people, that they only tolerate our presence in India because they know that they have not power to eject us, and that so long as the avenue to official wealth and distinction is closed against them, this British a painful contrast to the "insatiable feeling of hatred will not cease to possess

for the Mahomedan yoke. We have not year. ourselves been able to discover that the chance a poor native farmer, or penniless tive aristocracy, any amount of advantage suitor, would have of success in a contest to outweigh the substantial blessing of such justice, from those of the highest court of in the first Burmese war, told the British appeal down to the district moonsiffs, re- Commissioner, on being released at Yandamovable at pleasure, and without juries as a boo, that the Burmese chiefs had often counterpoise to its influence?" And this pressed him to enter their service, and asked important question he thus answers,-sup- him, on his refusal, why he preferred that of porting the general affirmation by a mass of the British. He always, he said, returned statistical details,-" The government allows the same answer-"I will tell you whyitself to be sued in its own courts-courts Because among the English there is no one established by itself, and capable of being who can say 'Take away this fellow and cut abolished at its own pleasure. It allows ap- off his head." peals against itself from court to court, and finally to the Privy Council in England; public works of the Mahomedans," The and itself, in a similar manner, appeals "great imperial works" would be a more against the decisions of its own judges. It fitting expression. We cannot think much provides even that suitors, in forma pauperis, of the "insatiable benevolence" of those may litigate their rights against itself and rulers who erected no hospitals for the sick. others; and its own superintendant and remembrancer of legal affairs for Bengal not membrancer of legal affairs for Bengal not only recommends the remission of sums debited against paupers, but thinks that — Colonel Sykes on the "Statistics of Civil Justice in Bengal, in which the Government is a party." Auroral of the Statistical Society of London.

tent, broken down the aristocracy of the (with certain exceptions) government ought country is not to be denied. But we must to forego the stamp duty on all pauper not confound the welfare of the aristocracy suits;" and that this popular right, to sue of the country with the welfare of the great the government of the country, is in effect mass of the people. The question is not no dead letter, may be sufficiently gathered whether the few, but whether the many have from the fact that upwards of five hundred suffered by the substitution of the British suits against government are instituted in a

We have quoted the words of Colonel people of India profited much by the wealth Sykes, because, although himself a director and influence of the oligarchy under the of the East India Company, he is understood Mussulman rule. Indeed, our researches to be a man of extreme candour and liberwould lead us rather to believe that the old ality, utterly destitute of that national egoaristocrats, whose decadence some intelli- tism which tricks so many of us into the gent writers so much deplore, were an ex- belief that what appertains to or emanates tremely selfish and rapacious class of men, from our own country, must of necessity be who persecuted the weak without remorse, both comparatively and positively good, and and oppressed them without compunction, that, therefore, to India and her people the and who set both law and justice at defiance supremacy of Great Britain must be an unwhen they had ends of their own to serve. mixed benefit. Indeed, on this very ques-But from the Christian gentlemen who have tion of the advantages and disadvantages of taken the place of the old native office- the Mogul rule, it is probable that Colonel bearers, the poorest peasant in the land is Sykes would have much more to say in fasecure of obtaining both law and justice. your of the rulers whom the Company sup-There is not a ryot in the Company's domi- planted than we could bring ourselves to nions who may not bring an action against endorse. In the above passages, therefore, the Company in the Company's courts, and we regard him as the most unprejudiced if his case be a good one, he may not only witness. And how weighty and significant bring but gain it. "The Englishman at they are. Was there any such liberty as home," says an intelligent writer to whose this enjoyed by the people under the Mapen we are indebted for much varied in homedan rule? That the aristocracy have formation illustrative of the working of the suffered by our intrusion, we admit, for we Indian governments, "whose rights are have deprived them of the power of outrag-fenced and guarded by so many barriers ing justice, and violating law at discretion. against the inroad of arbitrary power-irre- But, unless it can be shewn that liberty and movable judges, democratic institutions, and justice are no blessings to a people, it would popular opinion-will doubtingly ask what be difficult to find, in the existence of a nawith the government of India, a government protection as this. Security is no small that is based upon military power, with all thing. An old Jemadar of one of the Comits officers for the administration of civil pany's regiments, who was taken prisoner

But, in what way did they benefit the people? they were not constructed for the people. It would seem, too, from certain old edicts in the construction of these works; and it is certain that the imperial progresses were hailed with anything but delight by the inhabitants of the districts through which the mighty cortége made its way. India is strewn with the remains of noble structures, indicating a state of by-gone grandeur not to be contemplated without some mournful feelings-for the decay of the beautiful in nature or art is always sad-but a closer examination of these works soon convinces the inquirer that only a very minute portion of them conferred the least benefit on the people. They are monuments only of the gorgeous selfishness of the Moguls.

It is not altogether beside the mark thus briefly to inquire, as we have done, into the merits of the government which we supplanted. The Moguls, though they had more in common with the Hindoos, and fused themselves, as we have never done and never can do, into the general mass of Indian society, were like ourselves aliens and We have endeavoured to show usurpers. that we inflicted no great wrong upon the people of India by substituting one usurpation for another. Even as regards the physical advantages resulting from the rules, it would seem the merest perverseness to give the preference to the dominion of the Moguls. But the great question to be considered is the extent to which, not comparatively, but positively, we have fulfilled the duties entrusted to us by an over-ruling providence, or failed in their fulfilment. In all such considerations, we need scarcely say, regard must be had to the circumstances which have either aided or impeded the fulfilment of these duties, We must be judged according to our oppor-We have been for two centuries and a half connected with India by ties of fringement of them either by private indivicommerce. But less than a century has duals, by the officers of the Government, or clapsed since that territorial connexion com- by the Government itself. The reformation menced, which entailed upon us the duty of then introduced conferred on the people of governing any portion of the people. When India the benefit of a clearly defined written the Dewanee first passed into our hands we law, and protected them against the arbitra-

Before the dominion of the English was es-, were content to suffer the machinery of native tablished there were hospitals for sick brutes, administration to work on very much as it had but none for sick men. There were, how- always worked under the Soubahdar. But ever, we admit, very gorgeous palaces, and little by little we began to insinuate ourcenotaphs of undeniable beauty. If these selves into the executive government of the were public works the Mogul Emperors are provinces which had been ceded to us, until entitled to all praise for their construction, both the fiscal and judicial departments of the administration passed openly into our There were roads, too, in the direction of hands. If the English gentlemen, who had the Emperor's country-seats and hunting all their lives been busied only with investgrounds, and vast reservoirs in the neigh- ments, were at first no very consummate bourhood of their palaces. The people may eraftsmen in this new work of civil administrahave received some benefit from these, but tion,-if our functionaries, suddenly transported from the counting-house to the Cutcherry, did not make crack collectors or learnstill extant, that forced labour was employed ed judges at the outset of their new carcer, the wonder would have been if any other result had signalized such a transition. They were but novices, and it is certain that they had not been bred in a good school. There were, doubtless, some honourable exceptions to the general rule; but the contemporaries of Verelst and Vansittart, or even of Hastings and Barwell, were not bright examples of benevolence, and the welfare of the natives of India had little place in their thoughts.

But the new era commenced with the government of Lord Cornwallis. Something of this may not unjustly be attributed to the personal character of this benevolent nobleman. But, at this time, both among the Directors of the Company at home and their servants in India, an improved tone of feeling, caught from the improved social morality of our own country, was beginning to manifest itself in their public acts. Cornwallis had the aid of many able and excellent men, foremost among whom were Shore and Barlow: and the work of law-making in good earnest commenced. It was their desire to systematize both the fiscal and judicial administration of the country, and to mitigate the despotic character of the government as it existed in the time of their predecessors. Defects there may have been in these famous "Regulations,"-though the English Judges, Jones and Chambers, prononnced them to be well-nigh perfect,-but it would be mere malignity to deny the good intentions of the framers. Their main object was to give security to the peoplenot to abolish their laws, to overthrow their institutions, to interfere with their ancient customs and usages, but to establish them securely in all these, and to afford them the means of obtaining redress against any inry decisions of unjust or incompetent tri-1 rights and usages, and to protect them bunals by decreeing the printing and publishing of all laws, and ordering the courts of judicature to be guided only by the laws so printed and published. This, in itself, was a great step in advance; although such publicity, as regards the great mass of the people, must always be a dead letter. In all countries it would be the same. Here laws are made for the people; but the people know nothing of them in posse or in esse. They leave the manipulation to their represystem does not obtain, the draft of every ment of Government. Government Gazette has been so severely Lord Cornwallis' name. handled by the public that its authors have

spring to the popular discontent.

We are aware that Mr. Campbell, whose vaulable work on "Modern India" is now before us-a work which contains more aumeasures of reform. stated. He certainly did not "ignore the Council of Great Britain. At all events agreat institutions of the country." The judicial principle was here established. The judicial to declare to the day of his death, half a proudest soubahdar. century afterwards, that so far from ignor- The Cornwallis system, we repeat, may ing the institutions of the country, it had not be free from inherent defects, but, in been the intent of the new system to respect spite of all these defects, it is not, without them, to secure the people in all their ancient a display of bitter prejudice, to be denied,

against the arbitrary exercise of authority which the loose unrecorded style of judicature which Lord Cornwallis found in vogue on his arrival in the country was too surely calculated to encourage. We entirely concur with Mr. Campbell in opinion, that there is too much system-too much form-too much intricacy in the mode of determining suits in the law courts established in the Regulation provinces of India. But that Lord Cornwallis' reforms, either fiscal or sentatives, who perhaps do not know much judicial, were, as Mr. Mill has broadly more. In India, where the representative stated and as Mr. Campbell believes, the hasty effusions of an inexperienced English act is published for general information and aristocrat, knowing nothing and caring no-general criticism. Public bodies, official thing about native institutions, rights and functionaries, public journalists, private indusages, all true history clearly denies. Shore dividuals, are all constructively invited to and Barlow were not experienced English criticise the labours of the legislative depart- aristocrats, nor men likely to ignore the in-And it has some stitutions of the country, and they were the times happened that the literature of the real authors of the measures which bear

But whatever may be the tendency of the taken the hint and abandoned their off- Regulations of 1793, they are, after the lapse of sixty years, still in active operation. They are now, says Mr. Campbell, "the first on the Indian statute-book, and remain in force unless altered by subsequent enactments: thentic information relative to the civil go- the greater part still subsists to the present vernment of the country than any volume day. A regular series of regulations was with which we are acquainted—has given a henceforth published, and the acts of govern-very different account of Lord Cornwallis' ment of all functionaries were regulated by "The instructions these published laws, and were liable to be given to Lord Cornwallis," he says, "were judicially called in question for their viola--to put the revenue on a regular and per- tion or misconstruction." In other words, manent footing, and in the administration of the Government of India ceased to be a pure justice to conform rather to 'subsisting man-ners and usages of the people, than to ab any existing rights of the natives, it conferstract theories.' Of these instructions he red upon them rights such as they had overdid the one and altogether reversed the never enjoyed before. It removed them beother." That is, he conformed to abstract | youd the reach of that arbitrary exercise of theories rather than to the manners and power-" the oppressor's wrong, the proud usages of the people. And in another pas- man's contumely "-to which they had been sage he says, "He (Lord Cornwallis) alto habituated from generation to generation, gether ignored the institutions of the country, and against which it seemed hopeless to gave no encouragement to decisions out of struggle. It emancipated them from a state court and avoidance of law-suits-to agree- of serfdom, which was not merely a name; ing with a man's neighbour whilst in the and gave every man within the limits of the way with him; rather encouraged all to Company's dominions the power of pushing come to the regular tribunals." But we a suit even against the Company itself, behardly think that the case is here fairly fore the ultimate tribunal of the Privy regulations were drawn up by Mr., after- system of Lord Cornwallis conferred civil wards Sir George Barlow, one of the ablest liberty upon the people of India, and gave civilians in the country, who never ceased the poorest ryot the same legal rights as the

that under the government of this benevo- the Company's lust of dominion; but there lent nobleman, the civil administration of never was a government less greedy of con-India assumed a more liberal and enlight- quest. We have seen a smile of incredulity ened character, and was purged of much of on the lips even of intelligent men, when it the corruption that had tainted it in the time has been asserted that such acquisitions as of his predecessors. There can be no com- those of the Punjab have been forced upon parison in this respect between India as it us. But the history of India read aright exwas in the time of Warren Hastings, and as hibits a long series of wars, which our Indian it is in the present day; and yet the admin- statesmen have shrunk from as overwhelmistration is now substantially the same as ing calamities-wars which we have been that which was initiated under the govern-compelled to prosecute in self-defence, and ment of Lord Cornwallis. We then began to have avoided which would have been really to govern India and to bethink our- alike disastrous and disgraceful. This great selves of the welfare of the people. But, scheme of Indian conquest has been one of unhappily, we had something else to do at other and higher designing than our own. this time. Following up the well-intention- Its results remain yet to be seen. "There ed administrative efforts of his predecessors, are many kinds of war," says a modern his-Lord Wellesley might have done much for torian, "and many degrees of heroic renown; the people, but there was the integrity of but the highest praise is due to those who, the frontier to be preserved, insolent enemies by their victorious arms, have opened new to be chastised, principalities to be prostra-scenes for civilisation, and overcome barbated and absorbed, new countries to be set- rism in some important part of the world." tled. The time of this great statesman was It is hardly yet to be asserted, without somealmost wholly occupied with what in India thing of self-glorification, that this "highest is called "political" business, that is, the praise" is due to us; but we have made some work of the diplomatist. "He does not seem," says Mr. Campbell, "to have originated has ceased from his labour, the civilizer must much in the system of domestic management, and altogether in internal affairs I ing steps. Hitherto we have enjoyed only should say that he was not a great Governor-General. He principally followed in been able to turn our backs upon the neighthe footsteps of Lord Cornwallis. He was bouring states, and concentre all our probably too much engaged in warlike and political schemes." These warlike and political schemes greatly disquieted the Company. Against all this extension of empire for India by the Company and their servants, they steadfastly set their face. The British Government and the British people adopted must keep steadily before us the great fact, the same pacific views; and the extension that we have been all this time constructing, of our Indian Empire was declared illegal as it were, the outer walls of the vast edifice ster-all that the "City" Courts and the good deeds of domestic improvement. "West-end people" could do, availed not to control that principle of expansiveness which governed our Indian Empire. As in the Warren Hastings, and have never since conearly days of British connexion with the East, in spite of every effort to maintain no other than mercantile relations with the people-in spite of all sorts of recommendations and exhortations against land-owning and fort-building, and the accumulation of dead stock, we struck root in the soil-as our Indian Empire was first established in spite of believed in England to be harsh, grasping, ourselves, so it was extended in spite of ourselves. We did not desire its extension, but for a century, under rulers of every possible shade of character-under warlike civilians and pacific soldiers-it went on reached its limits.

It is a common thing to cry out against bad name, and so little the profit of foolishly

efforts to deserve it. Until the conqueror struggle on, clogged and fettered, with haltbrief intervals of repose-we have seldom thoughts upon affairs of internal administration. When, therefore, we come to consider the amount of good that has been done and judge them according to the results, we by Act of Parliament. But all the united of our Indian empire, and have had but little efforts of Leadenhall Street and Westmin- time and little money to furnish it with the

Mr. Campbell says that the Indian Government got a bad name in the time of trived to re-embellish their tarnished reputation. "The hard thing is," he writes, "that the ancient accident of Hastings' persecution having given it a bad name, that bad name sticks to it to the present day; and with all its sacrifices, unjustifiable sacrifices, of legitimate revenue, it is still popularly and extortionate; and any idle or malicious agitator, or newspaper vendor, or hired advocate, has but to trump up the most improbable story of oppressed ryots, excluded rajas, or ill-used commissariat contractors, and increasing and increasing, and has not yet it is greedily swallowed by a large portion of the public. Such is the misfortune of a

offences-their own treachery and hostilityfallen. We admit that the evil is greatcost of governing certain extensive provinces, descendants of those rulers, we only derive a portion of the revenue. We pay out large sums of money to support the selfish luxury of a number of idle and unworthy men. But this is the accident of our position; and we do not know how the Company could escape from it, without really deserving the reproaches which have unjustly been heaped outrage it. upon them.

It would appear from the Company's last general finance letter, given in the Appendix to the Commons' Report on Indian Territories, that in the last estimated year, 1850-51, the sum paid from the Indian treasury for these pensions, stipends, &c., amounts to 2,38,42,505 rupees, or nearly two millions and a half of English money. From a sense of justice, or from a feeling of compassion, this large sum is distributed among the Princes and Chiefs, who have been reduced to dependence and to poverty by the establishment of the universal rule of the Comlike to see the item blotted out of the Indian balance-sheet. It is, doubtless, an awkward sum to pay. A small deficit on the gross accounts of the Company would become a forbearance is but imperfectly understoodmen do not apply these epithets to the Com- about is easily seen. "A rapid reduction,"

sacrificing the means of doing real good." pany. That there is a vast amount of igno-What Mr. Campbell means is, that the rance in the country, relative to the general Company have been somewhat too eager to character of British rule in the East, we regrant compensation to the native princes, gretfully admit. The Company themselves, whom the retention of British rule has in we are inclined to believe, are partly respongulfed, and have saddled themselves with sible for this. They have not been sufficiently pensions, which now press very severely on jealous of their own reputations. One of the Indian finances, and, therefore, necessa- their own servants, Mr. John Stuart Mill, a rily limit our expenditure on works of pub- gentleman known to the many as a philosolic improvement or social regeneration. But phie writer, to the few as one of the assisif the Company have erred in this, the error tant-examiners at the India House-exis on the right side. Whatever may be our pressed before the Committee of the House opinion of the relative advantages to the of Lords his belief, that no Government in people of India of native and British rule, it is certain that the native princes have suffer-ed grievously by the establishment of our medium of the press, as the Government of dominion, and that, although their own the East India Company; in fact, that it is altogether the "best abused" Government may, in most cases, have precipitated their under the sun. And yet a highly intelligent overthow, they are still entitled to the com- writer like Mr. Campbell accuses the Gopassion of their conquerors. It is only the vernment of want of moral courage, in not part of a generous enemy so to regard the daring to take, without any abatement, the revenues of the countries they have conwe have taken upon ourselves the entire quered. Mr. Campbell is, perhaps, a little too much of an annexationist-a little too from which, so long as they are burdened much of an absorptionist. But it is not to be with the pensions of their old rulers, or the denied that the Company have seriously crippled their finances, and limited their means of internal improvement, by rejecting that grasping policy, and abstaining from that rapacious conduct with which they are so recklessly charged by writers and speakers, who either do not care to possess themselves of the truth, or do care maliciously to

We believe that in this matter the East India Company have acted righteously; and, except in so far as under the operation of time, a gradual reduction may be effected in the amount of pensions and stipends paid to the native Princes and Chiefs, we would not wish to see the financial position of the Company improved by the excision of this very troublesome item of "general charges" from their yearly account. The great desideratum is a reduction of those moustrous items known as "extraordinary military charges," and "excess during war" of ordinary military charges. In the twelve years, from 1839-40 pany; and we cannot say that we should to 1850-51 inclusive, these charges amounted to nearly twenty-nine millions of our money. To this is to be added the increased interest on the increased debt, contracted in eonsequence of our extensive military opelarge surplus if it had not to be paid. But rations, amounting during that series of the exemption would be dearly purchased. years to nearly six millions more of our It is nothing to the point that the Company's English money. In the year 1836, soon after the commencement of the present charthat their policy is said to be grasping and ter, the amount of the Indian debt was less their conduct rapacious, in spite of this ex-than thirty millions. In 1850 it was fortyercise of clemency. Candid and enlightened seven millions. How this was brought

"was effected in the debts from 1834 to five per cent." 1836. This was accomplished by the application of a portion of the Company's commercial assets to that object. The large surplus revenue obtained in the three succeeding years, from 1835-6 to 1837-8, proportionately increased the Indian cash balances, and obviated the necessity of borrowing funds for the Afghan expedition. The debt was therefore not materially increased between the years 1836 and 1840. Towards the close of the year 1840-41, the cash balances had, however, fallen too low to sustain the heavy demands which continued to press on the treasury; recourse was therefore had to the money market. A five per cent. loan was accordingly opened in 1841, and closed in January 1843, upwards of five erores of rupees (millions of pounds) having been subscribed to it within that period. This supply had become necessary by the revolt in Caubul, in the winter of 1841, and the downfal of the power of Shah Soojah, which occasioned the most serious disasters to the British arms. Measures of retaliation in punishment for the treachery and murders committed by the Afghans, were promptly and successfully executed by our army within the following year 1842. The war with Scinde, which had likewise occurred, having also terminated, your government were enabled to close the five per cent. loan. Affairs having thus assumed a brighter aspect, you (the Indian government) considered, that the deficiency which still continued, though reduced in amount, might be supplied by a loan bearing a lower rate of interest. A new four per cent. loan was accordingly advertised, and kept open from Febuary 1843 to October 1846, the produce of which was about two and a-half crores of rupees. Supplies being, however, more urgently required for the new Sikh war than could be obtained for this rate of interest, you were compelled to re-open the five per cent, loan, and you continued to receive subscriptions, at this rate of interest, to the 7th April 1851, being two years after the annexation of the Punjab to the British dominions. The subscriptions, from the re-opening of the five per cent. loan, in October 1846, to its closing in April 1851, amounted to eight and a half crores of rupees. It will be observed that the increase of debt between the year 1839, when the expenses of the Afghan war pressed so heavily on the finances, and the commer-

says the Company's last financial letter, | five-sixths was borrowed at an interest of

This is the Company's official account of the progress of their pecuniary embarrassments since the commencement of that unjust and calamitous war which buried our soldiers by thousands, and our treasure by millions, in the deep defiles of Afghanistan. At the commencement of what is still known as "the present charter," the financial po-sition of the Company was easy and encouraging. The abandonment of the China trade had given them that great desideratum of nations and of men-"money in hand:" Lord William Bentinck had reduced the expenses of the Company's establishment to a judicious minimum: there was peace everywhere around us: it seemed that a brighter day than the country had ever known was about to dawn upon India: sounder opinions and higher principles were beginning to regulate the measures of British administrators in the East: the claims of the people of the soil and the obligations of their Christian rulers were more distinctly recognised and better understood; and the man to whom Lord William Bentinck had handed over the reins of government was supposed to be laudably eager to promote the development of the resources of the country, to apply our surplus finances to great reproductive works, to encourage and more substantially to aid all well-directed schemes for the education of the people-in a word, to devote himself, heart and soul, to works of beneficence, whether tending to advance the commercial prosperity or the social regeneration of the country. But the great Afghan calamity stood up before him. There was no longer any money, there was no longer any time, for works of quiet beneficence. Every rupee in the treasury, every thought of the British ruler, was henceforth to be devoted to the prosecution of a war, the gigantic iniquity of which was only to be equalled by its astounding folly. The surplus was converted into a deficit. New loans were opened. The debt was swollen with alarming rapidity; and for a while a general paralysis descended upon the promised amelioration of the country.

The war in Sindh and the war in the Punjab followed. They were both, the one more directly than the other, the sequelæ of the war in Afghanistan; and those works of internal improvement, for which we looked so long with eager expectancy, were arrested for a longer space. There was then cial assets had become exhausted, and the again a brief cessation of hostilities, and year 1850, when the Punjab war had ter-then far down at the opposite extremity of minated, amounted to £16,676,902, of which the great Indian world another war-a war

power had cost us fifteen millions of money we should be charged with exaggeration. We gained by it a tract of country, the pestiferous exhalations of which for many years were so deadly that a large proportion of those who were compelled to serve there, left their bones on its marshy plains. The second Burmese war, it is understood, will be followed by the annexation of the great province of Pegu, the possession of which will, in all human probability, soon drive us into another war, to be followed by the appropriation of the whole of the Burmese Empire; and then, perhaps, the Kingdom of Siam will also be ingulfed. We may have obtained a final boundary on the north-west, but farther extension of empire towards the south-east seems to be inevitable, however much, humanly speaking,

it is to be deplored. It seems that since the commencement of the Company's present lease of the Indian Empire, an extent of territory, in different parts of India, amounting in all to 167,013 square miles, has been added to their dominions. This era includes a population estimated at 8,572,630 human beings; but it is not improbable that the calculation somewhat falls short of the fact. All this the first financial year after its annexation, it cost the Company 67 lakhs of rupees, or lar troops.

with the Burmese Empire-broke out to lakhs of rupees a-year. The Punjab, on the impede and embarrass us again. A pre- last estimated financial year, yielded, withvious war against the same barbarous out reference to the cost of the regular troops, a surplus of 141 lakhs of rupees. and more lives than we shall number, lest It is believed, however, that the expenditure, in succeeding years, will fall short of the amount estimated, and that the revenues on the other hand will increase, under the benign influence of an effective system of canal irrigation. We have given the results of the official calculations, which differ, in respect of the Punjabee balance-sheet, very materially from those of Mr. Campbell, who, in his able chapter on Finance, makes out a surplus of more than 130 lakhs of rupees, in favour of our new acquisition; and as this is precisely the amount of the gross revenue of the Punjab, in the Company's accounts, the discrepance is the more astounding. The difference, however, be-tween the two accounts is somewhat reduced, when it is seen that Mr. Campbell includes the revenue of the states acquired by the first war, and which are credited at 50 lakhs of rupees to the revenues of the N. W. Provinces. But as the expenses of the management are to be carried to account per contra, we can hardly estimate the balance at more than 35 lakhs of rupees, which being deducted from Mr. Campbell's 135, (or £1,359,440), leaves still a surplus of a hundred lakhs, whilst the Company estimate it at only fifteen. The fact is, that Mr. extension of empire makes the Company Campbell estimates the expense of managpoorer than before. Newly acquired protinces are seldom or never productive, by the last war) at £380,000, while the
Take for example the case of Sindh. In exceeding £960,000.

How so accurate a writer as Mr. Camp-£670,000, exclusive of the cost of the regu- bell should have fallen into this error, is The last estimate—that for only intelligible on the supposition that 1850-51 shows a deficit of between 15 and being a vehement annexationist, his wish is 16 lakls. But the Company write, "We father to the thought of the productiveness are afraid that this is a more sanguine view of the Punjab, and that he looks at the than the expenditure of preceding years finances of this favoured country with as pewould justify us in adopting at present, as netrating a vision as that which enabled the cost of the province of Scinde, exclusive Sir William Napier to discover the Sindh of the expense of the regular troops of the surplus, discernible as it is to no vulgar Scinde division of the army, which we estimate at 20 lakhs more at least."—And enter into these details. Our object is, in then they proceed to say that 20 lakhs (or this place, merely to show that the grasping £200,000) per annum may be assumed as propensities with which the Company are the expense of maintaining Scinde, exclu-charged, enable them only to realize an sive of the cost of the regular troops. The absolute loss, whenever they are compelled stipends of the fallen Ameers amount to to annex new territories to their already three lakhs of rupees, which brings the cost overgrown Empire, and that all these acof management and protection (without the quisitions have a tendency to swallow up charges of the regular army) to the sum of the surplus revenue derived from the settled £170,000 in excess of the gross receipts. provinces, and to delay from time to time The annexation of Sattarah-a petty princi- those measures of national improvement pality about which so much stir has been which increase the productiveness of the made-costs the "grasping" Company 31 soil and the happiness of the people, and

at the same time contribute largely to the Doubtless, we have been precipitated into treasury of the state. No sooner are we beginning to think of that judicious expenditure of public money on a ceded or conquered country, which will enable it in time to cover the expenses of management, and to contribute to the general purposes of government, than a new war, followed by the annexation of a new province, swallows up all our money again, and the enrichment of the older possession is indefinitely postponed, whilst the younger is consuming all our substance and occupying all our thoughts. The money which we now might spend on the improvement of the Punjab, must be appropriated to the "annexation of Pegu."

When, therefore, we come to consider the internal administration of India, and to inquire what the Company and their servants have done to increase the prosperity of the country and ameliorate the condition of the people, it must never be forgotten that our Indian Empire has all this time been extending itself in every direction, and that its rulers have never, for any continued season of repose, been able to devote either time or money to purposes of uninterrupted doniestic improvement, For more than half a century the unchanging tenor of the Company's instructions to their servants in India has been of the most pacific character. They have exhorted their rulers, ever in the same unvarying strain, to turn their backs upon all foreign states, and to concentre their thoughts upon the internal amelioration of the country already in their hands. They have done this with as much sincerity as consistency-but always with the same unfortunate results. It is not that the Company is grasping. It is that their designs have been over-ruled, and that Providence has decreed that the integrity of the British Empire in the East shall not be accomplished until other countries and other people, than those with which we have desired to connect ourselves, shall have been brought under our rule.

But although the good results of our internal administration are scanty in comparison with what they would have been had we not been almost incessantly occupied with the work of external construction, and had not that enforced enlargement of empire consumed all our financial means, it is not to be concealed that they are all obstacles and impediments, fairly considered, sufficient to enable us to give an account of our stewardship, by no means to be rendered with shame. The Government of India has been, and is, a great experiment. We believe that it has been conscientiously made, to say that other European powers, in all

some errors, and the result of our efforts has often fallen short of the goodness of our intentions. But there is no signal aggregate of failure to deplore. We have done something at least for the benefit of the people. And it may be doubted whether any machinery of government to which that vast empire could be subjected, would act more beneficially than that which is at present in operation.

It is with no violent presumption we assert that not one of the many writers and speakers, who denounce the grasping policy of the East India Company, and declare them to be altogether unprofitable servants, believes that any other European power would govern India, with such benevolent intentions and such beneficent results, as the British conquerors to whom the country has been so inscrutably entrusted. What, for example, would be the condition of India under Russian rule? If our Eastern Empire is ever to fall into other hands, the hands which are to snatch it away from us are by common consent pronounced to be those of the Czar. we are writing this, a curious anecdote is related to us, illustrative of the feeling with which the moral and social improvement of the people would probably be regarded by our Northern rivals. A Russian prince, recently travelling in India, was conversing with one of our political officers on the subject of the suppression of Suttee-or the immolation of Hindoo widows. The English officer had recently been engaged, with all the ardour of a philanthropic mind, and the energy of a strong understanding, in the good work of endeavouring to persuade certain native chiefs to follow the example set in the British territories, and to suppress the horrid eustom throughout the independent Rajpoot states. The Russian prince listened to the recital of the Englishman's endeavours and his earnest expressions of hope of eventual success; but instead of giving utterance to any admiration of the one, or any sympathy with the other, he said deprecatingly, that he thought it was a pity to interfere with anything so romantic; for that, in proportion as customs of this kind were suppressed, the natives of India would cease to be an interesting people. We can imagine the boundless astonishment of the humane English officer, and the revulsion of feeling which followed the first shock of surprise.

But we wish rather to speak of the positive merits of the British Indian Government, for, after all, it is little to the purpose probability, would not treat the natives of dian antecedents. The Secretaries, men of ceive that any respectable statesman-any could be declared an erroneous one. used-up Chancellor of the Exchequer of But incompetency and inactivity do not Master of the Mint, is good enough to play always go together. It by no means follows dummy at Cannon Row, and endorse the that an English statesman, because he knows proceedings of the Court.

haps the judgment would not be an erro-though the property of the case, per lines who do. Indeed, in practice the very neous one. The Court of Directors of the opposite of this is too often the apparent East India Company is composed of twenty-four gentlemen, the majority of whom bring a man to defer, at the right time, to the to the council table of the India House a large opinions of those who know more than amount of Indian experience. Many of himself. The most ignorant are often the amount of Indian experience. Many of himself. Inc most ignorant are often use them have earned for themselves niches in most self-sufficient. Doubtless, men may history, and contributed largely to the success of those measures which have built up of Control wanting sagacity or candour to our Indian empire on its present secure recognise the vast experience and the high foundation. Under the present Charter feerburghty of a Charles Grant, or the comprehensive intelligence and sturdy independence legitimate age of twenty years, only one new of a Henry St. George Tucker. In most Director has been elected of other than In- cases, indeed, it will happen that the greater

India half as well as ourselves. It is more high ability, have spent nearly all their lives to the purpose to assert that not one of our in the India House, and are thoroughly ac-Crown colonies is so well governed as the quainted with all the details of Indian admi-Indian dependency, whose condition we are nistration. The stream of government flows now considering; but even this is not the on quietly and uninterruptedly, and in no matter at issue. The Crown colonies have devious channels. There are no abrupt been notoriously misgoverned; and for no transitions-no elimination of new specureason more than this, that the administra-tion of our numerous colonial possessions is directed and controlled by men, who often, mer—a coalition at Christmas. The princiso far from being acquainted with all the ples of the Court of Directors have been numerous dependencies committed to their substantially the same for the last fifty years care, have no knowledge of any one of them. —almost we might write, for the last century Now, we are afraid it must be said that in—modified and improved only by those competent men find their way to the Board influences, which the general progress of of Control as often as they do to the Colonial (ivilisation and Christianity bring to bear office. Indeed, when a new Ministry is in course of construction, the Board of Control Company never has been—never can be—the is often regarded as a sort of refuge for the representative of a party. It stands, indeed, destitute, in which candidates for office an impassable barrier between Party and whose general claims are not to be denied, the distant millions who know not Whigs are frequently stowed away without any kind and Tories, Liberals and Conservatives, of reference to individual qualifications for Free-traders and Protectionists, even by the proper discharge of the duties of that name. Party is a great enemy to good especial office. In fact, it would seem that a statesman cannot know too little about The Directors of the East India Company India to preside at the India Board. Within are over-ridden and oppressed by neither, the last year there have been three Presi- That the Government of our vast Indian dents of the Board of Control, not one of whom was qualified for the office by the antecedents of official life. There have been have no sinister motives to conceal or vitiate six Secretaries within the same space of time, their knowledge, is surely a great thing. If only one of whom can be said to have been then the Ministers of the day are careduly trained for the business of the India less of the matter of qualification in Board. The inference from this is, that the Ministers of the Crown, to whatsoever see Board of Control, because they recognise tion of party they may belong, either regard the high qualifications of the Court of Dithe good government of India as a matter of rectors, and would leave the government of small account, or have such unlimited faith India entirely in the hands of that compein the ability and integrity of the Directors tent body, we are not sure that the judgof the East India Company, that they con- ment, upon which such practice is based,

nothing about India, will be, on that account, And in this latter view of the ease, per- more willing to defer to the opinions of the knowledge and experience in Cannon | how dull and lifeless it is-how full of the paid to the authority of the India House. We would much rather see at the India Board a competent and experienced Indian statesman, and we feel assured that the Directors of the East India Company would rather act in concert with such a statesman than with a new man sent to the Board of Control, because there is no convenient place for him elsewhere. Between the former and the Court of Directors there is likely to be less antagonism. It is no small thing to know when to interfere and when to abstain from interfering. We by no means desire to see the Ministerial element entirely omitted from the constitution of the Indian Government. We believe that the present mixed machinery of administration is the best that could be devised. But we claim that the importance of the trust should be duly regarded by our British Cabinets-that the Board of Control should not be used as a refuge for destitute Ministers, who have been tried in other departments and found wanting-that the East India Company should not be overridden by the ignorance and caprice of a man, who probably does not know whether a Rajah is a Hindoo or a Mussulman prince, who would look for Tanjore in the map somewhere on the banks of the Jumma, and wonder whether the Suddur Nizamut Adawlut were a Judicial or a Revenue Court. If it be desirable to vest the controlling authority in a Minister of the Crown-and with certain restrictions and modifications of the existing system we believe it to be desirable—it is surely expedient also that the controlling Minister should be selected on account of his qualifications for that especial office, and that those qualifications should not be lightly considered. In other words, if we are to have a President of the Board of Control at all, we have a right to ask for a competent one.

But from the levity, with which this important appointment is ordinarily made, we may at least derive one useful lesson. It is plain that the interests of India are very lightly regarded by the Ministers of the Crown; and that any greater infusion of the Ministerial or Home element into the constitution of the Indian Government, would therefore be extremely prejudicial to the interests of the country. It is very uncommon to see anything like a genuine manifestation of interest in an Indian question in either House of Parliament. A speech must round the closing years of a Charter. But Afghanistan was made. Had the voice

Row, the greater the deference that will be learning of hand-books and enevelopædiashow gravid with cut-and-dried details, strung together perhaps by the great man's private secretary; and of commonplace opinions, such as any student at Hailey bury or at the Hindoo College of Calcutta would express in an academical essay, with greater earnestness of purpose and greater vigour of style. Nothing of Indian parentage seems to excite any interest in our English Ministers but a war. And when there is a war in India, it is carried on by the Board of Control in concert with the Foreign Secretary and other colleagues. The Court of Directors, as a body, have nothing to do with it. They do not know anything about it. It is in what is called the "Secret Department;" and the business of the Secret Department is initiated by the Board of Control.

There is something in this war-making which stirs the apathetic and rouses the inactive; and we have no doubt that even an inert President of the Board of Control finds it very pretty pastime. But here it is that the obvious intent of the present mixed system of government seems to be frustrated in practice. It is intended that the Court of Directors of the East India Company should be a hinderance to the absolutism of the Board of Control, and that the Supreme Council of India should control the absolutism of the Governor-General of India. But the Governor-General leaves his council behind him-repairs to the neighbourhood of the seat of war, or otherwise isolates himself, and corresponds with the "Secret Committee," which in fact is the Board of Control; whilst the latter authority makes peace or war, directs the assembling of armies and the annexation of provinces, and compels the members of the Secret Committee to sign the despatches he dictates. It is by the Court of Directors and by the Indian Councils that the real interests of India are best understood; it is in these bodies that the knowledge and experience necessary to such understanding is to be found. We should be glad, therefore, to see such a modification of the existing system, or rather such a practical recognition of the obvious intent of the Legislature in framing the present constitution of Indian government, as would bring this knowledge and experience fairly to bear not only upon questions of internal administration, but upon questions of peace and war. Some terrible warnings have been uttered. By a British statesman, regardless of the opinions of the East India Company, occasionally be made, especially at certain and by a Governor-General who had shaken epochs, when the "whirligig of Time" brings off the tranmels of his Council, the war in either of Court or Council been sufficiently potential, that stupendous calamity would never have been written down in the mighty annals of the world.

We return then to the point from which we started, to repeat, that any diminution of the administrative power of the East India Company would be extremely injurious to the interests of the people of India. The Company have ever shown themselves eager to promote the internal welfare of their provinces, by husbanding their financial resources in such a manner as to provide an adequate surplus for the construction of those great reproductive works which so mightily contribute to the wealth of the country and the prosperity of the people. It is not fairly chargeable to them, that the Treasury of India has been drained by exhausting wars. What they have done for the people bears but a small proportion to what they would have done, if the limits of their empire had been attained, and the revenues had been at their disposal. As it is, therefore, we repeat that they must be judged with reference to the circumstances under which they have been compelled to act-circumstances over which, it is no unmeaning formula to say, "they have had no control." They have not even now a settled frontier-they cannot even now devote themselves uninterruptedly to the good work of internal administration. But still what they have done, and are doing, whilst the boundary of their empire has been in process of extension, and new provinces have been passing under their rule, has been no light matter. The rhetorical taunt of Edmund Burke, which has been stereotyped for the use of his successors in invective, would not have been uttered at all if he had lived in these days; and yet it is repeated by men who will not remember, that though the words remain unchanged, the occasion of them has long passed away. Many noble monuments of our rule should we leave behind us if the last day of the expiring Charter were to be the last day of our Indian dominion,

The Parliamentary Committees, which have commenced their investigation of the great subject of Indian Government, have divided it into eight different heads of inquiry, which are thus particularized in their Reports :-

- "1. The authorities and agencies for administering the government of India at home and in India respectively.
- 2. The military and naval establishments of India-character, extent, and cost.
- 3. The income and expenditure of the British-

sources of income; and the modes of assessing and levying each in the respec-tive territories and districts; also the progress of trade and navigation in In-

- 4. The judicial establishments of British India, European and native; the modes of administering justice, civil and criminal, and the working of the system as exhibited by tables of trials, appeals, and
- 5. The measures adopted, and the institutions established and endowed for the promotion of education in India.
- 6. Works of local improvement executed, in progress, and now under consideration.
- 7. Ecclesiastical provision for the diffusion of Christian spiritual instruction.
- Miscellaneous topics of inquiry."

Upon the first of these topics only has the investigation been brought to a close; and the result is, that the committees in both Houses have reported on the "favourable tenor of the evidence with respect to the operation of the Act 3 William IV., cap. 85, so far as it regards the administration of the government of India by the East India Company, as trustees under the control of the Crown." It is mainly to this one leading topic of inquiry that we have hitherto directed our own attention. Mr. Campbell's work on "Modern India" relates mainly to the machinery of government and the Company's civil establishments in India. It is to future Parliamentary Blue-books that we must look for a detailed account of the ameliorative effects, physical and moral, of the Company, unless some experienced writer should undertake to produce a popular digest of the mass of information relating to these interesting matters, which will inflate the parliamentary folios to be looked for in the course of the year.

In the meanwhile, however, on a few of these great works we may briefly touch in the present place. A great deal of valuable information, which it is important to disseminate at the present time, has been thrown together by the intelligent officer at the head of the statistical department of the India House; and from these statistics we may gather some just idea of the principal material works which have been completed or commenced in India, since the present charter-act was passed by the British Legislature. In the list are to be found no magnificent public buildings-no mighty palatial edifices-no regal cenotaphs-no gorgeous specimens of ecclesiastical architecture. The new cathedral at Calcutta has sprung up within this time, but it is not to be accounted among the works of the East Indian empire, shewing the produce of India Company. Indeed, it must be adthe territorial revenues and of all other mitted, that for the embellishment of the

land, the Company have hitherto done lit- no small thing in itself if a line of railways, character. They have the stamp of utilitarianism upon them, but they make very little show. The time has not yet come for the consideration of the Beautiful. But beautiful, doubtless, are the results of many of those useful works to which the Company have applied their finances, whenever they have had money to spend. There is nothing suggestive of picturesque associations in the two words, Roads and Canals. But they are mighty instruments of civilisation. Perhaps the Russian prince who bewailed our efforts to clear away the dense moral wilderness with which the people of India have for ages been surrounded, would also deplore our endeavours to conquer the material jungle and render it common-place and unpicturesque by improving the means of internal communication and fertilizing the land by an improved system of water supply. But if the English, driven from India by any great physical or moral revolution, should leave behind them only the great trunk road from Calcutta to Kurnaul-or, as it soon will extend, from Calcutta to Peshawer-and the great Ganges canal, it can never be said by a future Government, that they have left behind them no traces of beneficent rule.

The great Trunk Road from Calcutta to our north-western frontier-a metalled or Macadamized road-will in its integrity extend along a line of 1423 miles-965 of which have been already completed. The cost of construction has been estimated at £1000 per mile: and the annual outlay for keeping the whole in repair will be £50,000. Another great road from Bombay to Agra, and another from Calcutta to Bombay, are also in course of construction. The length of the former is 734 miles-that of the latter 1170. These roads are not Macadamized, except in particular parts. The cost of the former is estimated at £330 per mile, and the latter at £500. These calculations exclude the cost of convict labour, which is largely employed upon the work, and the salaries of the Company's regular servants who superintend them.

By these roads Agra, Bombay, and Calcutta are united; and from the former place a communication is opened up to the very borders of Afghanistan. But besides these great undertakings, a vast number of cross-roads have been constructed-everywhere facilitating the internal traffic of the country. A line of railway in each of the three Presidencies has been sanctioned, and already, under a government guarantee, are these great works in progress. It will be

tle. Their works are of a plain, inornate uniting all the capitals of India, should remind a future generation of Hindoos that the science of the white man, on their trackless plains, annihilated time and space. But a work still more marvellous than this is about to bewilder the understandings of our untutored Indian subjects. The electric telegraph will soon be in active operation, Lines of wires connecting Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Agra, Simla, and Lahore, will flash from one point to another the commands of Government, and the tidings of great events; and the shroffs in the Calcutta Bazaar, at a trifling cost, may convey intelligence to their correspondents, five hundred miles off, in less time than it now takes them to write a letter of advice.

But, perhaps, of all the material works which the English in India have constructed, there are none which will contribute more largely to the general improvement of the country, than our canals of irrigation in those fine provinces of upper India where the water-supply is precarious. A memo-randum on this subject, prepared in the Statistical Department of the India House, contains so much that it is important and interesting to know, that we transcribe it entire :-

" The whole volume of water from the rivers of the Himalayas, available for irrigation, has been estimated at about 24,000 cubic feet per second in the dry season, viz. :-

~			0 250		
Ganges,				6,750	
Jumna,			10	2,870	
Ravee,			17.	3,000	
Chenaub				5,000	
Sutlej at	Roc	per,		2,500	
Jhelum,				4,000	
				01100	

" Each cubic foot per second has been found adequate for the annual irrigation of 218 acres of land, but as one-third only of a district is usually irrigated, the remainder bearing dry crops not requiring irrigation, a cubic foot of water per second would be sufficient for the irrigation of 654 acres, or about one British square mile; a surface of 24,000 square miles may therefore be ultimately irrigated by these rivers.

" Of the entire volume of water hitherto running waste, one portion has already been applied to purposes of irrigation. The whole stream of the Jumna has been diverted from the main channel into two canals, called the Eastern and Western Jumpa Canals.

Miles. The length of the Western Canal, with its branches, extends to 155 That of the Eastern, to

" The Ganges Canal is rapidly advancing to

Total.

580

completion. Its main object is the irrigation of | these barbarous superstitions, were restrainthe North-Western Provinces. A ridge of land rises slightly above the level of the adjacent country, and runs along the centre of the boat, sloping down on the one side to the Jumna, and on the other to the Ganges. The canal has been constructed on the top of this to the vicinity of Allyghur, whence it diverges in two channels, one to Campore, and the other to Humeerpore, vià Etawa, with three offsets termed the Futteghur, Bolundshuhur, and Coel branches.

"The total length of the canal, with its branches, will be 810 miles, viz. :-

Hurdwar to Allyghur,			180
Allyghur to Cawnpore,			170
Allyghur to Humeerpo	re,		180
Branch to Futteghur,			170
Branch to Bolundshuh	ur,		60
Branch to Coel, .			50
			810

"The total cost of the canal is estimated at £1,555,548, of which £722,556 has been already It is believed that water will be adexpended. mitted in the main lines in the course of next year."

Another important work in progress is the Baree Dooab Canal, which, under the superintendence of Colonel Napier, is beginning to span the most important tracts of the Punjab. Unless present appearances are strangely deceptive, that newly acquired country will, in the course of a few years, exhibit the finest illustration of the benign influence of British rule to be found in the entire range of the territorial history of the

But it is not only through such works as these that the beneficence of the Company's rule has influenced the lives of the teeming millions of Hindostan, We have even greater works to boast of than these victories over arid soils and other material obstructions -works of moral regeneration, triumphs of reason and humanity, great successes accomplished by the benevolent energies of Christian gentlemen, in the face of all such difficulties and denials as are ever thrown in the way of social progress by ignorance and superstition, and the gross selfishness of men with vested interests in barbarism and falsehood. It was no easy work that we set ourselves when we attempted to root out the inhuman practices which have so long defiled the religion of the Hindoos, and to prevent a nation, grown grey in horrid superstition, from perpetrating the rankest erimes under the shelter of a cruel and irrational faith. There were many difficulties, but not the least of them was this,-that many largeminded men, whose humane and rational instincts urged them forward, unhesitatingly and uncompromisingly, to make war upon tage on the gross amount-had also gone

ed and embarrassed by the feeling that the English ruler had constructively pledged himself to his native subjects to respect the religion and the customs of the country. Men there were, too,-not large-minded, not Christian in anything but name, - who thought, or affected to think, the Hindoos a very moral and religious people, and argued that it would be better to leave them and their customs alone. The opinions of the latter were of small account; but the "good faith" of the British Government was a great matter-it was to be upheld in all its purity and integrity; and many candid conscientious men were embarrassed and perplexed when they came to array on one side the consideration of their abstract duties as civilized and Christian men, and on the other the obligation of respecting the pledges under the shelter of which the people of India had submitted themselves to our rule. It was neeessary under such circumstances to do nothing hastily and precipitately. It was necessary to enquire and examine-to ascertain what were really articles of religious faith, and what the mere after-grafts of a venal priesthood, or a pride-inflated aristocracy. Knowledge, therefore, preceded action. Oriental scholarship was made the handmaiden of civilisation. It was a great thing to learn what the old Hindoo lawgivers had really taught, what their religious books really inculcated. And in time it came to pass that English gentlemen better understood the scriptures of the people than their own most learned Brahmins, and could prove that much of the iniquity, supposed to be encouraged or sanctioned by their religion, had the support of nothing better than a modern interpolation, or a false reading of an ancient passage.

All this aided us greatly; and little by little we rose in Christian courage, and dared to do right. For years and years we had suffered in our own provinces, almost, indeed, under the shadow of the vice-regal palace of Calcutta, the Hindoo widow to ascend the funeral pile of her husband, and stimulated by selfish relatives and corrupt priests, to devote herself to a cruel death, sitting with the head of the rotting corpse in her lap, whilst the flames gathered around her. We were bound to respect the religious rites and the social usages of the people, and so we suffered these fearful murders to be committed at our very doors. The habitual murder of infant female children among certain tribes-a system which in some parts of the country had reduced the female population to a small per cen-

hinderance or interruption. No effort had been made to arrest the desolating evil. It was little known-not at all understood. The Rajpoots believed that they had an undoubted right to poison their daughters as soon as they were born. But in process of time earnest-minded and bold-hearted men arose to suppress these great iniquities. The Home-government encouraged their efforts. Suttee, in our own provinces, was utterly abolished under the government of Lord William Bentinek. And what had been done authoritatively within our own dominions, we attempted to effect by expostulation and discouragement in the native states. Female infanticide, if not altogether extirpated, has been much diminished in all parts of India. In our own provinces it does not exist at all. Thuggee, another hideous evil-the systematic professional strangling of unsuspecting men -has, by a series of vigorous well-directed efforts, been almost entirely struck down and demolished. The great murder-gangs have been broken up. The whole system, with all its religious rites and ceremonial observances, has been thoroughly laid bare and anatomized; and it cannot stand up against the perfect knowledge which we have acquired of the dreadful subject. The human sacrifices, once so common in the Khond and other countries, have been suppressed; much has been done to discourage the barbarous customs and fearful orgies with which some of the Hindoo festivals are celebrated. And for many years now has the general tendency of British administration in India been towards the extinction of all the unholy rites and criminal practices which defile the religious and social systems of the people among whom we dwell. It may be very true that more might have been done, but it may fairly be doubted whether any other race of conquerors would have accomplished half as much,

External efforts, such as these, for the suppression of iniquities so long tacitly encouraged by the English in India, are worthy of all commendation. Doubtless they have done much to advance the moral and social improvement of the people; but more must be looked for from our internal efforts. The real influence must be from within. It is something to suppress such evils as we have glanced at; but it would be better still that, without any display of force or any manifestation of the law, they should quietly die out, under the destroying influence of a general diffusion of truth and a general spread of intelligence. The real tirely failed. We have made some infidels, remedy for all these evils is education. but very few sincere Christians, and are not

on from generation to generation, without That the English in India have, of late years, done much to diffuse among the people the light of European knowledge, is one of the truths on which the historian of the present Charter will delight to dwell; but it must at the same time be admitted, that only to a comparatively small portion of the inhabitants of India have these blessings yet been imparted. We have only as yet made a beginning; but it is a great one. National education even in England is still only in its infancy. When we consider the immense area over which our schools must be planted, and the teeming millions who are to be brought within their reach, we must not be disheartened because our progress is slow. Little by little, the light of knowledge will radiate from the large towns to the small villages. It is probable that some mistakes have been made in the system of education established in our Indian colleges; that too much stress has been laid on polite literature; that a little more practicality would have been desirable; but we cannot here afford to enter upon the criticism of details. It is enough for us that a vigorous impulse has been given to native education in all the three Presidencies of India; that the Court of Directors are earnest in the encouragement given to their servants to promote this great object; and that the results, to those who read them aright, are full of consolation and encouragement. "As soon as a little fellow," says an able contemporary writer, "could be made to understand that the earth was 25,000 miles round, there was an end to his belief in the Shastres."

But it is not enough that he should cease to believe in the Shastres; it is the desire of Christian men that he should believe in something better. Upon the vexata questio of the introduction of the Holy Scriptures into the Government schools and colleges, we do not now purpose to touch. It should be fully investigated, or not handled at all. But no controversy is suggested by the consideration of the present state of missionary labour in India. It is true, however, that Mr. Campbell, on most subjects a trustworthy authority, says,-

"The progress of Christianity in India, by the influence of private missionaries, cannot, in truth, be said to be great. I believe that they have some success in the south, where the Jesuits had preceded them, and where they found a large body of Christians; but even there the Protestants are few; and in all parts of the Bengal Presidency, it must be admitted, that

We have great respect for Mr. Campbell's statements and opinions-the statements and opinions of one who has seen much and thought much,-but the erroneousness of this is too patent to all who have studied the great subject of Indian Missions for us to suffer any question to be raised by this unhesitating announcement that the Bengal missionaries have "entirely failed." We know, indeed, that there are extensive mission-fields in Bengal, where Christian truth has been sown broad-cast. What the result of Protestant Missions in India has really been, may be gathered from some important statements recently published by the Rev. Mr. Mullens.* These statements are too detailed and too authoritative for us to doubt their authenticity. At the end of 1850, according to these statements, it would appear that there were in India and Ceylon, in connexion with our Protestant Missions, 403 missionaries (22 of whom are ordained natives); 551 unordained native preachers; 309 native churches; 103,000 native christians; and 17,309 communicants. There is enough, in short, in the statistics of Christian missions in India, and in the progress of education and enlightenment among the native population, even within the present generation, to rebuke the doubts and fears alike of those friendly and those hostile to the good cause. The missionary enterprise is as yet comparatively only in its infancy. But the triumph of Christianity in India may be nearer than either friends or foes, only a few years since, could have imagined; and the association of the educational with the missionary efforts, has greatly contributed to the progress of the gospel. It may seem, indeed, that even the little flock of professed native christians gives an exaggerated picture of the spread of real Christianity. It may be said that many of the professing native christians are christians only in name. We know it, and we deplore it, but there is room in the statements already given for very large allowances and depreciations; and yet still the balance of the good results will be sufficiently cheering to gladden the heart of every one who looks earnestly for the evangelization of our heathen fellow-subjects in the East. And what is there in the thought of evangelization abhorrent to reason and common sense?-what is there to make intelligent and enlightened men shrug their shoulders

likely, on the present system, to make many and shake their heads? To us it appears, indeed, only wonderful that intelligent and enlightened men, tracing the progress of British power in the East from its humble beginning up to its present still incompleted grandeur, and seeing how, in spite of all hindrances and discouragements, in defiance of all human calculations, it has continued during two centuries and a half to expand and to gather strength, should doubt for a moment that, for some great ends of his own, God has committed all this vast country, and all these teeming millions to our care. And if this is to be believed at all, what difficulty is there in the farther belief, that the great end is the highest and holiest that the imagination can conceive, an end altogether worthy of the infinite goodness that shapes it? To us it seems, indeed, the greatest of all difficulties to believe anything else. The history of India is full of difficulties and perplexities-of wonderful mysteries and enigmas, to those who go groping . about in the dark, and bewildering themselves with thoughts of human agencies, finite and self-contained. But reading it with the eye of Faith, all difficulties are smoothed away, all perplexities are unravelled, all mysteries are solved. The truth lies before us, clear and simple in its beauty and its grandeur, open to the comprehension of a child.

> ART. IX .- 1. Scotch County Courts. Twelve Articles reprinted from the Edinburgh Evening Courant. Edinburgh, 1852.

> 2. Letter to the Commissioners of Supply of the County of Dumfries. By MARK NA-PIER, Esq., Sheriff of Dumfries-shire. Edinburgh, 1852.

> 3. The proposed Abolition of the Office of Principal Sheriff in Scotland considered. By George Monro, Esq., Advocate. Edinburgh, 1852.

4. Sheriff Courts of Scotland. By a Member of the Faculty of Procurators, Glas gow. Edinburgh, 1852.

5. Remarks on the proposed Changes. By an Advocate, not a Sheriff. Edinburgh, 1852.

G. Remarks on the Reform of Scotch County Courts. By a Solicitor. Edinburgh, 1852. 7. Legal Iambics in prose, suggested by the

present Chancery Crisis. By a Chancery Barrister, London, 1852.

8. Letter to Lord Campbell on Reforms in the Common Law. By Sir ERSKINE PERRY. London, 1851.

^{*} Published originally as an article in the Calcutta Review, and subsequently, in a separate form with the name of the writer attached.

10. Remarks on the Operation of the County Courts Act. By SAMUEL JOYCE, Esq., Barrister. London, 1850.

"WE will abolish the Court of Chancery, and transfer its jurisdiction and functions to the Courts of law at Westminster; and then we will go down to those Courts and open the shutters, and break some of the windows, and let in the light and air of common sense and reason, and sweep away all the cobwebs and rubbish of technicalities, and make quite new things of them; and then we will split them into as many lesser courts as there are, or should be counties, or, say, departments in the land; and we will have small Judges in these Courts to administer great justice at every man's door; and we will be non-litigants, and a prosperous and happy people."-The lawyers and the public are now members of the Happy Family, and the golden age has just begun.

The settlement of all the great political questions has left the public only legal and social reform. From the days of Elizabeth down to the passing of the Reform bill, two parties divided the empire; -the party of progress, and that of "the wisdom of our ancestors;" and the struggle has at length closed, by the last of a long series of tri-

umphs,-that of Free Trade.

Exciting and interesting as is the history of contests, which have gradually worked out and settled the constitution of England. they were productive of one great evil. While engaged in discussing the doctrines of divine and hereditary right, the powers of the magistrate, and the duties of the people, the minor matters, upon which the home happiness of the population depended, were utterly forgotten. As if to make up for long neglect, each reformer is now more eager than his brother; and in nothing is the fury wilder, than on that very subject upon which, of all others, caution would be wisdom. A bare lifetime cannot master laws which the superficial study of an hour is now sufficient to overthrow. Great interests are at present dependent on the rashness of a fierce impulse, and the unregulated fury of an-impatient passion. Undoubtedly, many are the reforms necessary to harmonize mediæval laws with modern eivilization. Centuries cannot pass without a luxuriant crop of anomalous, unjust, and perverse rules. How they began and crept into the system none can tell. One judge repeats the error which another had begun, and others had continued. The ivy creeps over the ruin,

 Reform in the Bankruptcy Law of Scot | spreading of the livery of decay. Our judiland. By "Scotus." Edinburgh, 1852. | cial institutions like all other establishments decline,-we oppose the progress of the disease by palliatives till palliatives fail, and at last arrive at that stage when the alternative is offered, of a thorough renovation, or the utter destruction of the system, as happened fifty years ago, in revolutionary France.

The horror of law and lawyers was not without foundation in England. A more complicated and technical system of law than that of our English brethren was never known in the whole history of civilized nations. The laws of France, of Germany, and of Scotland, are derived in part from the system of neighbouring countries, and from the great fountain of Roman jurisprudence. To these were added a slight sprinkling of local eustoms, traceable to the remote ages when the northern conquerors brought them from their native wilds, on the extinction of the Western Empire. A book of French, of German, or of Scottish law, is intelligible to people who have not made it their study. A book of English reports is unintelligible even to the professional lawyer of another country. The probability is, that the decision turned not upon the merits of the dispute, but upon some technicality of pleading. This great misfortune to the English law and the English people, has produced more cruel agony, than all the wars that have eursed the land for a thousand years. A technical system is necessarily a costly one, and as that of England is unsurpassed in the one respect it is consistent as to the other. Both in its Chancery and Common Law Courts the amount of costs which may be run up in a simple suit is, to persons acquainted with the moderation of other systems, something appalling. The heavy oppression struck down here and there a miserable family, ruined by victory in a Chancery lawsuit. As the country increased in wealth the victims became more numerous, the outery more of the character of a general clamour. What amount of discontent is necessary to move the tardy wheel of legislative improvement, what quantity of the law's injustice must be endured before relief is given, depends much upon the extent and character of the outcry. A man like Lord Eldon, swearing by his own virtues and the memory of his ancestors, stopped for half a century the onward tendency of the times, which in his eyes was only a sinful and fatal progression. In good time, he was gathered to his fathers. The slowly accumulating wrath of years was concentrated to a point; and legal reform was at length acknowledged as emthough we take no account of the gradual bracing all the largeness of national, and all the individuality of private interest, Such and it cannot be matter of surprise, if even laudable, however sincerely promoted, or the perverted law. however enthusiastically desired. In other viction and success, men grow disposed to float with the current of events, and to sail idly onwards. In the matter of legal reform such timid fatalism is now proclaimed to be a denial of the whole art of government, and the surrender of our reason to our fears.

The lamentable blunder made in England, was in the utter refusal of the Eng-

unanimity of approval has never yet been the most philosophical of men, carry their gained for any object however intrinsically indignation from the technical judge up to

The subject exhibits another illustration matters, where it is difficult to act with con- of the evil bias of self-interest on the human mind. Chancery barristers have written pamphlets in which they denounce the absurdities of special pleading ;-special pleaders retort by an exposition of the infirmities of their neighbours. Each holds to his own as the perfection of jurisprudence, utterly forgetful of the fact that the bell is on the stroke by which an impatient public will lish lawyers, to accept the aid of any wisdom announce the end of both. The pedantry,—
ab extra. They were content to measure the hostility to all enlarged and generous the duty of the present generation by the views-the disregard of every principle that performances of the past. The Merton does not address itself to the exigencies of barons, who live in so many declamatory the hour, the senseless passion for routine, passages, as patriots who preserved intact and an unreasoning suspicion of theory, have the liberties of England, were in truth its been, until recent days, the unfortunate worst oppressors. Their famous "Nolumus characteristics of the men to whom the leges Anglia mutari" fixed down upon the destinies of the English law have been English people the barbarisms of an imper- entrusted. The denunciations against them fect code. The division of Common Law now are not the mere outeries of a senseless and Equity, administered in different Courts, antipathy, but the settled convictions of harmonizes neither with our ideal of a good intelligent men. Unhappily for the lawyers, system nor with our practical instincts. A they have clung to antiquated formulas with more fruitful source of misery never afflicted a blind fatality of error, which made their the English people. It has entailed upon very sterility a part of their merit. Every them the cost of double establishments, - proposed improvement was met with objecwhich, to so great a nation, is perhaps the tions of that plausible character, which selfsmallest evil. Along with this it has produ-interest can always borrow from theory at ced all the uncertainties consequent upon a moment's warning. Words were evoked discordant jurisdictions. So narrow is the which are now meaningless, and appeals distinction between law and equity, that the made to traditions which belong to the past, most experienced in the Courts is often while all appreciation was lost of present The labour of a lifetime is in- times, characters, and conditions. The resufficient to insure certainty as to whether an forms recently adopted have been made action at law, or relief in equity, should be with a trembling hand and a quivering resorted to. The course is taken; years of voice. Special pleading still lives, and Chanlitigation follow, long bills of costs run up, and at last the equity suitor is dismissed, in the fragments which are wanting in the because of the blunder of his lawyer in not whole; and the wreck is clung to with taking a remedy at law, which he had from chivalrous devotion, with all the greater love the beginning. And this same remedy at that it is the object of a universal detestalaw was a matter pondered over at many an tion. The recent changes will in the end anxious consultation, and dismissed at last disappoint even their authors. They are as a remedy too speculative to be tried, based upon entire misapprehension of the The expense, delay, and vexation,* con-necessity of the hour. They disappoint by sequent upon such a system, are not the a false moderation and irritating timidity, least of the evils which it generates. It does which can have, and deserves to have, no injury to the law itself. It is dangerous to other result, but to excite only to disappoint, create a profound feeling of injustice. It is and postpone for a few months longer a inexpedient at all times to refuse a man his more sweeping, more hasty, and therefore claims, not from want of merit, but from more dangerous change. It is painful thus over refinement and attachment to form. to run round the dreary circle of expectation, Under the infliction of such a trial, it is disappointment, indignation, and abuse; difficult for minds the most equable to each Parliamentary session blundering on in acknowledge the wisdom of a technicality; the acquisition of the untimely wisdom, taught by the consequences of folly.

Can there be in truth a clearer case for

Not cured by 15 & 16 Vict. c. 86, § 62.

the application of the scalping knife than least respectability and competence, are in the system of special pleading in England. Instead of plaintiff and defendant being allowed to tell a plain story in plain words, they were compelled to state it in innumerable pleas, with ever so many countseach plea with its replication, rejoinder, surrejoinder-with difficulties at every stage, until at last a stage was arrived at when the pleader must stop. Then he set to work and extracted the great object of all this laborious dialecties-a single issue:-"Hence duplicity, variance, departure, immateriality, and ghostly shapes of all kinds, dropping mischief from their paper wings, come hovering round in the gloom to inhale the reek of the sacrifice. Then what has been adjudged to be exact in one case, must be exact in another. Then what has been adjudged not to be exact in one case, cannot be exact in another. Then the precedent-book becomes the bed of Procustes. Add to this the obsolete phraseology of olden times, not quite English, not quite French, not quite anything at all. stamped like the willow pattern on all this brittle crockery."-Legal lambics.

The establishment of the County Courts was the consequence of the failure of the ordinary tribunals. That they have been successful after such a failure, is saving little in their behalf. That they have been more successful than similar Courts in other countries, is to give them credit for what they do not deserve. Limited in their jurisdiction to a certain sum, they are also limited in regard to the character of actions. All equitable suits are still only to be heard in the Court of Chancery; and in this respect they present an unfavourable contrast to the Sheriff Courts of Scotland. Here there is no limit as to amount, no restriction as to the character of the suit; and the loud demand now made for the introduction here of the English County Courts, ignores entirely the fact, that we have them already, and a great deal more.

productive of blessings to the general pub-lic, these have been obtained at the sacrifice of a great body of men. The people cannot run from Westminster Hall, as from Every change in practical forms is productive of much private suffering. No ridieulous legal writ, whose very object it is difficult to state, can be abolished without taking the bread from the mouth of some one. The general public know little of the strug-Those who had obtained, if not fame, at priori, to foretell the fate of talents of the

a moment reduced to the helpless condition in which they were when they began their studies,-left upon the shore high and dry, while the whole stream of business is rushing elsewhere. It is lamentable, at the present moment, to look at the condition of the English Bar. The vast army of barristers are represented by a still vaster army of solicitors, and they by a more numerous body of subordinates, all struck by the same heavy blow which has annihilated the common law Courts of England. Migrations are daily taking place from the Inns of Court in London to the County Courts in rural England, or to the Eldorado The distress of the Australian diggings. which all this indicates is almost beyond belief, and certainly constitutes one of the clearest cases for compensation, -if compensation could ever be admitted, when large classes of the community are ruined by imperial laws, rendered necessary for the general good.

In fact, the profession of an advocate has seen its day. No longer has he the same arena-no longer the same important questions to discuss. No longer will an Erskine be called upon to defend the liberty of speech, or to contend against the exploded maxims of the Stuart reigns. The constitution is settled, and those rights of governor or governed, in the discussion of which so many orators have acquired immortality, are matters of debate no more. The province of our advocates is limited to the narrow field of private rights, in which, no doubt, there is necessary as much force of intellect and comprehensiveness of judgment,-without, however, the stimulus to those exhibitions of genius, which so often awed tyrannical judges, and hurried subservient juries into justice.

As a means of attaining a livelihood, it is of all professions the worst. Even in the best times it was a lottery. In the present day we summon a competent wit-If the English County Courts have been ness to speak of its demerits. "I hear," (said Lord Denman, in one of his recent letters to Lord Brougham,) "from all quarters that the most eminent men of the profession sit idle in Court, and that the the plague, without starvation to many, juniors are losing all hopes of succeeding Every change in practical forms is productin the world as barristers." In the struggle for the small share of business that remains, young men without influence and connexion, either in their county or with an attorney, are sure to be overborne. In every other trade or profession success atgles of professional life consequent upon the tends industry and integrity. In the prodiverting of business into new channels. fession of an advocate, it is impossible, a highest order. The senior wrangler of his day has gazed with intense amazement, at being passed cleverly by a man who never entered the gates of a university. Powers of practical adaptation to the business of life, and a fertile and ready mind, are of more avail than all the clegant scholarship that ever came from Oxford. Those, too, who have had all the backing that kith and kin among attorneys could give them, and all the cases which their own or their family influence could secure from their own county, have gone no farther. hope is at the prow, and youth at the helm, they sail gaily on, making much motion but little progress. The next stage is that of heavy juniors; and finally, they land safely among the old gossips, whose anco-dotes keep up the connexion between the present generation and the one about to quit the scene. No study, no perseverance, no patronage can insure success; and hence the folly of throwing away so much undoubted talent as now wanders forlorn, seeking for fame and bread, and destined to a miserable life of inactivity and oblivion.

In the decline of professional business, there has fallen the high honour and morality of the Bar. It is difficult to be chivalrous under the pressure of narrow means, and the rules of etiquette stand a small chance against the vulgar necessities of the hour,

"With but few exceptions on each of the Circuits, and even at the Chancery, the men already who are thriving in their vocation, are not the well read and profoundly learned lawyers, but the sons, nephews, and cousins of attorneys; a tribe of underbred men, who derive shelter and success in the practice of hugging from the very rules which forbid it to a higher calibre of men and minds; a class with whom thrift follows fawning, as surely as shadows substance."-Law Mag., vol. xliv. p. 272.

It is melancholy at all times to trace the decline and fall of an important class of the community, and more especially of a class with whose history is associated much of the history of England. The misfortune of the recent changes has been their sudden operation. Whole masses have been overwhelmed without time for preparation against the storm; and hence, in their very despair, they resort to means of safety which neither a nice sense of honour, nor any but a peculiar morality can justify. Perhaps, after a time, when the overstocked numbers of the profession are diminished to a suitable proportion with the business, the spirit of old days, relieved from the pressure of present times, may once before the extinction of the race.

Leaving, however, the contemplation of the ruin to the legal profession consequent on the recent changes in England, let us look at the changes themselves, and the expediency of introducing them into Scotland. While we are willing to take from England those improvements which experience has declared useful, we must hold up a word of warning against the indiscriminate adoption of their system now urged upon us by our English neighbours. Conceiving the law of Scotland to be farther advanced without exception, than that of England, we humbly think that unity of law would be too dearly purchased by the sacrifice of our own, exchangeable value of a great sentiment may be over-estimated. Unity of law may be purchased at a sacrifice too costly. Scottish people will hesitate some time before adopting the proposition to import wholesale the Bankruptey law, the Law of Succession, and the County Courts of England. A vigorous and well written pamphlet by Scotus, has exposed with the undeniable power of figures, the folly of supplanting the cheap bankrupt code of the one country by the cumbrously expensive one of our neighbours. We regret that our limited space, and another object, prevent us pursuing a discussion which Scotus has so ably conducted, and in which we cordially follow him until he comes to the remedy for existing evils. It is enough at present to look merely at the reforms contemplated in the instrument by which justice is dispensed, leaving the law itself for another and more dispassionate time.

There was one period in the history of Scotland in which a union of law and a common nationality were imminent. Had Edward triumphed at Bannockburn, and the little Scottish army been dissipated-its leader driven into exile, or trampled under the hoofs of the English cavalry, what a story of stirring events would have been blotted out from the history of mankind! what a difference in the Scotland of the present time! Out of the panic-striken flight of the English army, Providence, which shapes the destinies of nations, has wrought a unity and a purpose, denied to the largest preparations and the most elaborate contrivances. Accidents like this have founded a dynasty which time has since swept away. The fable of Rome's growth, is the type of the development into which men are moulded, by a wisdom greater than man's. Over all the land, from Shetland to the Solway, would have waved the English flag. In every street would have been heard the accents of again revive. We hope that time may come the English tongue. With reference to the people, one of two things would have hapwith their Saxon conquerors, and so become an integral part of the English people. In all probability the latter would have been the The whole of Lowland Scotland regult was then filled with the same races as northern England,-community of language, of feelings, and, in part, of institutions existed; and hence, the elements for a complete fu-The Celtic portion of the north within the Highland line, would in course of time have fallen, and perhaps not a century would have elapsed before the Scottish people would have looked upon the defeat of Bannockburn, with no greater reproach than the English now look back upon Hastings. The country could not have afforded to lose the important events crowded within the memorable 600 years, which have elapsed since the glorious day! Within that time a dynasty arose and has passed away. The Reformation and its leader gave us a purified religion, and a distinct nationality. The land in which, if Presbyterianism was not born, it was at least cradled and nurtured into manhood, would have been now peacefully under the shade of an apostolic episcopate. Our General Assemblies, Synods, and Presbyteries,—the republican equality of our religious institutions, would have been unknown; and one of the most striking chapters in the history of the general Reformation, would not have given its lesson to the world.

But it is in reference to the laws that we should have found the most striking change. This old country, which has for centuries of glory, grown and flourished under the benign influence of one of the most philosophic systems of jurisprudence, would have constituted the Northern Circuit of the united kingdom. What Baliol, even in his most broken-spirited hours, most cruelly lamented, must have been the general fate. The Courts of Westminster would have been the supreme judicatory, from which all judicial authority would emanate to the subordinate Judges of the North. If the prevention of all this were an evil, Bannockburn may be charged with it. Would amalgamation ever have left us in the high position which we have secured by our independence? The annals of mankind do not display a more profitable or glorious advancement. We defy all countries and times, all governments, all anarchies, to produce a similar aggregate of steady improvement, and so many triumphs accomplished over so many obstacles.

pened,—either that they would have sunk now attempted in a more peaceful way. A into the degradation of a conquered race, number of English gentlemen have formed like the Irish, or have been amalgamated themselves into various societies, not merely for the codification of their own laws, but for the improvement of ours. The improvement consists principally in doing that which we have struggled for so many ages to prevent,-namely, the introduction into Scotland, by very much the worst system of law, and the worst mode of administering it, known in any country. Possessed already of a simple system, easily wrought and easily understood, it requires the exercise of great patience to listen to the proposal for its extinction, and for the introduction of that of England instead. A union of laws is no doubt an object to be hoped for, but it . must proceed upon one basis alone, namely, the adoption by England, of the better system in existence here. There must be some conformity shown to the common sense of the age, in the adoption of a rational and enlightened code of laws in room of the intolerable inconveniences, the cumbrous costli-ness, and the feudal barbarisms of what Blackstone described as the perfection of human reason.

Beyond and above all others, the prominent department said to be thirsting for reform is the Scottish Sheriff Court. The English system of five years' antiquity, or nothing,-such is the offer. Ours is decayed from top to bottom. The mushroom of a night pushes aside the cedar of centuries. England has one judge with a large income, Scotland has two in each County with small incomes. The office of Principal Sheriff, therefore, is a grievance. Its virtues have been sounded, its powers exhausted. Aged, effete, and ridiculous, it is no longer in unison with the times. Half a century has . been lost; -- nonentities passing under the official name of "Sheriffs," exist in society for their own but not for the national good. It is time now to turn them out,-pluck the gowns from their backs, lay them on their Substitutes, and add their salaries to those Thus the whole edifice is to of the latter. be remodelled and reconstructed from the dead level of the new philosophy. And the new erection is to be wholly irrespective of the character, the object, the division, and the material of the former one.

It is not the first time that society has been assailed by attempts to prostitute great names to interests other than patriotic. If we live in an age of transition, we also live in an age of shams. Apart from the recent interference of some gentlemen in London, the movement in Scotland at the present hour, affords another interesting What could not be effected forcibly, is chapter in the history of popular cries. For

petitions, respectful remonstrances, appeals to reason, and to justice, clamorous descriptions of the expense and burden of a large family; but as they could bring little political influence to bear on their behalf, they generally returned as unsuccessful as they Each successive Lord Advocate was in vain appealed to. The County members, when they came down for the shooting season, had the long history of the matter explained to them; and some Substitute bolder than the rest, now and then ventured to utter a feeble moan over the desolate condition of his order, in the columns of the local newspaper. Years thus rolled on, each succeeding another with its weary disappointment, until at last the bright idea occurred to them, to obtain the long desired increase of their salaries by the spoliation of a friend,

Unhappily there has thus been mingled with the discussion of a grave question the irritation of rude personalities. The controversy began with a pamphlet from a Sheriff-Substitute (No. 1 of our list,) more in the tone of a conqueror returning from the field of vietory, than of a cautious strategist commeneing an uncertain struggle. The keynote thus given was taken up by other anonymous pamphleteers. Professing as their object the reform of a national institution, the Sheriff-Substitutes seem to have forgotten their mission. Sinking into oblivion the undoubted grievances of their Courts, they have expended their lamentations over their own ideal woes, and their energies on imaginary remedies. They have contrived to rouse a powerful opposition against important practical reforms, by a want of the wise discretion of seizing the mean between conflicting energies. they not printed it and published the lamentation, it is scarce eredible to think that their chief grievance-greater than that of insufficient salary, is the name of Substitute! The mind seems to have become morbid in brooding over the sad truth, that

"A Substitute only shines brightly as a king, Until a king be by; and then his state, Empties itself, as doth an inland brook Into the main of waters."

The worst of all means was adopted to attain the coveted exaltation. Force and dignity might have been imparted to the demand, by chariness of argument and truthfulness of statement. Jealous of authority and impatient of control, the assailants,

many long years the Sheriff-Substitutes be- guage of decorum. The Sheriffs have been sieged the doors of the Treasury for an held up to obloquy and derision, and the reincrease of salary. They came with humble sult has been to create a sympathy for the abused. Taking advantage of the occasion, the Sheriffs have, in the person of several champions, stated their defence. In the multitude of pamphlets there is not wisdom, A wearisome array of facts and figures that lead to nothing and prove nothing-statements and counter-statements of exigencies and grievances-of injustice perpetrated by the one party with contumely, and borne by the other with patience-crowd upon the mind in painful and eumbrous confusion.

Not the least painful are the personalities, Mr. Napier, speaking with the dignity of a Sheriff, regards with scorn the insolence of a

Substitute:

Have we not with special soul Elected him our absence to supply; Lent him our terror, dress'd him with our love; And given his deputation all the organs Of our own power?

Open abuse from the general public may be tolerated. It is the privilege of ignorance to be clamorous; and looking to the source from which it springs, the stroke loses all its point. The assailants renounce their opinions on better knowledge, and thereby withdraw their invectives. The fiercest outeries of open enemies against an institution are often little more than political conventionalities, which proceed on certain assumptions, and are forgotten when the assumptions are proved false. It is not so with the assaults of a friend, the rebellion of a subordinate, the ingratitude of a domestic. Their angry words are the seeds of enduring hostility. Their allusions are too familiar to miss their mark, too pointed not to strike well home, too envenomed not to rankle.

It is the supreme privilege of all men in this country,-in that respect superior to any other country in the world,-to express, without fear, their opinions upon every topic of public interest, and upon every publie officer, however high. In claiming and exercising this privilege, every man vindi-cates a great principle. The law having provided for the observance of public decency and morality, leaves a wide arena for the conflict of opinions without fear of the We tolerate many absurdities and some impicties, in the confident hope that, if we give them sufficient rope, they will be their own executioners. A man may deny the apostolic character of the Bishop of Exeter, and not be punished for blasphemy. He may even call in question the wisdom of a however, forgot, for the moment, the lan- principal sheriff, or (better still) a supreme be alike protected. So long as in this con- there might for this purpose, be no newstroversy the disputants do not disturb the papers at all; and hence judges are never public peace, we allow them as much scope wakened from their dream of perfection, ex-

all our institutions. The statement of a when Brougham was there, but which, alas! grievance is a warning to the wrong-doer of we much fear, we shall hear no more. sm. uldering discontent or hidden danger. It gives him the opportunity of repentance, discussion as to the expediency of having and enables him to check folly in its career. Only one resident county judge, is the fact, Had there been a free press in the Stuart that already two Parliamentary Commisfreedom of speech, which no one has, with more efficient. more unbounded license, asserted, than the What has made the English courts, in many tish Sheriff. The conclusion was this: "We VOL. XVIII. 21-B

judge, without fear of whipping. The Courant respects, better than our own, is the control Pamphleteer may write with intemperance, exercised over them by public opinion and and Mr. Munro may reply with gravity, and the press. In Scotland, on the other hand, for their extravagances as they desire, trust-ing that they will tire of them at last. | cept by a rare pamphlet which evokes a call for the author's professional extinction; or Indeed, it is to this freedom of discussion by that racy abuse which sometimes enthat we attribute the beneficent action of livened the reports of the House of Lords,

times, the Stuart dynasty would yet have sions have reported on it. These were apoccupied the throne of England. Not one of their tyrannical deeds would ever have different rule. In the good old days, when passed from conception into action, if on Eldon was Chancellor, there were commisthe morrow a thousand pens described in sioners reporting upon our judicial instituindignant words the natural emotions oc- tions equally as now. The office of county casioned by crimes like theirs. Hence, judge is apparently an office as eternal as looking to the blessings which this high the monarchy itself. All the views for the power, rightly directed, confers upon us, it reform, or rather the extinction of the shehas been established as a fixed principle of riff courts, were stated in the year 1818,our law, that it is not a libel to call in evidence taken thereon,-and a report made question the fitness or the competency of a to Parliament by Commissioners, of whom public officer to discharge his duty. No doubt, Sir Ilay Campbell, formerly Lord President the power is to be exercised with discretion, of the Court of Session, was the chief. It with forbearance, and with generosity. Men was proposed then, not merely to compel who may reply, are entitled to less conside the judge to be resident, and to have only ration than those whose duties prevent them one, but also to make a new division of the from mingling in the strife of parties, the con- territorial districts called "counties," uniting tests of political discussion, or even from some of the smaller, and equalizing the standing on the same platform with their duties of the various local judges. It was fellow-citizens. But while judges can claim further proposed "that the salaries paid to forbearance upon these grounds, that forbear- the Sheriff-depute and substitute should be ance ought never, by the public, to be trans-united, and perhaps some farther addition lated into an abnegation of the privilege. made, so as to constitute a salary to the re-Mr. Napier, angry with the Courant Pam- sident Sheriff, which might be sufficient to phleteer, drags from him the veil of anony-mity, and compels him to stand forward by for the office." All these proposals for orname, to defend his sneers and his conclu- ganic change were, however, reported against. sions. But when he proceeds farther, and A recommendation was made and attended suggests the removal from office of a man to, that the salaries of the Substitutes should as fitted for it as the best Sheriff in the land, be increased, and certain other regulations he commits an outrage upon that right of adopted, calculated to render both offices

In 1835 another Royal Commission took . author of "Montrose and his Times." We evidence at great length upon the question can pardon everything in the pamphlet con- once more; and once more unanimously demned, except its dulness. It was cer-reported against the change. They did so tainly a grave matter; but it was possible for many reasons, which will be found in the to be lively with such a tempting subject, Report itself, and as quoted at length in as one's own virtues and the ignorant inca- Mr. Monro's able pamphlet. They stated pacity of superiors. Much vituperation, he justly, that the plan of local judges has pre-no doubt gives us; but the lamentable facts sented itself in no country "in the same asare badly set in the usual filagree work of sentiment and statistics. The example, however, is a good one,—not to be forgotten unlimited jurisdiction possessed by a Scottand. What here made the English courts.

are very decidedly of opinion, that such a in which it acts. One judge decided in favour change in the existing system of the local of allowing a suitor to split his demands, while jurisdictions in Scotland is not only uncalled others have denied his ability to do so. for and unlikely to afford any solid advantage which we do not at present possess, but that it would be attended with the most injurious consequences to the administration of justice in our local courts." This opinion was not given as the result of the experience of the Commissioners alone, nor upon speeulative views of theirs, but upon evidence, and that evidence is thus described: "In Glasgow, the witnesses who were examined were much divided in opinion: the greater number even of those who were favourable to a change in this respect allowed that they chiefly contemplated the peculiar situation of a large and populous jurisdiction like that of Lanarkshire. But the witnesses from every other part of Scotland, who were examined, were nearly unanimous in holding, that any such change was not only unnecessary, but would be extremely inexpedient."

The circumstances have not changed since the date of this Report, except in two par-ticulars. In the first place, there has been a change in the corps of Sheriffs since 1835. Many old men who did not attend the Court of Session-whose law, like the date of their appointment, was aged—have gone to their account, and younger men, compelled by recent legislation to attend the Supreme Courts, have supplied their place. In this respect, therefore, the public have been gainers. On the other hand, we have had the experience of County Courts in England, and the satisfaction expressed in regard to them, by the verdict of the English people. But we again protest against citing direct contrasts as analogies. The abominations of the ordinary English Courts were such as to render any system popular, which had the opposite virtues of cheapness and finality. Our readers will see in the sequel a description of the doings of a Sheriff-when unchecked by the right of appeal-in his Small Debt Court. It has often been deplored as a great evil that such things must be tolerated. Arising, as they do, from the imperfection of human nature, it is not surprising to find them over all England to a much greater extent, in consequence of the greater amount which, without review, an English County Judge can give judgment for. We ask attention to the following illustrations of the working of that greatest of evils in the administration of justice-the power of judging without appeal :-

" Hundreds of decisions have been given totally different in similar cases, and many diametrically opposite. At the present moment the it is shewn that this is much too favourable a view law is as diverse in its operations as the divisions of the English costs.

district, the execution creditor has preference over the landlord; in another, the landlord over the creditor. Some judges will only allow certificated attorneys to plead before them; others will permit their clerks; and a few will allow agents or accountants. Locality alone decides the great questions of the law, and a suitor's chances of obtaining a verdict are in proportion to the district in which he lives."—The Lawyer, vol. i. p. 25.

The case is more pithily stated by Mr. Joyce:-

"In one metropolitan County Court the law is treated with contempt: they read unstamped documents. In another Court, the Judge, less bold, but more astute, bows to the law, but renders it ineffectual, by condemning a party objecting to the costs occasioned by the delay."—
(P. 13.)

The last account that we have seen of the English County Court is by Mr. Monro:-

"Let us now look a little farther at the English system, which-apparently on the principle of omne ignotum pro magnifico-is held up not merely as a vast boon to England,—which it is; but as a model to be implicitly followed by Scotland,-which it is not. A Parliamentary Return as to these Courts for the year 1851, just issued, while it affords no data as to the element of delay, contains sufficient facts to upset the whole assumptions of their superior cheapness. The system is plainly dearer, without an appeal. Then ours is with an appeal. The total causes tried during the year 1851 were 233,646, including, of course, those wherein no opposition was made, and where, we presume, in accordance with English practice, a prima facie proof was sufficient and necessary. The total sums (exceeding costs) for which judgments were given was £815,514; the total amount of costs allowed was £191,075, being nearly one-fourth of the amount of the debts,-thus, the costs on both sides would be about one-half of the debts; and as in England they are much more familiar than we with extra or disallowed costs, the real amount would be con-siderably greater.* If the undefended causes had been separately stated, the proportion of costs in defended causes would have been considerably greater. But taking the matter as it stands, the result is decidedly favourable for the Scotch system, as there can be no doubt that the cost allowed in defended suits under £50 in the Sheriff-Courts, does not, on the average, amount to so much as one-fourth of the debts. We trust, therefore, we shall hear no more of the superior cheapness of the English County Courts; and by certain simple reforms the ex-pense of the Scotch Courts will be much farther reduced."

^{*} See Article IX. of Mr. Monro's pamphlet, where

commences his attack upon the Sheriffs-Prin- nominated no longer by him, but by the cipal by the remark, that "it is needless Crown. here to enter into an historical explanation of the origin of the two classes of Sheriffs, and Forbes, it appeared, while they abolishand of the relative importance of their sevel ed their abuses, to be unadvisable utterly ral duties at successive periods. It is with to abolish the ancient local jurisdictions of the present and not with the past that we the Sheriffs, and the simple remedy they have now to do."-P. 51. It may happen, resorted to, was, to put the appointment to however, that the past reflects a light upon the office into the hands of Government. the present, and may help to guide the path Formerly the Sheriff-depute might be any of modern improvement. Without a refer- one whom the High Sheriff pleased, and he ence to its history, neither the value nor the generally was the local representative of the defects of the institution can be discovered; Sheriff himself. A worse judge,—because and therefore we cannot so summarily dis-necessarily influenced by local partialities, miss the history and services of the most and by the strong motives of personal inancient of all our judicial institutions,

tution is lost in the mists of times anterior lawyer, was fixed upon. He is required to to written history. The name occurs coeval be an advocate of three years' standing,with our first authentic records, and in all his appointment is for life, -and in effect our annals occupies a conspicuous place. he holds the same situation which the Sheriff The affectation of copying everything from occupied under the Scottish monarchy. He England, was never more out of place, than is no longer termed Sheriff "depute;" and in sinking this historical name, to adopt the in all respects is an independent officer. new English cognomen of County Judges, holding his appointment from the Crown in The endurance of the office was regulated the same manner as the supreme judges entirely by the Sovereign's grant; and in themselves. the course of time, in becoming hereditary, became the source of many evils to Scot- the evils resulting from the old system.

lion of '45.

himself. With the exception of a few crimes, fostered and created by the local attachreserved under the feudal government to ments and partialities of the Sheriff, and by the principal court of the Sovereign, the the influence which he acquired, the legisla-Sheriff could try all, even though inferring ture determined to avoid this evil by apcapital punishment. His emoluments were pointing a person resident for the greater derived from the fines and penalties, com- part of his time in Edinburgh. mon enough in the forfeitures of tumultuous salary which was allotted to him, was ad-

and honourable one, conferring upon the Attendance upon the Law Courts was refamily who held it an influence which enabled quired as a qualification for holding the them in many rebellions, to rouse the popul office. It kept up an acquaintance with the lation even against the sovereign himself. current law, and it removed him from the Many a struggle was made against this crying evil by the Scottish Parliaments and the might be biassed. Scottish Kings; but it was only after the an advocate, his whole time was not given Rebellion of 45, that relief was obtained, to the duties of his office, and therefore he by the utter annihilation of the heritable could not, in fairness, claim a salary upon jurisdictions.

It was by a statute which followed shortly after the defeat of Culloden, devised chiefly his best client; and the salary, as the fee by Lord Hardwicke and Duncan Forbes, for labour done on behalf of the county. that the present system of Sheriffships was called into being. The old office of High in the office of Sheriff, this Edinburgh law-Sheriff was allowed to exist, though no yer was the responsible and the efficient longer hereditary. It is now conferred officer. He was allowed to appoint a substiupon the person holding the office of Lord tute to manage the business that required Lieutenant of the county. All the plenary local attention. The substitutes at first re-

The author of the "Scotch County Courts" | now, however, conferred upon a new officer.

To the sagacious minds of Hardwicke terest, could not have been named. Hence The office is of great antiquity. Its insti- it was that a stranger to the county, and a

The original idea was the consequence of land, which were consummated in the Rebel- As great oppressions, flagrant wrongs, dangerous rebellions, cruelties of every kind The Sheriff had a deputy nominated by perpetrated in the name of law, had been Hence the justed upon the principle, that it was not to Thus the office of Sheriff continued a high be regarded as his sole means of livelihood. sinister influences by which his judgments Allowed to practice as that principle. The amount was fixed, upon the idea of considering the county as

For many years subsequent to the reform powers of jurisdiction of the olden times are ceived no salary whatever, except what the

Edinburgh lawyer gave them, and certain | When he comes to award punishment, is he parsimony of government thus gradually least may be, checked by the interference of brought things back to the old iniquity, of his brethren. the judge determining causes, in matters in which he himself was interested.

reality or name, subordinate and uninfluential, prevention than by cure. The fact of conty. He is the territorial judge during the forms of written pleadings, but with the exabsence of his principal, and he cannot be isting institutions, proves that we have in this without occupying a position attended them some cause of rejoicing, and that the

great expense.

reforms loudly insisted on, is the extension triumphs of beneficent institutions, and in tish Sheriff. Is the writer aware of the fact, in the character and genius of the system.

fees which, in course of time, they either not as good, nay, perhaps a better Judge legally or illegally exacted. The persons than a trained lawyer? He is as capable of selected, as might have been expected, were estimating the considerations upon which who are now their successors. Formerly, they were of any and of all trades prior to their appointments. Half-pay officers, bank capable of understanding. Above all, there agents, land surveyors, gentlemen without is one guarantee against the imposition of professions, and small writers in small ernel and disproportionate punishments, in country towns, wielded the high powers of the fact, that they are not pronounced by the mighty Sheriffs of the old days. Of one man, but in accordance with the judgcourse, receiving little or nothing in name ment of a number of men. Thus, the folly, of salary, they carried on, as they were the rashness, the want of thought, the indif-justly entitled to, their former trades. The ference to consequences of one, are, or at

The enormous jurisdiction of the Sheriffs has been prevented from running into abuse, In course of time the position of the Sheriffs has very materially altered. The office of substitute instead of being, either in while it effects the object, does it rather by with great responsibility, great labour, and course of our affairs under them has not been uniformly wretched. We have had The criminal jurisdiction of the Sheriff cause to be thankful, at least for immunity extends generally to all but capital crimes, from the offensive anomalies and the legal His power of punishment is, however, oppressions of the system of our neighbours. limited. He cannot pronounce death, nor Our pamphleteers, hurried away by the dissentence to transportation. This seems to temper of remedy, are compelled to be be regarded a grievance; and one of the both laudatory and abusive. They sing the of power to these local Judges in the mat- the same voice proclaim them unworthy of ter of punishment. It is said, that in England, the Quarter Sessions have the power under which they have acquired all their of transportation, and the argument is, that glory and renown, is even succeed at; and if unprofessional justices can doom a man the proposed reform ascends to the dignity to Norfolk Island, why should not a Scot- of a revolution, by involving a total change

that of all the branches of the Criminal Law It is loudly urged that the existence of of England, this has created the loudest and the principal Sheriff constitutes a bar in the most continued outcry? He has read the way of justice. It is unnecessary to go newspapers to little purpose, if he has not farther if this statement be well founded. seen authenticated tales of innocent men The Sheriff's duties consist, in part, in recondemned through the ignorant rashness of viewing the decisions of his Substitute. a Quarter Sessions. But, assuredly, we Resident in Edinburgh, it is said that ex-would trust such a tribunal with a confidence we could not place in the Scottish Sheriff. The appeals, it is farther said, are so numewe could not place in the Scottish Sherini Ine appeals, it is narrier said, are so numes substitute. The unprofessional training of rous as to impede the progress of the cause.

a Justice of Peace may render him unskilful in dissecting evidence, or in the application ling, or at most half-a-crown, of sterling of the law. It is not his duty, however, but money. If a man feel himself aggrieved that of the Jury, to decide upon the evidence. His province commences when the prisoner entitled to get a review of that erroneous is found guilty. Up to that stage, any mis-interlocutor, upon paying the carriage of a take he may have committed can only have parcel to Edinburgh. The review might, been in a faulty charge to the Jury, or in no doubt, be made cheaper, but a reduction the admission or rejection of evidence, even to ninepence or sixpence is not worth

all this outcry. It may, however, be the tions of opportunity in his way, but rather fact that all review is inexpedient. That to support his feeble resolutions and his ground is worthy of examination; but, in wavering convictions, by all the external the meantine, it would be desirable, if the aids which we can derive from the lessons office of Sheriff is to be abolished on ac- of experience. explain it.

hatreds, his partialities for his friend, his dislike to an enemy, his indifference to strangers. In casting the balance of an ambiguous proof, where the scales are equal, better informed :or nearly so, is it to be wondered that they will incline in favour of the noble and honourable baronet, and the high and puis-sant noble, whose hospitality the local Sheriff so often enjoys-whose pleasant attentions are so much appreciated at home, and whose kindly memorials in the shooting season are so heartily welcome? A Sheriff description of the mode in which the cases is but a man. He who sits with that ausare usually gone through and the conclusion tere gravity, is, in his convivial moments, as he arrives at is, that, practically speaking,cheerful and as hilarious as the weakest of us. Subject to like passions as ourselves, we would wish not to throw the tempta-

count of the expense it creates to suitors, Is this a fancy sketch? Let any one that the parties using that argument would acquainted with the working of judicial tribunals run his mind over the history of The fact of there being no such appeal in his own experience. One of our pamphleteers England as in this country, is, in truth, the misfortune of the one and the characteristic Small Debt Courts of Scotland, in which glory of the other system. But even were the Sheriff-substitute may decide cases to it otherwise, and were it the fact that in the limited amount of £8, 68, 68, d., without England a single judge is a blessing, it does appeal. The pamphleteer is too much not follow (because the cases are not idented above the first own and his brethren's titeal) that it would be a blessing here. An dispuse Elevated above the level of the English county Judge rules over a populous litigants and the bar, he hears not their district, where there is a public opinion to control him, where the press attends seduof this nature the highest point of view is lously to his doings, and where, in general, not the most satisfactory. If we descend a he is acting in the face of a bar of educated little lower we see our bearings more clearly, barristers or attorneys. It is far otherwise and breathe an atmosphere more suited to in Scotland, where, except in the large ordinary langs. At the lofty height which towns, the Sheriff is controlled neither by it is the fortune of a judge to occupy, it is press nor bar, and where (population heing too natural that he should now and then scanty) public opinion, especially against a lomit to notice the uneasy repinings of the Judge, is feeble.* A single Judge, resident victims of his ignorance. It would be a in a country district, however honest in intention, is subject to painful difficulties in an uninfluential Solicitor, whose bread is the discharge of duty. He is subject to dependent on the good-will of the Judge, those infirmities which are not peculiar to to lay bare his failings to his own astonished him or to his profession, but belong to hue eyes. The press in this country, the only man nature. He is under the domination other medium of public complaint, seldom of interest, which so often tramples upon interferes with this subject, which it does duty, and of his passions, which trample not understand. Thus the local Judges upon both. He has his likings and his throughout Scotland are more or less labouring under the delusion, of imagining that because there is no loud complaint, there is satisfaction. The Glasgow practitioner seems

> "I venture to say that no person who is in the habit of attending the present Small Debt Courts, or who is acquainted with their practical working, can be satisfied with the manner in which the business is there conducted."-P. 33.

> The author supports this statement by a are usually gone through, and the conclusion

> "The judge never really hears the case he is trying, but decides upon a one-sided or partial statement. Hardly a Court day passes in which some of the suitors do not find themselves in one or other of these predicaments, and suffer injustice and the loss of their cause because of their inability to state it properly. These par-tics' complaints are not heard by the public, because the sufferers are unable to make them known. But their injuries are not less real on this account, nor their feeling of injustice less acute."

^{* &}quot; Besides the satisfaction afforded to parties by "Besides the satisfaction afforded to parties by professional aid, the presence of counsel or agents has also a beneficial influence on the Judge. It tends to make him more careful and precise in the enunciation of legal principles. He will feel that it is a different thing laying down the law before men who may be as skilled in it as himself, from propounding it was that in presence of an audience when he have it, ex cathedra, in presence of an audience who have no idea whether he is right or wrong."—Scotch County Courts, p. 25.

appears,

"decides from 15 to 25 cases per hour, in one half of which parties have to be heard, witnesses examined, and an irreversible judgment pronounced. Under this system, even a correct decision gives little satisfaction. The loser thinks he has been unfairly dealt with, and the successful party cannot but feel that he owes his succause. The dignity of the bench is also compromised by the indecent haste which is some-times exhibited. Oaths are administered and taken with a levity, and even recklessness, painful to witness; and above all, this system encourages trick and perjury, which can more easily escape detection than if each case were thoroughly sifted."

remote districts, without a bar or a public farm. opinion to keep the judge in check? If levity, indecent haste, recklessness, be the characteristics of the institution, we must pause Pamphleteer. The only panaeca for all the ciate. It is idle to indulge in declamations friend.
on the honesty and good intentions of men. In his anxiety, however, to adduce an ex-

We shall select the Edinburgh Court as However noble may be their resolutions, being the best equipped, and the most thor- they are human, and the grandest Cato of oughly under the control of public opinion. them all, will veer about according to the Another "Solicitor" gives a sketch from the impulses of passion or caprice. There is life of the procedure there. The judge, it just one system, and one only, which could reconcile the people of this country to single Judges without appeal. This is the system in use with excisemen and Methodist parsons. Let Sheriffs remain in a single place only for five years, by which time their attachments will begin to take root, and their habits to grow into a principle. To prevent the evils of the one and the other, let cess more to accident than to the justice of his them be at once drafted away to other towns,-the farther off, the better for justice and the law. In the Prussian dominions, this course is adopted with reference to almost every government officer; and the benefit of it is exhibited in the management of our own excise,-the exciseman never being allowed time sufficient to court and marry the distiller's daughter, or be soft-If such be the practice in the metropolitan ened from officiality to humanity, by long Small Debt Court in Scotland, what is it in continued remembrances from the distiller's

before extending them without a guarantee, evils which afflict us, is the transmutation We must have a safeguard against the pre-vailing evil of all these Courts,—the evils falls on the ear like a vulgar imprecation) resulting from the caprice, the hot-headed into Principal, -no appeal, and double salaness, and the obstinacy of the judge. More ry. In the pursuit of the object of the moscandalous acts of injustice are daily perperment, he overlooks facts, and pushes his trated in these petty Courts, from the single conclusions to results which his facts contracircumstance, that the judge knows his decree diet. With him the Sheriff Small Debt to be irreversible, than are done in the ordi- Court is an Arcadian paradise, which the nary Courts in a year. A confused state lieges are eager to enter and loath to leave. ment-a peevish remark-a drawling incon- Wherever similar procedure can be obtained secutive argument, wearies the patience, as in other courts, parties are only too happy it stimulates the irritation of the exhausted and anxious to get into the fray. There is Sheriff. He wrangles, disputes, and argues; an Act of Parliament, called the General and at last hushes the uproar, by an unjust Railway Act, applicable to the whole kingdecision against the pertinacious litigant. It dom, which authorizes public companies to is because the peeuniary amount is not ruin-take possession of lands on making compen-ous, even to a poor man, that the present sation. "The sum here involved," says system is endured. The Small Debt juris-the pamphleteer, "is often hundreds or diction of £8, 6s. 8d., stands, moreover, in thousands of pounds, yet the parties intethis peculiar position,—of not being open to the same objections that would be applicable to an extended sum. In general, the however important might be the sum at parties who are in the Small Debt Court are alike unknown to the Judge. They may be such as the the terms of the Police and the properties of the Police and the properties of the properties alike unknown to the Judge. They move consulted as to the terms of the Railway not in his circle—they do not meet him at Act. They take the Act as it was framed dinner—his and their wives are not bosom for them by the Lord Advocate of the day, friends. In consequence of this, justice has and whose particular notion it was to have a better chance. But the moment we come to litigations of higher moment, we ascend statute. Perhaps the authority is still better to a more elevated platform, on which may stand the Sheriff's patron, or his boon asso-equally well the purpose of our honourable

ample of conclusive importance, he omits appeals, which reversed judgments inconto shew the distinction which exists. He sistent with justice. The old Court of Seswishes a single judge and an irreversible sion was composed of men of learning, -of judgment, while, in the case to which he position in society, and subject to all the makes reference, the judge has no more to wholesome influences consequent upon resido with the decision than his own door-dence in the metropolis. Yet a court more keeper. The matter is left entirely to a corrupt, in respect of decisions given accordjury, who may, no doubt, be ignorant ing to the feelings of the Judge, and not the enough; but who, excavated from the eel- justice of the case, never existed. To Scotlars and shops of the Grassmarket, or land there has not been a greater blessing dragged from their farms away in the counthan the right of appeal to the House of try, are free from the formidable objection Lords. It would be still more so if it were which we are now considering.

as this, to do so in other terms than gene-possessed of a large share of the confidence ralities, and as such, of course, the argu- of the public. ment itself loses a great part of its force. In this respect the learned pamphleteer has ever, bemoan it as a national calamity, if the advantage of being able to dilate upon that right of appeal were extinguished. A the virtues of his brethren, a theme upon useful institution would be turned into a which he exhausts all his eloquence. It curse, by the removal of an ever-present would be odious to answer him, by dragging before the public particular instances man says here in Edinburgh, as the ground to the contrary; and a reference to past his of judgment, will be hacked and torn to tory, even though not remote, would be dis pieces at the bar of a foreign tribunal,-if missed with the reply, that we now live in foolish, laughed at,-if unjust, denounced,a better and a purer age. In this dilemma, and the whole of this criticism recorded and we are obliged to place our assertion against published in reports of authority for the that unrestrained power in the hands of any kind,—are facts which, during every day of one man, in every case, is more or less a judge's existence, keep him to propriety abused,-partly from the commission of and his duty. positive injustice, arising from dislikes or by the spur of superior authority.

Judges of the Court of Session frequently complained, of the intolerable evil of these but Sir Archibald Alison states, that in 1852

less expensive. In the course of 150 years It is impossible, in treating such a theme it has made the Court of Session, a tribunal All acquainted with the working of judicial tribunals would, howstimulant to duty. The fact, that what a We assert it as an undeniable fact, perpetual instruction and delight of man-

At present the public have two servants partialities, irritation, bad temper,-and for the same money, for which it is proposed partly from the vice of laziness, which grows they should have one. Would better law upon a man whose sides are not stimulated be administered by the same man, if he stood alone? Would any interest be served What is now insisted for is, indeed, with by the change, except his own? So far as out example, as it is without sense. There our experience has gone, the existence of the is an appointed cheek for every power office of Sheriff-Principal in Scotland, has, under the sun; the sword of Damocles for amid all the discussions on this subject, been Louis Napoleon; revolution for the consti- to the people of this country productive of a tutional sovereign, mutiny for the chief, blessing which has not hitherto been noticed. reform for the House of Commons, the Our readers are aware that the Court of press and the bar for an English county Session is the supreme tribunal in this judge. At the time of the Union between country, to which there is a right of appeal the two kingdoms, Defoe tells us that great from all inferior courts. The average number difficulty was felt by the statesmen of that of cases appealable, decided throughout the age, in regard to the constitution of the kingdom of Scotland, yearly, may be Court of Appeal. He mentions that it was ascertained from Parliamentary returns. proposed that the British House of Peers From the Report of the Law Commission, should nominate a Committee of delegates in 1834, (p. 68,) it appears, that during the to meet in Scotland, which might be come five years from 1828 to 1832, inclusive, the posed of Scottish lawyers. The proposal total number of actions brought into the was negatived, and a resolution taken to try ordinary Sheriff courts was 65,662, making the experiment in the House of Lords itself, an average of 13,132 for each year. By where, although there were only English a more recent Parliamentary return, the lawyers, yet they were strangers to the number for 1836 was ascertained to be parties. Appeals, accordingly, were carried 14,135. The number has gone on increasing it had increased to 7500, and in many other! In the language of the old Roman counties the increase has been equally re- Emperor, it is the duty of a statesman to markable. If we take 20,000 as the yearly take care that suits be not immortal. To average now, it will be within the mark. Of attain such a blessing, the country would all this vast number, there were brought acquiesce in a single indge and an irreversible into the Court of Session by appeal, not decree. The course intrinsically the worst more than 160* in the year 1851; and this, is often the most expedient, and human let it be remembered, is the result, although policy must condescend to human infirmity there is an appeal both on the law and the and even to human error.

fucts. That greater confidence is now felt in the practical administration of justice by the on the wildest delusion as to the facts. Even Sheriffs, is evidenced by this remarkable the Courant Pamphleteer is found making fact, that while the number of eases has the very important admission, that hardly increased in their Courts, the number of any of the cases under £30 which occupy the appeals from the Sheriffs' judgments to the attention of the inferior Courts ever go to Court of Session has diminished. Thus, even the Court of Session; but while making in 1824, the average number of cases this admission, it is strange to find the appealed to the Court of Session was 188. | author fail in deducing from it the conclusion The House of Commons, on 27th February which lies upon the surface. In the year 1838, ordered to be printed an abstract of 1851, out of the 160 cases appealed, we certain returns from the Sheriff Courts, cannot trace more than seventeen cases for from which it appears, that for the three sums under £30. Thus the whole evil to be years 1834, 1835, and 1836, the total remedied is to bar the way into the Court number of cases carried to the Court of of Session of not twenty appeals; and for Session was 332, making an average of 110 this benefit our modern pamphleteers are yearly, which (making allowance for the quite content to ruin the judge, by leaving increase in Sheriff Court business) is more him without a check. In truth, the whole of than the yearly average now.

not to the fact, that the defeated litigant has final judgment, is calculated to serve no obtained the opinion of two judges upon his good purpose to any human being. These case, and which, if not satisfactory, affords, seventeen appeals, miserable enough in at least, a most powerful reason for acquies- themselves, and in which generally one of cence? If two men arrive at the same the parties is upon the poors-roll, are of no result, unconnected with each other, and importance to the practitioners in the each anxious to decide rightly, the presump- Appellate Court. They are in one sense a tion at least is, that justice is administered, nuisance, and at all times disagrecable to Hence, the almost universal acquiescence in plead; but then, this is the noble purpose the judgments of the Sheriff Courts; more which they serve. They keep the suborthan three fourths of which we believe to be dinate judges ever in mind, that for every now decided by the Sheriff-Principal on hasty decree they are amenable to a higher

appeal. abolish the appeal to the Sheriff-Principal, patience and attention. by abolishing that office, but to give a power of final judgment to the extent of £30 because they are small in amount and geto the Sheriff-substitute, then become the sole judge. Is this power justified by any by the dozen, in the manner described by enormous evil consequent upon the present the Edinburgh and the Glasgow Solicitors. right of appeal in eases under £30?

† Appendix to Report of Royal Commissioners, on Forms of Process in Scotland, 18th March 1824,

But the whole of this argument is based this outery about the benefit to result from Now, to what is this attributable? Is it giving present Sheriff substitutes a power of tribunal, and that to the poor man's case It is further proposed not merely to equally as to the rich, they must give

> It is painful to think that, at present, eases, nerally those of poor people, are got rid of The author of the "Scotch County Courts" promises amendment in this particular, if we trust him with an extended jurisdiction and a larger salary. "The great mass of eases that are now tried in the Small Debt Court are easily and speedily disposed of; but if cases involving a larger amount were to be competent there, they would of course require to be more [why more?] cautiously and deliberately gone about,"-P. 23. With reference to these, he assures us that plenty of time and a patient hearing would be given to the parties. We are in vain moved by promises of future amendment

It is difficult to get at the precise numbers. In the year 1850-1851, we find from the rolls that only one hundred and forty-eight cases were brought to the Court by advocation; of which, moreover, fourteen were on the undefended list. It may be that several were on the underended list. It may be tant several inferior court-judgments were brought in by suspension. The rolls do not, however, shew what were suspensions of decrees, and what of other kinds. We are within the mark when we say that the suspensions of decrees are not one-twentieth of the advocations. We made a large allowance, therefore, in the text.

belied by past practice. While the experi-litigant is just one shilling or half a crown. ment was new and the public attention The time occupied in the disposal of the apawakened, there might be an improvement. peal may not be above a single day, -of The old evils would however soon return, course if the Sheriff-Principal is indolent the and the old scenes, for which this apology is delay is greater, -but the learned pamoffered, would be enacted before the eyes of phleteer may by this unction to his soul, that indignaut suitors.

It is at all times irritating, to have the result substitute. to the effect of the system upon these. We than what is noted here; the increase being have already stated that the expense to the £5 every year till the full salary be attained:

he has stirred up a lively attention even in

We are not surprised at the annoyance of the worst of them, and made them nearly an inferior judge at the scourge of an appeal. equal in ability and painstaking to a Sheriff-

of his own reflections and labour thrown On the subject of salaries some liberties away, in consequence of the different opinion have been taken with the facts. The followof his superior. If the interests to be regarding are the whole sums paid to the local ed were the feelings of the inferior judge, the judges throughout Scotland, it being preconsideration might be important. But the mised that the Substitutes are paid someonly interests to be attended to, being those what after the manner of a servant on good of the public, the discussion must be limited behaviour. They all begin with £50 less

Counties.	Sheriffs.	Salaries of Sheriffs.	Districts of Counties.	Substitutes.	of Substi- tules.
Aberdeen,	A. Davidson,	£400	Aberdeen,	W. Watson,	£500
			Peterhead,	J. Skelton,	350
Argyll,	E. F. Maitland, .	400	Inverary,	J. Maclaurin,	450
			Campbelltown, .	J. Gardiner,	350
			Tobermory,	W. Robertson,	350
Ayr,	A. Bell,	400	Аут,	J. Robison,	500
* '			Kilmarnock,	T. Anderson,	450
Banff,	A. Currie,	300	Banff,	J. Pringle,	400
Berwick,	R. Bell,	300	Dunse,	A. Wood,	-100
Bute,	R. Hunter,	300	Rothesay,	A. C. Dick,	400
Caithness,	R. Thomson,	300	Wick,	H. Russell,	4.50
Clackmannan, } Kinross,		300 {	Alloa,	W. B. Clark,	350
Kinross.	John Tait,	300 }	Kinross,	D. Syme,	350
Dumbarton,	J. C. Colquhoun, .	300	Dumbarton	W. C. Steele,	400
Dumfries,	M. Napier,	350	Dumfries,	J. P Trotter,	450
Edinburgh,	J. T. Gordon,	1000	Edinburgh,	A. Jameson,	600
			Do	P. Arkley,	600
Elgin and)	w n = 11	(Elgin,	P. Cameron,	400
Nairn	B. R. Bell,	300 }	Nairn,	A. Falconar,	350
Fife,	A. E. Monteath, .	400	Cupar,	G. Grant,	500
	ari an amonicula,	200	Dunfermline,	C. Shireff,	400
Forfar,	J. L'Amy,	350	Forfar,	C. Diekson,	500
	J. L Amy,	500	Dundee,	J. Henderson,	500
Iaddington,	W. Home,	300	Haddington,	R. Riddell,	400
Inverness,	W. F. Tytler,	400	Inverness,	W. H. Colquhoun,	450
	w.r. Lytter,	400	Fort-William.	A. Fraser,	350
				T. P.	300
			Skye,	T. Fraser,	300
ret st	Y 35 D H	200	Long Island,	C. Shaw,	400
Cincardine,	J. M. Bell,	300	Kincardine,	C. G. Robertson, .	400
Airkeudbright, .	E. D. Sandford, .	300	Kirkeudbright,	W. H. Dunbar, .	600
Janark,	Sir A. Alison, Bart.,	1000	Glasgow,	H. G. Bell,	
			Do	G. Skene,	600
			Lanark,	J. N. Dyce,	400
			Hamilton,	J. Veitch,	400
			Airdrie,	A. Smith,	400
inlithgow,	John Cay,	300	Linlithgow,	F. Home,	400
Orkney and {	W. E. Aytoun, .	350	Kirkwall,	J. Robertson,	400
Zetland,	W. D. Hytoun,	350 {	Lerwick,	R. Bell,	350
eenies,	tr. Napier,	300	Peebles,	A. Burnet,	350
erth,	J. Craufurd,	400	Perth,	H. Barclay,	500
			Dunblane,	A. Cross,	350
Renfrew,	H. J. Robertson, .	350	Paisley,	R. R. Glasgow, .	450
			Greenock,	C. Marshall,	400
2		(Tain,	R. S. Taylor,	3.50
Ross and	T. Mackenzie,	400	Dingwall,	G. Cameron,	350
Cromarty,		1	Stornoway,	A. L. Macdonald, .	300
Roxburgh,	W. O. Rutherfurd.	300	Roxburgh,	J. M. Craigie,	450
elkirk,	G. Dundas,	300	Selkirk,	F. Sommerville, .	350
Stirling,		350	Stirling,	Sir J. Hay, Bart	450
5)		000	Falkirk.	R. Robertson,	400
otherland	H. Lumsden,	300	Dornoch,	E. Fraser,	450
surnerially	A. Urquhart,		Wigtown,	M. Rhind,	400

the Sheriffs are both resident, the total paid three or four times as much as that of the re-Substitutes £21,700.

The salaries of the Sheriff-substitutes are pronounced to be "perfectly ludicrous."
"The present salaries of the resident Sheriffs (substitutes) are perfectly ludierous; and, as we have already shewn, the result is that no person can accept such a situation except he possesses some means of his own, to enable him to keep up his necessary position as a judge."-Scotch County Courts, is totally inadequate to sustain." p. 58. It is bad policy at all times to exaggerate. It weakens a good argument, and gives to injustice an excuse. It is ridiculous Sheriffs-Principal, in reference to whom the to say that the salaries of the Sheriff-substi- question raised is, whether their services are great majority of professional men, are at is not beyond that exacted by Mr. Moore, state, that none but persons blessed with an Canterbury. Still it is too large if the office men, as set forth in the report of two Royal professional training to understand. Commissioners, is against them. We deplore the want of tacties that has ruined a mittee of Dumfries-shire gentlemen, who good cause; for although we cannot certify have given to the public the benefit of a rethe truth of the whole of the following passage, it does convey a description of much Sheriffs are prevented "from having any real suffering :-

"No man with any thing like a fair business at the Bar, and who enjoyed good health, would ever dream of accepting the office of Sheriff-substitute; and no one, with even a chance of ultimate success in his profession, would think of throwing himself away on such a situation; except, perhaps, he possessed some means of his own, which, along with the scanty emoluments of his office, might enable him to of Scotland. 'If by 'communication with their live on his salary. It is utterly impossible for him to maintain that position which the very decency, to say nothing even of his official si-tuation, demands, and which, for the honour and credit of the country, a resident Sheriff ought to occupy. His labour is incessant, and as responsibility almost overwhelming, yet his upon county gentlemen at county meetings salary is not half as much as is given to the They are ex officio Commissionero Supply, higher officials in banks or railway or insurance and occasionally attend those meetings, and companies, or even to the head-clerk of a mercandile establishment. The salaries of the Sheggentlemen, and that they may be in a county rifficierks, and of the Procuration First 1:

Deducting Edinburgh and Glasgow, where | business, their professional incomes are often to the Scottish Sheriffs is £9350, and to their sident judge. Only a very small portion of the labours of a Sheriff substitute meets the eye of the public. His duties on the bench are comparatively light to those off it. In all our populous districts, even on those days when there is no public Court, the resident Sheriff is kept in an incessant turmoil of business, by criminal matters and summary proceedings; and in those counties where he has some leisure on his hands, he is, nevertheless, prevented from making a profitable use of it, and yet is obliged to keep up a position in society which his salary

We have, however here to deal with the tutes, which are all greater than the average worth to this country £9350 a year? The incomes of the Scottish clergy, and of the amount is not large for a great country. It the starvation point. It is also incorrect to the registrar of the Prerogative Court of inherited fortune can accept the office. It be a "sinceure." (Scotch County Courts, must be known to the writer of the quoted p. 65.) We do not admire the taste which passage, that for every vacancy, however unimportant, a dozen eager hands are held imagine the author to be ignorant of a Sheup. But far be it from us to say one word riff's duties. It is always more easy to deagainst the just claims for an increase of stroy than to construct, to denounce than to salary on the part of our local judges, defend. More peculiarly it is so, in a case Unhappily for themselves they have rested where the vices of a system are capable of the solution of this point upon questions a summary exposition, while its merits are perilling national interests, in reference to spread over a large surface, and require at which the deliberate judgment of educated once some fairness to appreciate and some

The statement was repeated by a comport. They expanded it by stating that the communication with their counties save at rare intervals. Upon the Substitute devolves the whole of the business." sailed in this way, Mr. Napier, the Sheriff of Dumfries-shire, comes forth with the following statement of a Sheriff's duties :-

"The publication of this somewhat reckless assertion will not a little astonish the Sheriffs counties' be understood, that familiarization at the elbow, which is so apt to reduce a judge to the level of a legal assessor, unquestionably the Sheriffs rather seek to avoid that position. Their proper communication with the county riff-clerks, and of the Procurators Fiscal, in all cation with them, when necessary, upon proper the counties of Scotland, are higher than that Fiscal subjects. But the communication which of the Sheriff-substitute; and as they are not consists in becoming the consulting colleague debarred from carrying on an extensive private and legal adviser of those few active county the position of a Judge. It is the reverse of his tention, or likely to create any local excitement, duty. It throws him into great confidence with a Sheriff considers it his duty to go to his county, one gentleman, and, it may be, into unpleasant specially to try it, however distant, and at any collision with another. And supposing him to personal inconvenience. This is no light task, be equally in such confidence with them all, his relation to those county gentlemen becomes all years, when the Crown lawyers have been in most unfairly distinguished from his relation to the habit of sending so many serious cases to be the general community, over whom he is simply Judge. This affords one strong argument in

"To judge of the duties of a Sheriff, he must be regarded in relation to his Sheriffdom, and not merely to his Sheriff Court. Even in re-ference to his ordinary Civil Court, the matter is inaccurately stated by your Committee. A Sheriff does not hear appeals. The advantage of his restrict is that second of written aload. of his position is, that a record of written pleadings, along with his Substitute's judgment, is transmitted to him, at the head-quarters of the law, where, besides being free from all local prejudices and predilections, he brings to the consideration of the case, the experience of his own practice, and of the practice of his friends; and, in general, a more extended and liberal knowledge of the practical working of the law of Scotland, than a local resident judge can be jurisdiction."-Pp. 17, 18. expected to acquire."-Pp. 16, 17.

To what extent the right of review is exercised it is difficult to state, purely because of the want of recent Parliamentary returns. rience :-A lamented Sheriff, now no more, informed the writer that in one year he presided at 61 criminal trials, pronounced 353 judgments in civil cases, and left Edinburgh 17 times in the course of the year for his county. His salary was £400. It is not extravagant pay if a lawyer get several guineas for conducting a criminal trial, and at the very least £2, 2s. for his opinion on a civil case; and yet the pay given to this Sheriff did not come to a guinea a-piece for each trial and each judgment, leaving out of view the £50 he would have to pay for his travelling ex-penses for the 17 journeys, and the loss of business in the meantime consequent upon his absence from Edinburgh. We believe that the business of that county has since

Besides these civil duties, there is a great criminal jurisdiction which is thus described :-

"But this appellate jurisdiction is but one portion of the onerous duties, and high respon-sibilities, of a Sheriff in Scotland. He has to

gentlemen who continually attend to county are tried with a jury. And if the case happen business, is that which is most apt to deteriorate to be one of importance, attracting public ator slender tie to his duties; especially of late tried before the Shcriff and a Jury. A knowledge of the readiness and zeal of the Sheriffs favour of what your Committee have called so to act, has encouraged the Crown authorities 'Double Sheriffs.' to do this: which of course relieves not a little the Commission of Justiciary. Again to quote my own instance, which is that of a county so distant as to render it impossible for me, consistently with remaining at the Bar, to preside in every criminal Jury trial, my Procurator-Fiscal has been always instructed to report to me every case ordered for trial in that form, that I may judge whether the case require that I should try it. I am fortunate in a county not very prolific of Causes Célebres. But I have had arduous duty, from time to time, on the crimi-nal bench of Dumfries-shire; and I am not aware of having failed to undertake any criminal case of importance, or likely to involve any local excitement, since I was appointed to the

> In reference to the personal intercourse held by a Sheriff with his county, Mr. Napier gives this as the history of his own expe-

"Irrespective of that particular attention to the criminal business of his Court, to which I have already adverted, calling him from time to time specially to his county, a Sheriff is, by Act of Parliament, bound to hold in person four ordinary Courts in each half year, and to report each year to the Secretary of State the number of cases, civil or criminal, so disposed of by him in his county. This secures his personal presence there, at least twice a-year. The business of these Statutory Courts varies according to circumstances. It is a matter of no consequence to the argument, whether at any given time, it be light or heavy. In Dumfries shire, I have frequently disposed of the business of one of these Courts within an hour; and, upon other occasions, I have sat on the criminal bench from eight to twelve hours at a time. But no Sheriff ever considers the statutory requisite, of report-ing that he has held eight Courts within the year, as affixing any limit whatever to the excreise of his judicial functions. It secures, as I have said, his presence in the county at least twice a-year-a circumstance of itself sufficient to contradict your Committee's statement. But whatever case, or whatever crisis, specially calls for his presence, that is never withheld. Then, take especial charge of the criminal jurisdiction the Sheriff must be in various parts of his county of his county; that department through which at other times. He has to sit in the Courts of the public mind is most apt to be excited, and Registration, which are not reckoned in the the public peace, of which the Sheriff himself eight Courts reported to Government: He has has the whole responsibility, to be disturbed. to attend the Judges twice a-year on the Circuit: In some instances, where from the vicinity of He is rarely absent at the proclamation of an his Sherifflom, access to it is very easy, the election; and scarcely ever if it be contested: Sheriff generally presides in all those cases which II has to inspect lunatic asylums, and jails and

to report upon the state of the county records, pots but by parties, we must govern to the Such are the various occasions which secure for last as a jobbing and bribing people. the county, not only the regular, but the frequent personal presence of its Sheriff. But his communication,' with the county, is far from ceasing with the occasions I have enumerated. Is it no communication to have to rejudge in the whole civil business of the ordinary Court ? Is it no communication, when absent, to be every now and then in correspondence, either with the Sheriff-Substitute, the Sheriff-Clerk, the the Sherin-Substitute, the Sherin-Cerk, the Procurator-Fiscal, the Convener of the County, the Clerk of Supply, or the Superintendent of Police? As the fair statement of the case, it may be said, that a Sheriff in Scotland has never his eye off his county. And it would be anything but a sound argument for dispensing with his office, as constituted, that a Sheriff is not always at the head of a Posse Comitatus, or at the side of a county gentleman."-Pp. 19, 20.

We defend not scandalous appointments or inefficient discharge of duty; but we object to the exception being taken as the rule. It is perfectly true that the office of Sheriff is often given to lawyers who are political friends are nominated to these offices that private advantage. just objection can be taken, but because that have been made, they are a disgrace alike to details.

A manifesto has issued from Glasgow in which the conditions are laid down upon which the Substitutes are to retire. have " intimated to the Lord Advocate, that in so far as they are concerned, they are willing to place their present offices at the disposal of the Government, on the understanding that the patrimonial rights of existing incumbents will be protected in those cases in which the new appointment of resident Sheriff is not conferred on them." In other words, the Substitutes, if they do not obtain promotion, are to have salaries without labour. With the national exchequer behind them they may return to their old avocations as writers or advocates, unless they fear a repetition of the evil fortune that drove them first away. In that event have they not all that pleasure has of allurement -all that indolence can offer of soothing satisfaction-all the gratifications that a fixed partisans. It is sometimes true that it is salary for life can deck out in the gayest and given as the reward merely of political parti-most enchanting colours? A man generally sanship, without reference to law. This is the looks to a settled income and a charming misfortune of the peculiar Government under entresol at Capua, or a winter on the shores which we live, and the peculiar condition of the Mediterranean, only after a life of of the parties who alternately reign in high painful industry, and as to some bright obplaces. We are a jobbing and canvassing ject in the distant future, which it requires people, with a tendency to put the rule of even a strong flight of imagination to reach merit out of the question. A Minister re- How peacefully life would flow on undisquires to be backed by hordes of enthusias- tracted by anxieties as to the morrow! It is tic followers, and cannot retain his position hard after this, for those who are to be left without their votes. To secure these, an behind, to acquiesce in their own prospect imperative necessity requires him to dis- of weary labour, self-denial, and an abnegapense his patronage among his friends. It tion of the softer lights and shadows of exist-would be extravagant simplicity to expect ence. Yet the offer is introduced in the that that man who can see no virtue in the spirit of a party, who is granting something Minister or his measures, and whose whole for which the receiver should be thankful. life is occupied with holding him up to scorn, lt is said to have been made to the Lord should be appointed to a lucrative office for Advocate by the "Sheriff-Substitutes as a which a hundred eager friends are elamor- body, with most commendable public spirit," It is not therefore because political and apparently not without some look to

We are unwilling to encumber a paper inis their only merit. If such appointments tended for general readers with technical We believe that measures are the giver and the receiver, and that they prepared, by which much of the cumbrous have been made is only affording a proof machinery in Sheriff Court forms of process Minister down to the lowest official in pleadings, and generally a shortening made our Courts of justice has been jobbed. An of the proceedings between the commence-Autocrat like the Czar of Russia, or he of ment of the suit and its close. The delays Autocraft like the Car of Mussal, of near the surface and its close. The delays France, can afford to disregard all other considerations save merit. No political parties exist in these countries to prevent the principal Sheriff. They are, on the contrary, selection of the uninfluential man of talent. We must however reap the tares with the oats. If we must be governed not by destination of the Sheriff Substitute himself. The great difficulty in regulating Courts of Justice is to preserve the right of appeal, expensive portion of Sheriff Court procedure, and to take the evidence in the best form. we beg to make a suggestion, founded on The practice hitherto has been to set down the practice of the House of Lords; Let there Judge of appeal determines the case upon a hand writer, to put down the very words of and the liar, speak in print with equal plausi- the record of what took place at the trial; bility. There is wanting a test and guaran and what is of equal consequence, would tee for truth. The Judge is unassisted by take it down far more impartially and far more the tone, the manner, the looks of the wit correctly than the Judge himself. The Sheriff, ality, consequent on the view and bearing of of a review. the tout ensemble.

the evidence himself-the taking of which to the circumstances of private individuals. at present constitutes the worst and most

what the witnesses say in writing, and the be attached to every Sheriff Court a shortperusal of this written proof. The evil of the witness as fast as the witness utter them. the system lies upon the surface-the man This sworn and paid officer could thus preof virtue and the man of vice, the truth-teller serve, for the benefit of a Court of review, ness, as he tells his story. No means exist often unintentionally, would omit points to tell how the witness faltered and shuffled running counter to his own view of the case; with the questions, nor to carry to the mind and an unprincipled, or a cunning Judge, the overpowering conviction of utter unre- would do so in order to escape the scourge

In the progress of a country's laws, a crisis Hence the superiority of viva voce exami- invariably arrives, when their mixed elenations in open Court. The Sheriff-Substi- ments of good and evil, of enduring and tutes, however, while they are obliged to perishable material, are winnowed and direcord the proof, have doubled its evil. They vided. The flail of the thresher and the are enjoined to take that proof themselves. fan of the winnower are at this moment But instead of this, even those who have busily engaged in this necessary duty; and leisure remit to a third party to do so, and, if cautiously done, our children may look to as if they were Judges of appeal, they pro- our times as to the commencement of a new nonnee their decree inerely after reading the era. But suppose the Sheriff Courts uprooted, recorded evidence. The first improvement, what then? Does the Court of Session therefore, is to compel at least one of the follow? and will Mr. Justice A., and Mr. Judges to see the witnesses. We see nothing Baron B., from England, be sent to rule to prevent the Sheriff sitting in open Court, over 118? A great event is always a beginand there taking down the proof with his own ning and an end; it ends a campaign or a hand, as is now done by the Supreme controversy, a suit in law or in love, a Many of those who now fill the dynasty or a party; but it begins a new office of Substitutes are, it is said, unfit for a state of things with its cogenital difficulties task requiring much skill and patience. We and sorrows. The novelist marries his here, must not, however, legislate inerely in re- and closes the third volume ; but then begins ference to present temporary evils; let us a new career, more important in its responlook forward to a race of good lawyers, sibilities, and more enduring in its effects. capable of every judicial duty, and to pro- It must be so in a still greater degree with cure whom, it is only necessary to give a rea- regard to organic changes in a nation's laws, sonable income to tempt them from the bar. which touch every nerve of social life, and If the Sheriff be not allowed to take down which are, or ought to be,-morals applied

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FOR MAY, 1853.

ART. I .- 1. A History of British Birds, Indi- | during the unceasing pressure of an almost genous and Migratory: including their Organization, Habits and Relations; remarks on Classification and Nomenclature; an Account of the Principal Organs of Birds, and Observations relative to Practical Ornithology. Illustrated by numerous Engravings. By WILLIAM MACGILLIVRAY, A.M., LL.D., Professor of Natural History, and Lecturer on Botany in Marischal College and University, Aberdeen. vols. 8vo. London, 1837-52.

2. Biographical Account of the late William Macgillivray, A.M., LL.D., late Regius Professor of Natural History in the Marischal College and University of Aberdeen. Communicated by ALEXANDER THOMSON, Esq., of Banchory. Edinburgh New Philosophical Journal for April, 1853.

3. The Natural History of Ireland: Birds. By William Thompson, Esq., President of the Natural History and Philosophical Society of Belfast, 3 vols. 8vo. don, 1849-51.

In a recent Article we discoursed concerning the birds of Ireland compared with those of Britain, and were constrained to commence by an expression of sorrow for the untimely death of Mr. William Thompson of Belfast, the most skilful and accomplished Zoolo-gist of the sister Island. His ornithological labours had fortunately been completed before his removal from among us. We are William Macgillivray, one of the most assid-VOL. XIX. 1—B

toilsome professional application to various other subjects of a literary and scientific nature, in no way uncongenial to his tastes, but requiring to be performed in a more rapid and unrelenting manner than, but for the frequent and alas! too often fatal "res angusta domus," would have been pursued. His researches in Ornithology were, however, carried on, for a series of years, deliberately and with great determination; and his exposition of the internal structure of birds, especially of the digestive organs, so intimately connected with the haunts and habits of the species, forms an almost novel, as it is undoubtedly a most valuable feature in his volumes. These contain, as he has himself stated, (Preface to Volume V.), the only full and detailed technical descriptions hitherto given in this country; and the manners of the various kinds are treated of with equal extension in every case in which he had it in his power to study them. In our further exposition of Ornithology we shall pay regard, in so far as our limits may admit, to whatever is of general interest in his recently completed work. We view it as the best we have upon the subject-certainly the most carefully wrought out from earnest and long-continued actual observation, and the most free from hasty or superficial compilation of any which has hitherto been laid before us. Many may read our present pages who knew the largely-gifted, though now called on to record a parallel case which somewhat peculiarily constituted person has recently occurred in the decease of Mr. now named-who remember his activity and perseverance both of mind and bodyuous and successful cultivators of Natural who may not only have studied with profit-History in Scotland. He, too, had just ter- able pleasure his numerous works, but, asminated the corresponding portion of his sociated in his labours, may have seen him manifold labours—his "History of British ascending with vigorous and unwearied steps Birds,"—commenced and carried forward the sides and summits of our highest mounproducts of the various "Kingdoms," from the almost imponderable specimens of Entomology, to the more bulky yield of the Botanical collector, and the "killing burden" of the geologist's heavy sack. Many are the blood he trusted for acceptance with his God."* wondrous scenes he must have witnessed during his long-continued wanderings along the wild and weather-beaten shores of the Hebrides, (where he sojourned several years,) over their arid rocks, their dark moors, and stagnant mosses, or, on the broader mainland-up into the heart of many a mountain-mist, or elambering with cautious steps among the craggy and cloud-capt peaks of the more central range of the lofty Grampians. In the days of his strength, like the eagle whose haunts he scaled, and whose habits he has well described-

"He dallied with the wind, and scorned the sun."

summer's heat and of winter's cold, except jects, whether relating to their minuter feain so far as the changing seasons brought tures or their broader characters, were clearsome accession or alteration of those varied ly conceived and accurately expressed, and organic forms, on the structure of which it an almost poetical vein sometimes shewed himself so constructed in his bodily frame ren heaps of his descriptive details. He and constitution as to sanction a reasonable loved nature in all her aspects, andhope of lengthened life and long-continued But it was otherwise ordained. An insidious disease, it may be occasioned by early and imprudent exposure, or aggravated by anxiety and want of rest, made rapid and fatal progress, which a tardy re-moval to a more genial climate (without, we fear, a corresponding period of mental repose) could in no way stay. After a short residence at Torquay he returned to Aberdeen, where he had for some years held a professorship of Natural History, and died nere on the 5th day of September, 1852, aged fifty-six.

"His health," says Mr. Thomson, in his pleasing though brief biography, " began to fail about a year and a half before his death, and he never appeared to recover from the fatigue and exposure of a month spent, in 1850, in exploring the central region of the Grampians, the district around Lochnagar. In November 1851 he was obliged to repair to the south of England, in the expectation of benefiting by the milder air of helping band which he gave to various authors.

Devonshire, and at first there was some ground He, moreover, translated above a thousand pages of to hope; but after his arrival at Torquay he was suddenly deprived of his wife, to whom he was tenderly attached; and from this blow, though he received it as a man and a Christian, he appears never to have railied; he gradually became weaker, and though he never ceased to came weaker, and though he never ceased to work, it was most distressing to his family to see his exertions, the mind and will resolutely striving against the weakness of the body. He was confined to bed for a few days at last; spoke much and affectionately to his children when left and defining an Excursion to Braemar in the autumn metals of the second of the sec much and affectionately to his children when of 1850.

tains, bearing with ease the accumulated pain did not prevent him; looked forward with calmness and hope to his last struggle; expressed in the clearest terms his simple trust in his Saviour alone, and at last gently fell asleep to be for ever with the Lord, whose works he had so ardently admired on earth, and in whose atoning

In addition to his distinct or independent works, Mr. Macgillivray's writings, (both avowed and anonymous,) in the form of contributions and translations for scientific and other periodicals, were numerous and diversified. He was not only an assiduous observer and correct reporter of details, but had a good taste in general literature, and indulged successfully, when so inclined, in that more discursive, though rather dangerous style of composition, which, well enough it may be, when married to "immortal verse, is sometimes unfortunately found disjoined from precision and even from truthfulness of scientific statement when applied to mortal Patient of thirst and hunger, regardless of prose. His impressions of all external obwas ever his delight to dwell, he seemed its golden courses among the otherwise bar-

> "Would walk alone Under the quiet stars, and at that time He felt whate'er there is of power in sound To breathe an elevated mood, by form Or image unprofaned, and he would stand, If the night blackened with a storm, Beneath some rock, listening to notes that are The ghostly language of the ancient earth, Or make their dim abode in distant winds."

With a proud, we should rather say a praiseworthy, spirit of independence, he be-

following works:
1. A History of the Vertebrated Animals inhabit-

^{*} Edinburgh New Phil. Journ., No. cviii. p. 205. - Lummur gn area rank, Journ, NO. evill. p. 205.
It is not now possible to trace all our author's
minor essays, but the reader will find an ample list
in the memoir above referred to. His separate publications seem to have amounted to about 20 volumes. Besides these he contributed 6 papers to the Transactions of the Wernerian Society; 12 to the Prinsections of the Perical Journal: 9 to the Edin-burgh Philosophical Journal: 9 to the Edin-burgh Quarterly Journal of Agriculture; 3 to the Prize Essays and Transactions of the Highland Soci-ety of Scotland; 2 to the Edinburgh Journal of Natu-ral and Geographical Science, to say nothing of the Natural History from French and Latin, and sent many papers to the Edinburgh Literary Gazette, and the Edinburgh Journal of Natural History. We un-derstand he has left, ready for publication, the two

self, and in very early life assumed, and the structure of birds, and made careful efficiently performed, the functions of parish measurements and drawings of their internal schoolmaster in a remote region in the Island parts. He also commenced and completed of Harris. His place of birth was Old Aber- a series of coloured representations, generally deen, and after a youthful sojourn in Harris, as large as life, of nearly all the British birds, (where he had some near relations,) he re- exhibiting them in their characteristic attiturned to that city, and placed himself under tudes, and accompanied by those accessories the tuition of an excellent scholar, Mr. Ewan of seenery, whether mountainous, marine, or M'Lachlan. In due time he entered on his woodland, by which he knew them to be enclassical curriculum in King's College, and compassed in their natural haunts. His also renewed his connection with Harris, re- drawings were more accurate than artistical. siding there for the greater portion of several He had a quick eye and a steady hand, but seasons, (during which period it was, we pre- the pictorial result was sometimes too like sume, that he engaged in teaching.) and at what, in architectural language, might be tending the winter sessions of his University called the elevation of a bird, being deficient for the completion of his own scholarly at- in roundness and solidity of form, as well as tainments, and the study of medicine, in in depth and intensity of colour. However, which latter department, however, he never the minutia were well given, and we believe graduated. As an alumnus of the University that, in zoological drawings, general effects and King's College of Aberdeen, he eventu- are necessarily, to some extent, sacrificed for ally took the degree of A.M.* Some of his the sake of the more distinct and elaborate earliest Essays in Natural History having expression of details. His skill as a draftsspeedily attracted the notice of Professor man, such as it was, seemed to arise rather Jameson, he came to Edinburgh (where, we from that determination of character which

came a teacher of others as well as of him-limself much to the study, by dissection, of believe, he had some years before attended induces perseverance, more or less successful a course of lectures on his favourite subjects) in the end, than from any great natural bias about the year 1823, under the auspices of towards pictorial representation, or any quick that distinguished veteran in science, assum- or clear appreciation of the pervading prining the functions of assistant-keeper of the ciples of art. We have little more, in the University Museum, and devoting his evening two recent volumes now under review, than hours, with great determination, to scientific heads and bills; but these stand no comparilucubrations, and the writing of abstracts and son with the corresponding parts either in translations, chiefly for the Edinburgh Phi- Bewick's exquisitely truthful representations, losophical Journal. His daily duties in the or in Mr. Yarrell's beautifully elaborated Museum, and in connexion with Professor work. They rather resemble drawings made Museum, and in connexion with Professor Jameson's course of lectures, necessarily gave from preserved specimens in some neglected him constant access to the treasures of that great collection, and specdily rendered him familiar with a multiplicity of natural objects, for a knowledge of which he would have elsewhere sought in vain. After eight years continuous labour under Professor Jameson, he was appointed (in 1831) keeper of the Museum of the College of Surgeons, where he had the advantage of longer intervals of leisure, for the furtherance of his own more special pursuits, with access to the very valuable collections in osteology, prepared the chiefly by the late eminent and excellent Dr. Barelay. During this period he devoted Dr. Barclay. During this period he devoted umes on the "Birds of Europe." We think he became less sanguine of the success of such a scheme, when, after making it known among his friends, he found, during a lapse ly been favoured with ample and accurate materials of many years, that he had obtained only a ly been favoured with ample and accurate materials of many years, that he nad outained only a for an account of Mr. Magaillivray's early life. We hope that these may not eventually be lost to the public; but meanwhile we are constrained, by editorial arrangements, to debar ourselves the pleasure of laying them before our readers at this time. We beginned the property of the prope laying them before our readers at this time.

The total kind the Venerable and Reverend Finals will say in the college of Surgeous' Museum, minister of North Uist, and Mr. D. W. Macgillivray, of Eoligary, in Barra, (a brother of our author's,) for their long and interesting communications.

^{*} Through the kind attentions of Mr. James Campbell Tait, of Edinburgh, and Mr. C. Shaw, Sheriff-Substitute, Loch Maddy, North Uist, we have recent-

Marischal College and University, Aberdeen, and there he continued to labor, both professionally and privately, with his accustomed seal, passing many manuscripts, perhaps to many, from his own hands to those of his publisher, on the various departments of natural science which he had so successfully and unceasingly cultivated from his youth upwards. Towards the close of 1844, the degree of LLD. was conferred upon him by the University and King's College, Aberdeen

In the course of 1851, his health became seriously impaired, and, in November of that year, he retired for a time to Torquay. There, in the ensuing month of March, he had occasion to write the preface to the fourth volume of his British Birds, and a melancholy contrast might now be drawn between the rejoicing hardibood with which, in earlier life, from the storm-swept hills of Harris, he had so often fixed his earnest gaze on that wild combination of steadfastly enduring rooks and ever-heaving sea,—

"The throne Of chaos, and his dark pavilion, spread Wide on the wasteful deep,"

and the altered eye with which he now despondingly beheld seenes in thomselves somuch more "bright and fair," We still, however, perceive the continuance of the ruling passion,—the accurate observance of nature.

"As the wounded bird seeks some quiet retreat, where, freed from the persecution of the pitiless fowler, it may pass the time of its anguish in forgetfulness of the outer world; so have I, assailed by disease, betaken myself to a sheltered nook, where, unannoved by the piercing blasts of the North Sea, I had been led to hope that my life might be protracted beyond the most dangerous season of the year. It is thus that I issue from Devonshire the present volume. which, however, contains no observations of mine made there, the scene of my labours being in distant parts of the country. is well that the observations from which these descriptions have been prepared were made many years ago, when I was full of enthusiasm, and enjoyed the blessings of health, and freedom from engrossing public duties: for I am persuaded that now I should be in some respects less qualified for the task, more, however, from the failure of physical than of mental power. Here, on the rocky promontory, I shiver in the breeze which, to my companion, is but cool and bracing. The east wind ruffles the sea, and impels the little waves to the shores of the beautiful bay, which present alternate cliffs of red sandstone and beaches of yellow sand, backed by undulating heights and gentle declivities, slowly rising to the not distant horizon, fields and woods, with villages and scattered villas, forming—not wild nor altogether tame—a pleasing landscape, which in summer and au-

verdure, orchard blossom and fruit, tangled fence-bank and furze-clad common, will be beautiful indeed to the lover of nature. Then, the balmy breezes from the west and south will waft health to the reviving invalid. At present, boats that render Brixham, in the opposite born of the bay, one of the most celebrated of the southern fishing stations of England. High over the waters, here and there, a solitary gull slowly advances against the breeze, or shoots athwart, or with a beautiful gliding motion sweeps down the aerial current. At the entrance to Torquay are assembled many birds of the same kind, which, by their hovering near the surface, their varied evolutions, and mingling cries, indicate a shoal, probably of atherines or sprats. On that little pyramidal rock, projecting from the water, repose two dusky cormorants; and far away, in the direction of Portland Island, a gannet, well known by its peculiar flight, winnows its exploring way, and plunges headlong into the It is not until disabled that the observer of the habits of wild animals becomes sensible of the happiness he has enjoyed, in exercising the faculties with which his benign Creator has endowed him. No study or pursuit is better adapted for such enjoyment, or so well fitted to afford pleasure not liable to be repented of, than Natural History."*

Turn we to the final page of his long-continued labours, which terminated only with his life. It is characteristic of the author to the end, exhibiting an almost defiant feeling towards his fellow-creatures, softened if not subdued by a pervading sense of the grace and goodness of his omnipotent Creator, And truly, when compared with these, all other things are as the morning cloud and the early dow.

"I have finished one of the many difficult and laborious tasks which I had imposed upon myself. Twelve years have clapsed since the first three volumes of this work were issued to the public, and I had scarcely hoped to see its completion when I was most unexpectedly encouraged to revise the manuscript of the two remaining volumes, containing the Wading and Swimming Birds, of which the history, in so far as I am acquainted with it, is now given on the same plan as that adopted for the Land Birds. Commenced in hope, and carried on with zeal, though ended in sorrow and sickness. I can look upon my work without much regard to the opinions which contemporary writers may form of it, assured that what is useful in it will not be forgotten, and knowing that already it has had a beneficial effect on many of the present, and will more powerfully influence the next generation of our home ornithologists. I had been led to think that I had occasionally been somewhat rude, or at least, blunt in my criticisms; but I do not perceive wherein I have much erred in that respect, and I feel no incli-

^{*} British Birds, Preface to vol. iv.

With death, apparently not distant, before my eyes, I am pleased to think that I have not countenanced error through fear or favour. Neither have I in any case modified my sentiments so as to endeavour thereby to conceal or palliate my faults. Though I might have accomplished more, I am thankful for having been permitted to add very considerably to the know-ledge previously obtained of a very pleasant subject. If I have not very frequently indulged in reflections on the power, wisdom, and goodness of God, as suggested by even my imperfect understanding of his wonderful works, it is not because I have not ever been sensible of the relation between the Creator and his creatures, nor because my chief enjoyment when wandering among the hills and valleys, exploring the rugged shores of the ocean, or searching the cultivated fields, has not been in a sense of his presence. 'To Him who alone doeth great wonders' be all glory and praise. Reader, farewell."*

The preface to his fifth and final volume is dated from Aberdeen, 31st July, 1852. Like the stricken deer he had returned to his long familiar home, and there, as we have said, he died on the 5th day of September following. His mortal remains lie interred in the Cemetery of Dean, near Edinburgh.

Mr. Maegillivray was a person of strong feelings and warm affections, much devoted to his own family, and remarkable, in whatever he engaged in, for his love of truth. He never pretended to know a thing with which he was not actually well acquainted, and he knew that the most common and familiar matters are often those of which we are essentially ignorant. The large circle of his own acquirements enabled him to feel all the more distinctly the breadth and depth of the many mysteries by which he was surrounded, and which, to the thoughtful student, not seldom throw over even the familiar face of nature, the aspect of an unknown world. When asked a question regarding any natural object with which he was but slightly, or not at all acquainted, he gave no evasive superficial answer, as so many, with a view to cloak-while they expose-their ignorance, are apt to do. He would say at once, "I do not know its history, or attributes, but leave it with me for a time, and I shall endeavour speedily to let you know about it." During his explanatory statements his words were few and well chosen. He knew the value of time, and the incomprehensible richness of his science, and so, in discussing a topic in natural history, he told you, as he best could, whatever it was most necessary to know of its essential character, without tracing its recorded history

nation to apologise. I have been honest and downwards from the days of Sesostris, or sincere in my endeavours to promote the truth. making the weary and bewildered listener feel as if even "the grasshopper were a burden." He was somewhat restrained in the society of strangers, and possessed a less enlarged circle of personal friends than might have fallen to his lot, had not a peculiar and not unfrequent combination of pride and prejudice not only prevented his seeking the society of others, but even induced the groundless fancy that he was intentionally disregarded by them. Something of this morbidity of mind remained even after he had ceased to lead a life of seclusion and solitude, and had attained to a highly respectable professional, or professorial, position. It appears to us, that he never amalgamated sufficiently with his fellow-creatures, notwithstanding the ameliorating effect of his studies in the great and inexhaustible book of nature, which, while they assuredly lead to the glorification of the wonderful works of God in the highest, should also conduce to "peace on earth, and good will to men." It has been well said, that the bright and varied field of natural history is spread before our race as a charm to diversify those bitter endurances which ever throw their dark shadows over human life and action. But with Mr. Macgillivray, though he so sedulously pored over the sweet and solemn pages of the "Biblia Nature," certain feelings of acerbity, arising either from his mental temperament or physical constitution, seldom altogether left him, even in the unrestraining presence of the few with whom he was familiar, while in more general society he seemed "cabined, cribbed, confined," by the very ease of intercourse which now so usually prevails in social life. The last occasion on which we chanced to meet him-and we never did so without advantage-was in the society of several grave and reverend, if not very "potent" seniors, whose somewhat prolix exposition of their own steady and stereotyped views of the grandeur and goodness of "our admirable laws and constitution," almost galled him. He knew that all laws and constitutions required amendment from time to time, and probably felt that our own were admirable mainly by reason of their power of conformability and adaptation to the changing spirit which is gradually evolved from age to age. He would not, however, take the trouble to express his views in that common-place way, but, seizing upon a momentary pause in much prosing, he suddenly shot forth the sentiment, that "no doubt the best thing which could happen to this country at the present time would be a good rattling revolution." Yet his own excellent work on "British Birds" is dedi-

^{*} British Birds, vol. v. p. 676.

cated "To Her Most Gracious Majesty the! We shall now take a brief survey of the

Macgillivray.

smiter. But he was mild and gentle in shores of the sea, although many of the Gralmanner to those whom he esteemed, or from latorial groups pass a considerable portion whom any kindness or attention had ever of their lives on upland pastures, or the sides emanated. His mental constitution, in its and even summits of Moorish mountains, combination of resistance and placidity, It is this frequent diversity of habit, even might be likened in a measure to those great granitic ranges of the Grampians, which he has hinself so well described, and where we witness the enduring firmness and rigidity of illegitimate in the extent of aid afforded as to derocky structure, not unadorned by the more gentle emblems of the floral kingdom, which maintain a precarious beauty among many a wild and Alpine solitude,

Where winter lingering chills the lap of May."*

* We may here note, that a sort of literary onslaught was made, many years ago, upon the lament-ed Audubon, by Mr. Waterton, the ingenious author of several excellent contributious to natural history. It was Mr. Waterton's opinion (see Naturalist's Magazine, vol. ii. p. 213) that so great was the improvement of style manifested in the American author's 'Ornithological Biography,' compared with the character of his composition in some former miscellaneous Essays, that he could not be the writer of the more recent work. We think we have it in our power to explain precisely how this matter stood, and do so the more readily as the explanation is not and do so the more readily as the explanation is not inappropriate to the preceding biographical notice of Mr. Maegillivray. When Mr. Audubon came down to Edinburgh in the winter of 1830-31, to arrange the materials and superintend the printing of his great work on the birds of America, he applied to a friend to read over and correct the manuscripts, with a view to their being put into the printer's hands in their full and final state. This friend having "other fish to fry," declined the labour on his own account, but recommended Mr. Macgillivray as a person in every way qualified for such a task. That gentleman took it in hand accordingly, " for a consideration," and soon found that, although the ample and interesting materials committed to his care were written out with great fluency and animation, as well as accuracy, the sentential structure and form of expression were frequently peculiar and unidiomatic, and that on the whole it would be easier for himand that on the whole it would be easier in mis-self, and better for the printer, that he should make a uniform transcription of the MS., rather than a patch-work correction here and there. This he executed to the improvement of the work, his own personal benefit, the original author's entire satisfacpersonal beneat, the original animor's entire satisfac-tion, and the indoubted advantage of the reading public. But Mr. Andubon's merits were none the less, as the admirable observer and accurate recorder of all that we are there told of those "birds of gayest of all that we'rar there tour of use of the second of the

Queen, with the most profound two great orders in Ornithology, on which, respect, by Her Majesty's most faithful subso far as regards our comparative view of ject, and most devoted servant, William British and Irish species, we did not formerly enter, viz., the Grallatores, or wading Although there was a great deal of qui-birds, and the Natatores, or swimming kinds, etude, even of reserve or shyness, in his commonly called web-footed. Both of these general bearing, there is no doubt that he great groups may be designated as water was a person of great determination of chalbirds, as almost all betake themselves, at racter, and much more likely in a fray to least at certain seasons of the year, to the offer the clinched fist than the cheek to the sides of rivers, the margins of lakes, or the

The work was truly his own.

We believe that Mr. Macgillivray afforded much

more solid and essential aid-something beyond the mere resetting of another person's jewels—in the assistance given to a work entitled, "Observations on Fossil Vegetables, accompanied by Representaon rossil eggennes, accompanied by representations of their Internal Structure as seen through the Microscope." By Henry Witham, Eq., of Lartington, 4to, 1531. The reputed author, without whom we should assuredly have never seen the excellent book in question, was an English gentleman of intelligence and discrimination, the possessor in bygone times, and again eventually, of ample fortune, who, in mature years and when too fat for fox-hunting, took a great fancy for the study of Geology, and the branches which bear upon it in the organic kingdom. He pursued these studies so pertinaciously, and with such success, that he erelong discovered a new mineral, (that is, one which was nearly as old as the others, but had been previously overlooked.) which, in his commemorative honour, has been called Withamite. In the course of his researches among fossils he naturally came into connexion with the lete ingenious Mr. William Nicol, whose exquisite mechanical manipulations in the slicing of petrified woods is well known. It had been found that the true organic structure of these woods, and consequently the natural characters of the tribe of trees or plants to which each originally belonged, could be determined when extremely thin translucent slips were carefully examined with the microscope. On the subject of this discovery two or three assembled together, and finally made the book above named. Mr. Nicol cut and ground the slips, Mr. Macgillivray executed the drawings and wrote the descriptions of structure, while Mr. Witham organized the publication, guaranteed the paper-maker and the printer's bills, and gave several excellent dinners during the progress of the work, which was very considerately dedicated to Mr. Nicol himself. A poet of a preceding age has somewhere said or sung,-

" Most authors only steal their works, or buy, Garth did not write his own Dispensary:"-

A curiously prophetic intimation, by the bye, of the fact, that an instructive publication on the "History of the Highland Regiments," by the late General Stewart, of Garth, was not written by that hoary veteran, but (from his collected materials and remiamong allied species, which renders many or Probers, consisting of plovers, lapwings, of the generalizations found in books more oyster-catchers, sandpipers, curlews, snipes, pretentious than correct, and even the struc- woodcocks, &c.; 3d, Aucupatores, or Stalktural characters of the orders and genera are ers, such as bitterns, herons, storks, ibises, by no means absolute, or capable of unex- and spoon-bills; 4th, Latitores, or Skulkers, ceptional application to all the component including rails, water-hens, and coots. parts of a great natural group. But the groups in their way, although to be received rial groups than others. facts, excluding the possibility of any other The Peregrine falcon, truthful combination. The lines of generic demarcation may, at least in certain groups, assuredly be drawn with almost equal truth in varying places. It is only in this way that we can account for the difference of systematic views and arrangements taken by many observers, equally zealous for the ascertainment and exposition of truth, and not greatly differing from each other in their ment is often more apparent than real, and arises rather from changes of name than of nature-a weakness to which zoologists are very prone, and which occasions the same inconvenience in the practical comprehension of what is actually indicated, as would the calling of the muster-roll of a regiment composed continuously of the same individuals, if the designations of these were arbitrarily altered from time to time.

It has been said that there is scarcely a single character common to all the Grallatorial species. This is nearly our own belief. What, then, are Grallatores, and how are they distinguished and defined? Mr. Maegillivray asserts that there is no such order in existence, and that all definitions ever given of these birds are incorrect and inadequate, is true that great groups, though not in themselves unnatural, can scarcely ever be accurately defined, so numerous are the exceptions, or in other words, so few the characters of universal application. Therefore, instead of adopting a single ordinary group of Grallatores, Mr. Macgillivray arranges these birds into four distinct orders—1st, curve and the same rock or otherwise Cursores, or Runners, containing the cranes, bustards, pratincoles, &c.; 2d, Tentatores, and suspected stranger that ip renecuted.

One of the most remarkable instinctive characters of species, if properly perceived characteristics of the so-called Grallatores, and accurately expressed, are always appli-especially of that section named above as cable to every individual of that particular Probers, consists in the frequent exhibition kind in its natural or normal state-the fact of stratagem or simulation, by which they being that species alone are clearly estab- seek to withdraw the attention of intruders lished by nature, all other and greater from their eggs or young. No doubt, the groups being merely arbitrary or conven- partridge also at times pretends to be lame tional (we shall not say artificial) associa of a leg or wing, and several of the smaller tions, more or less natural, no doubt, but birds (our songsters) flit away from their established for convenience, and varying ac-nests with an apparently enfeebled flight; cording to the individual views of systematic but these feigned ailments are far more fre-Nevertheless, they are natural quent and perceptible among the Grallato-Birds of prey only for what they are worth, and under no (Raptores) being by no means as merciful delusive fancy that they are positive scientific as they are strong, never employ stratagem.

> "So fiercely beautiful in form and eye, Like war's wild planet in a summer sky,"

no sooner perceives a raven or hooded crow come near his cyrie, than he launches into the air to attack and drive away the sable intruder.* We have seen a pair of ravens tower, by successive ascents, above an eagle in its "pride of place," and so persecute him natural power of perception, appreciation, by frequent sudden darts downwards, as to and expression. No doubt, the disagree isend him far away "to prey in distant isles." send him far away " to prey in distant isles." Birds of rapine, when excited by the cries of their endangered young, will fearlessly attack even the Lord of the Creation, of whom, at other times, they entertain a wise and salutary dread. But a more curious thing is this practice of deceit among the gentler or more feebler species. Even among these, the male is sometimes bold and clamorous, but the fond female will flutter along the ground, as if in mortal agony from broken leg or dislocated wing, and will draw you onwards, and away in the direction it desires, always getting just a little stronger as you think yourself about to seize it. No sooner are you brought to a sufficient distance from the nest, and are unlikely to return to or discover it again, than the bird flies off rejoicingly, as if cured of its mortale vulnus in an instant.

> "Some persons," says Mr. Maegillivray, "have moralized on the cunning of birds. They cannot believe that they should naturally possess any in-

stinct leading them to acts such as in men are grey plover and the golden are very nearly accounted evil. But a rational being, and an in-allied in structure and general economy; stinctive animal, have no moral affinity. Why should not animals use stratagem in defence of themselves or their young? Is cunning a greater crime than murder? And yet, who finds fault with an eagle for tearing a lamb to pieces, but the shepherd and his master, or with a lion for devouring a Bosjesman or a Dutch Boor, but other Bosjesmen or Boors, who may dread the same fate? If a myrmeleon digs a pit, and lies in wait to seize and devour the unhappy insect that has fallen into it, do not men-moral menmake pits to entrap elephants, hyenas, wolves, and other beasts? Who blames the fisher for his practices, although his whole art is a piece of mean deceit? He lets down into the dark sea a web of cord, and persuades the silly herrings that there is nothing in their way. He busks a pointed and barbed hook, casts it on the water, and says to the trout, there's a nice fat fly for you! He impales a sprawling frog, and letting it down the stream, pretends to attend to the comfort of the hungry pike, who is not insensible of his good fortune until he feels the steel points thrilling his pneumo-gastric nerves. The hunter and the sportsman have at least the qualities of boldness and openness, but the angler is a mere

We shall let that last arrow pass from the quiver of an early friend. It is certain that perfect candour, however much professed with smiling mien and a most sunny air, is seldom practised among men, even amid their more severe and solemn avocations; that hospitality itself is often a vain and heartless show; that the very amusements and indulgences which we may seem the most to share with others, have their foundational spring in selfishness; and that, whenever a "wise consideration" is resolved on, it is usually put in practice rather for our own behoof than that of our neighbours. The pleasure of all sporting propensities, especially, is merely the result of that ample and inconsiderate encouragement which we give to a certain class of subjective feelings within ourselves, to the total exclusion of all kindly objective considerations towards the beasts that perish. But we fear that naturalists must not be sentimental.

A curious discordance, as we may call it, exists between the habits and structure of certain species of the Grallatorial order. We may instance the common Water-hen, (Gallinula chloropus,) which is classed with the wading birds, and like the majority of these has long slender toes, slightly margined, but entirely free from webs, and yet it haunts habitually the surface of waters, swimming as easily and almost as constantly as any of the Natatorial kinds, and diving, when alarmed, with equal facility.

but the one is in Britain a migratory shore bird, but seldom seen among the mountains, while the other inhabits our moorlands during the breeding season, and descends to the marine shores in autumn. This diversity of form and habits among the grallatorial tribes has occasioned a corresponding diversity of opinion regarding the true component parts of the order. The bill is formed after so many different models, in beautiful accordance with the instinctive habits of each genus, that its structure cannot be generalized except in relation to certain limited groups, each distinguished by a structure of its own. The feet and legs are very generally of a slender and lengthened form, admirably adapted for those running and wading habits which usually characterize the species, and hence the title of Grallatores, as if they went on stilts. The French term, Echassiers is of similar derivation, and refers to the resemblance of their lengthened legs to the Echasses so frequently used by the natives of the sandy landes of Aquitaine. They are connected by means of the flamingoes and other half-webbed kinds to the true Palmipedes or Natatores, while a disjunction has been effected in modern times, partly from the latter order, partly from the original Grallæ, of the grebes, the Surinam plotus, the phalaropes, &c., which now form, according to the views of many, under the name of Pinnatipedes, a distinct and intermediate, but by no means a natural order.

Although several species, as we have said, dwell during the gladsome summer season on the barren sides and summits of the great mountains, the majority seek their food along the banks of rivers, the sides of lakes, and, especially during winter, by the sea shore. In the last-named locality they congregate in vast flocks, and then, though more shy and wary than among the upland solitudes of the breeding season, afford a favourite pursuit to the sportsman, who not seldom makes amends by the successful result of a single savage discharge among the feathered flocks, for the caution by which his approaches may have been previously met and bafiled for the greater portion of a day. The heron tribe, with bills like bayonets, feed on fish, which they do not seize by snapping up, but actually transfix or run through the body, although cels and other slender kinds are captured with opened mandibles. Such species as have a soft or somewhat flexible bill feed on worms and iusects, small shells, and crustacea, while a more limited number, for example, the land-rail or corn crake (Rallus crex) are

^{*} British Birds, vol. iv. p. 64.

partly graminivorous, and so affect a drier for it certainly sounds more like a human soil. Many of the species are of migratory note than that of a bird." Now, the species habits, and the young and old almost always in question is among the rarer and more perform their more lengthened flights in locally restricted of the British kinds, being separate groups. Innumerable hordes gather almost confined to the south-eastern countogether during the breeding season in the ties of England, certainly not hitherto found northern swamps of Europe, from which further north than Yorkshire, and consethey wing their way before winter, and have quently altogether unknown in our northern afterwards been met in arid sultry regions-

"Where on their slender feet there lay The desert dust of Africa."

These migratory movements are no doubt determined, in a great measure, by the necessity of obtaining food, which ceases to pluvialis), so universal on our moors and be available in the congealed waters and mountains. If in this small matter one frost-bound soil of the extreme north. The great poet was right, we fear another, in a unrelenting rigour of a Scandinavian winter corresponding case, was wrong. Burns, in entirely indurates the moist forest lands of one of his letters tells us, that he could Sweden, and the swamps of Lapland, and "never hear the loud solitary whistle of the thus the woodcock and other kinds, which curlew in a summer noon, or the wild mixlive by probing their mother earth, are ne. ing cadence of a troop of grey plovers in an cessarily driven to seek for food and shelter autumnal morning, without feeling an elevain the comparatively genial copses of Britain tion of soul like the enthusiasm of devotion and Ireland. The land-rail, on the other or poetry." Now, we have our own ornihand, is with us a native-born or summer thological doubts whether he, bird, and migrates in autumn to more southern regions, where it is probably known only as a winter visitant,*

stone-curlew, (Ædicnemus crepitans,) ob-serves, that "they breed on the fallows, and Mr. Maegillivray has given a good account often startle the midnight traveller by their of both kinds. shrill and ominous whistle. This is supposed to be the note so beautifully alluded to by cristatus,) in Scotland called the "peeswit," Sir Walter Scott in his poem of the Lady of the Lake-

'And in the plover's shrilly strain, The signal whistle's heard again :' quarters of the kingdom. Fitz-James must have had a quick ear to hear that wailing cry from the far passes of Benledi. However, the bird which our mighty minstrel had in mind was in no way the one in question, but merely the Golden Plover (Charadrius

"Who walked in glory and in joy, Following his plough along the mountain side,"

Let us now notice a few species of the and had not much to do at that time with Grallatorial order. The Plovers (Chara- the sea coasts, ever either saw or heard a driidar) are a pleasant tribe, with their grey plover, which is with us a winter shore bright or beautifully contrasted plumage, bird, but slightly addicted to either field or and their large and lustrous eyes. The fallow: so for grey let us read golden. name is probably derived from the French Whoever desires to know the difference Pluvier, applied "pour ce qu'on le prend between the two, be he a great poet or a mieux en temps pluvieux qu'en nulle autre great proser, has merely to attend to this :saison." A correspondent of Mr. Yarrell's, The golden plover has only three toes, all writing in reference to the Great Plover or anterior; the grey plover has a small pos-

The green plover or lapwing, (Vanellus from its own peculiar cry, is a beautiful and abundant species. Its breeding localities have of late years been much curtailed by drainage and other agricultural inroads on moist waste land. Many must have noticed how auxiously this bird flies over and around the human (even though humane) intruder on its upland haunts, and how in-

^{*}The last land-rail we have met with was the denizen of an obscure apartment (up three flights of stairs), in the old town of Edinburgh, which we chanced to visit with other than ornithological views. It had been captured when young, in summer, about the suburbs of the city, took kindly to its new abode, and was healthy, and we hope, happy all winter, being probably the only creature of its kind at that period in Britain. It fed on grains, grated meat, and gravel, and had been about a year in confinement when we first made its acquaintance. It was perfectly tame, gliding familiarly about the room, and would sit contentedly on any good man's hand held out to it. It had never been known to utter the very at to it. It had never been known to utter the very The species named is not a summer bird in Britain, aculiar cry of erake, crake, so frequently heard in corn and in Scandinavia, where it is called 'nightingale fields and pastures during early summer.

^{*} Sir Walter Scott himself was not always free from ornithological slips of the pen, as when, in describing (Lady of the Lake) an ancient battle-field, he says-

[&]quot; Beneath the broad and ample bone,

That buckler'd heart to fear unknown, A feeble and a timorous guest,

The field-fare framed her lowly nest."

of Norway,' it builds on trees.

cessant for a time are its quick and clamo-appearing like a moving cloud. It is this the brave bird is to attract attention to him- plovers' eggs.* self and withdraw it from his brooding mate. is borne to this innocent creature :-

Scott, "retained a sense of the injustice during their southern migration. It is a with which their ancestors (the Covenanters) rare, or rather an unfrequently observed had been treated, which shewed itself in a species, its haunts, nowhere numerous, being singular prejudice. They expressed great always among wild, seeluded places. The dislike of that beautiful bird, the green plo-ver, in Scottish called the peaseweep. The Heysham of Carlisle. Dotterels show themreason alleged was, that these birds being, selves in the vicinity of that city early in by some instinct, led to attend to and to May, in small flocks of from five to fifteen, watch any human beings whom they see on resorting for about a fortnight, if not distheir native wilds, the soldiers were often turbed, to heatlis and barren pastures in open guided in pursuit of the wanderers, when and exposed places. They erelong retire to they might otherwise have escaped observa- breed upon or near the summits of the tion, by the plover being observed to hover highest mountains, among which we may over a particular spot. For this reason the name Helvellyn, Saddleback, Skiddaw, Grasshepherds often destmoy the nests of the moor, and Great Gavel. Among these globird when they meet with them."*

we find some power of compensation, like lanuginosum) which grows so profusely on to "the precions jewel of adversity." An many alpine heights. ancient Lincolnshire family, the Tyrwhitts, multitudes, are extremely beautiful. The covered with vegetation, and generally near entire flock will at once and instantaneously change their position, and this occasions a flash of silvered light, from the exhibition of the lower portion of the plumage, suddenly the lower portion of the plumage, suddenly turned again to darkness when the surface of the back and broadened pinions comes to it with the plumage of the back and broadened pinions comes to it with the plumage of the back and broadened pinions comes to it with the plumage of by a low horizon, thousands may be seen at as Testing long since pointed out our common

rous cries. It is usually the male which species which supplies the London and our threatens this onslaught, and the object of other southern markets with the so-called

The dotterel (Charadrius morinellus) dif-An affecting historical fact is traditional in fers from the preceding in being only a the dislike which in some parts of Scotland spring and summer visitant, some remaining with us to breed, while many more proceed "The country people," says Sir Walter further north than Scotland, and reappear rious hills they prefer the localities covered In most things, even though seeming evil, by the woolly fringe-moss (Trichostomum

"In these lonely places," says Mr. Heyhave three peewits for their armorial bear- sham, "they constantly reside the whole of ings, with the traditional legend, that the the breeding season, a considerable part of founder of their house having fallen in a the time enveloped in clouds, and almost skirmish sorely wounded, was saved by his daily drenched with rain or wetting mists, followers, in consequence of their being di- so extremely prevalent in these dreary rerected to the bloody hollow where he lay, gions, [dreary when so enshrouded, but how by the hovering flight and off-repeated cries lustrous in "holy light" after the soft upof lapwings. Both these birds and the rising of that sombre veil;] and there can golden plover have a deluded, and to thembel be little doubt that it is owing to this pecuselves most dangerous habit, when fired at liar feature in their economy that they have in congregated groups, of wheeling back remained so long in obscurity during the directly over the sportsman, or even when period of incubation. The dotterel is by no high in air and out of reach of shot, of div- means a solitary bird at this time, as a few ing down towards him after the ineffective pairs usually associate together, and live, to discharge of the first barrel, and so subject- all appearance, in the greatest harmony, ing themselves to destruction by the second. These birds do not make any nest, but de-The evolutions of the lapwing during its posit their eggs, which seldom exceed three evening ascents, and when assembled in vast in number, in a small cavity on dry ground

the equally adorned lapwing.

* We may observe regarding an antiquarian notice, much diffused through books, which records a

once glearning brightly in the setting sun, or, if between "the orb" and the spectator, the spectator, if between "the orb" and the spectator, is specially by that composite plame of feathers which our continental neighbours call aignetic. The egiet beron is on named from this distinctive character, and our

^{*} Tules of a Grandfather. Second Series. Vol. Saxon predecessors may have misapplied the term to ii. chap. vi.

a moderate-sized stone or fragment of times deposits its eggs at a great distance rock."#

pians, our sportsmen frequently meeting pools of water, where they search for food like the grey and golden plovers. Our come uncovered, or show themselves through knowledge is, in fact, confined to their the fast-shallowing sea. breeding places and their summer habits; of their winter stations we know nothing. with which we have been favoured, the folowing passage :-

1830 "

porary stay, during both spring and autumn, understood. ing of artificial flies.

liant orange red. It possesses a great range to have been reciprocal. of locomotive power, being able to fly, run, swim, and dive, with great facility, although it rarely exercises the two latter functions except in cases of danger or distress. It is a common shore bird, and breeds habitually by the sea-side; but Montague was mistaken iu supposing that its hannts were exclusively marine, as it often flies far inland, and some-

for private circulation.

from the sea. However, their favourite There is no doubt that the dotterel breeds places are sandy shores broken by mussel on similar alpine heights among the Gram scalps, and other rocky shelves, containing with small family groups, about the com- on the recession of the tide. Old and young mencement of the shooting season. Prior congregate in vast flocks in autumn, resting, to their departure in the autumn, they con- in lengthened regimental lines, along the gregate in greater flocks. They do not shore at high water, and then descending seem at any time to frequent the sea-shore, eagerly to their feasting places, as these be-Oyster-catchers may be regarded as rather anomalous species, differing from, or rather not connected with, As on these points ornithologists are agreed, any very near neighbour in the ornithologiwe therefore read with some surprise, in an cal system. Although the English name interesting and otherwise accurate work indicates a particular food, (the Latinized Greek term ostralegus means merely shellgatherer,) we have no reason to suppose that "This bird makes its appearance" (in t'e these birds do or can prey upon oysters, Orkney Islands) "in September and Octo- which are a shell-fish very fond of keeping ber, remains during winter, and leaves in themselves ensconced beneath a consideraspring for more northern regions. A large ble depth of water. Hence the dredgery to flock appeared in South Ronaldshaw in May which the fisherman is of necessity subjected. The geographical distribution of the species, Now, we can easily comprehend the tem- though singular, has, till recently, been mis-The British kind, though on these northern isles, of a bird which is widely dispersed along the shores of Northwell known to breed as high at least as the ern Europe, and eastwards into Russia and 67th parallel; but as it has not been ascer. Kamtschatka, is quite unknown in the new tained to winter either in Ireland, or in any or western world, where, however, two dispart of Continental Europe, its continued so-tinet species are found. There is likewise journ at that season in the Orkneys will an African representative, and two others form a singular exception to its geographical occur in New Holland.* There is probably rule, if it shall be found that no other spe- no country of large extent in all the world cies has been confounded with the one in which has not its species of so-called oysterquestion. We may conclude by observing, catcher, although it may be predicated that that as the nesting places of the dotterel are those of the southern hemisphere are disinfrequent, its eggs are highly prized by col. tinct from the congeners of the north. M. lectors of rarities, and that the parent birds Lesson describes one as native to the Maare much sought for on account of their louin Islands, distinguished from all the plumage, a portion of which is held in the others by having the legs and feet white. It highest estimation by anglers for the dress- is therefore named H. leucopus. One of the North American oyster-catchers, supposed. The oyster-catcher, or sea-pipe, (Harman- at that time to have been identical with the topus o tralegus,) is a grallatorial species of European species, had nearly occasioned the a peculiar kind, its plamage marked by death of Alexander Wilson, the great ornistrongly contrasted masses of black and thologist. It is clear, however, that the natwhite, the legs, feet, and bill being of a brill uralist was the aggressor, and the risk seems

"The oyster-catcher," he narrates, " will not

^{*} Sir W. Jardine, in an excellent footnote to his useful edition of Wilson's American Ornithology, (vol. iii. p. 35,) states that "the black oyster-catcher (Ham. niger) is found in Australia and Africa." We doubt if this is consistent with, or has been confirmed by, recent observation. Mr. Gould makes no mention of other than Hem. longirostris and fullginous as Australian species, and in his "Table of the range or distribution of species," although he assigns to them a vast extent of Australia and Van Dieman's Land, Magaziw of Natural History, vol. ii. p. 295.
 Natural History of Orkney, Part 1. p. 58.
 By Baikie, M.D., and Robert Heddle. Printed, he takes no notice of their being found in any other. portion of the world.

only take to the water when wounded, but can scribing a scene in the province of Moray, also swim and dive well. This fact I can assert where the river Findhorn, "after hurrying from my own observation, the exploits of one of over ridge and shallow amid combinations them in this way having nearly cost me my life, of rock and wood, wildly picturesque as any On the sea-beach of Cape May, not far from a deep and rapid inlet, I broke the wing of one of the kingdom affords, enters on the lower those birds, and being without a dog, instantly country, with a course less headlong, through pursued it towards the inlet, which it made for a vast trench scooped in the pale red sandwith great rapidity. We both plunged in near-ly at the same instant; but the bird cluded my grasp, and I sunk beyond my depth. the surface, I found the bird had dived, and a swell into the broad fertile plain in front as if strong ebb current was carrying me fast to-wards the ocean, encumbered with a gun and all my shooting apparatus. I was compelled to relinquish my bird, and to make for the shore, with considerable mortification, and the total destruction of the contents of my powder-horn. The wounded bird afterwards rose, and swam with great buoyancy out among the breakers."*

most stately bird of its order ever seen in Britain. It is now, however, but a rare and almost accidental visitant of such far western isles as Great Britain and Ireland, although not seldom seen in other parts of Europe-in spring during its migration as a breeding bird to the lonely swamps of Lapland, and other northern solitudes-in autumn en retour to more genial quarters in dus (Top. Hibern., p. 705) as so numerous in Ireland, "ut uno in grege centum et circiter numerum frequenter invenies." made its appearance at Archbishop Neville's famous feast to the amount of 204 speciof a crane during his days in London was ten shillings,) and Sir David Lindsay records it as a portion of the bill of fare at a grand hunting entertainment given by the Earl of Athol to James the Fifth and the Queen Mother, in the now solemn seclusion of Glen Tilt.

The common heron (Ardea cinerea) is a beautifully picturesque and well known species. It generally builds on trees, some eyes about him, although he did not fregraph from that remarkable writer, although his renowned associate William Wordsworth, its essence is geological, with only a casual he must assuredly have many a time and bea ing on the bird in question.

"We stand on a wooded eminence that sinks swell into the broad fertile plain in front, as if the uplands were breaking in one vast wave upon the low country. There is a patch of meadow-ground on the opposite side of the stream, shaded by a group of ancient trees, gnarled and mossy, and with half their topmost branches dried and white as the bones of a skeleton. We look down upon them from an elevation so commanding that their uppermost twigs seem on well-nigh the same level with The erane (Grus cinerea) is the tallest and their interlaced and twisted roots, washed bare on the bank edge by the winter floods. A colony of herons has built from time immemorial among the branches. There are trees so laden with nests that the boughs bend earthwards on every side, like the boughs of orchard-trees in autumn; and the blenched and feathered mass-es which they bear—the eradles of successive generations—glitter grey through the foliage in continuous groups, as if each tree bore on its single head all the wigs of the Court of Session. the south. It is widely spread eastwards, The solitude is busy with the operations and enbeing, according to M. Ternminek, well joynents of instinct. The birds, tall and stately, though in Japan. Though so rays with as stand by troops in the shallows, or wade warlly, known in Japan. Though so rare with us a the fish glane by, to the edge of the current, in these degenerate days, there seems little or rising, with the slow flan of wing and should have doubt of its former occurrence in much creak peculiar to the tribe drop suddenly into greater plenty. It is mentioned by Giral-their nests. The great forest of Darnaway stretches beyond, feathering a thousand knolls, that reflect a colder and greyer tint as they recede and lessen, and present on the horizon a billowy line of blue. The river brawls along under pale red cliffs wooded atop. It is through a vast burial-yard that it has cut its way-a mens at one time, (Dugdale says the price field of the dead so ancient that the sepulchres of Thebes and Luxor are but of the present day in comparison—resting places for the recently departed, whose funerals are but just over. These mouldering strata are charged with remains, scattered and detached as those of a churchyard, but not less entire in their partsoccipital bones, jaws, teeth, spines, scales-the dust and rubbish of a departed creation."*

How Mr. Southey, who often had his times on rocky ledges, very rarely on the quently enough by down the pen, should ground. As we quite agree with Lord John liave gravely told us (in one of the letters Russell (see his speech at a Literary Insti- in his "Life and Correspondence") that he tute in Leeds) in his admiration of Mr. never saw a heroury, is surprising. In the Hugh Miller, we shall here quote a para-course of his occasional journeyings to visit He is de- often stood entranced by the most marvel-

^{*} American Ornithology, vol. iii. p. 38.

^{*} The Old Red Sandstone, 1st ed. p. 217.

lous and long-continued splendour, first, of in the moister and more boggy "Sister Isle," the restricted waters of the peaceful Wyburn, they but seldom hear, reflecting its castellated eagle's crag, and many a nameless knoll of almost equal beauty: next, by the deeply embosomed and more circular sweep of Grasmere's gracious mirror: lastly, by the "sylvan majesty" of Rydal's varied lake, of which the most conspicuous and prevailing feature is a certain island thickly embowered by tall and stately trees. Now, these trees contain and constitute a heronry, one of the most picturesque and peculiar of its kind in England, and there you see the soft and delicately plumaged birds,

" Proud of cerulean hues, From heaven's blue arch purloined,"

either reposing peacefully on verdurous boughs, or with "sailbroad vans," retracted neck, and long-extended limbs, winging their outward or their homeward way through the still and odorous air of that enchanting region. If Southey never noticed this heronry he was greatly to be blamed as well as pitied, for there it is and has been for immemorial years, to rejoice the sight alike of poets-laureate, and of meaner men. For what other purpose was he himself provided with a nose as aquiline as any eagle's, and eyes dark and lustrous as those of the gerfalcon, but that he might cleave his onward way, and see and comprehend whatever lay around him of the features of this fair earth. Let Mr. Tennyson, our present " laurel-honouring Lau-reate," now, we rejoice to hear, a frequent and prolonged laker, look to it in time.

As an example of the less usual kind of heronry, where the "munition of rocks" is selected as a place of safety, we may mention the ivy-mantled front of one of those grand ghauts called the Sutors of Cromarty, which guard the entrance to that haleyon bay, the Portus Salutis of the ancients, so famous as a place of shelter on our iron-bound eastern shores, and where many a brave mariner has gratefully passed the "septem placida dies" of a boisterous life. As respects their lowlier sites, we may state that there is an island in a small lake on the southern borders of Sutherland, between the Oikel and the inn at Altnagalcanach, where herons breed upon the ground; and in the island of

"At evening o'er the swampy plain, The bittern's boom come far.

Yet Goldsmith remembered, when a boy, with what terror this bird's note affected the whole village, and how the people regarded it as the presage of some sad event. If anybody died it could not be otherwise, for the "night-raven had foretold it," If nobody died, then at least a cow or a sheep might go the way of all flesh, and so the prophecy was fulfilled by a less dread completion.

"Those who have walked," says Goldsmith, " in a evening by the sedgy sides of unfrequented rivers, must remember a variety of notes from different water-fowl; the loud scream of the wild goose, the croaking of the mallard, the whining of the lapwing, and the tremulous neighing of the jack-snipe; but of all these sounds there is none so dismally hollow as the booming of the bittern. It is impossible for words to give those who have not heard the evening-call an adequate idea of its solemnity. It is like the interrupted bellowing of a bull, but hollower and londer, and is heard at a mile's distance, as if issuing from some formidable being that resided at the bottom of the waters."

We are not in use to quote that pleasant compilation, "Animated Nature," as an authority for either actual or disputed facts, but the above bears the impress of personal observation, and so we think may be relied on.* The generic name of Botaurus, now bestowed on bitterns, may be presumed to have reference to this bellowing note. Linnean title of Ardea stellaris-the heron of the stars-is also a fine one, alluding as it does to the creature's frequent upward flight in spiral circles-" excelsior !"-higher and higher into the blue profound, till lost to mortal sight. What may be the meaning or intent of these sublime gyrations-away and away from this dim spot which men call earth, and of its thus " commercing with the skies," no naturalist has ever told us. It is one of the many things, mysterious though familiar, which are not even dreamt of in their philosophy. This bird is not seldom referred to as an image of desolation in the sacred Scriptures, where the fate of

* Whoever desires an example of the bombastic breed upon the ground; and in the island of lady about three miles from Ardimersy Cottage, there is a well-known colony of these birds, also breeding on the ground.

The Bitter Reference stellar is a well-known of the second of the discussive style of zoological arration, may turn to Mr. Mondie's account of the bitter, Cottage, there is a well-known colony of these birds, also breeding on the ground. The Bittern (Botaurus stelluris) is now a second of the bittern, ("Featherd Tribes of Great-very rare bird in Britain. The only Scottish (since work confounded.") by commingling the habits specimen we ever chanced to see, was shot many years ago in the island of Colonsay, fear his beg-education has been much neglected. by the present Lord Justice-General. Even Rien feet heat que le vrai. However dismal to our ears may be the genous by our older writers. Pennant, we bittern's booming ery, we may pretty conknow not on what authority, informs us, fidently agree with Goldsmith, that, from the that "it inhabits the Faroe Isles," as if it circumstances and season of the year in were there a well known visitant; yet we which it is most frequently uttered, it is in do not find it alluded to in the most recent reality both a call of courtship and a token catalogue of the birds of those Danish outof "connubial felicity." We may also feel posts, by an accurate observer, Mr. Wolley. they occasionally occur in Britain.

them within certain limits, quarters are Egypt, and the north of Africa. known process may be said to have hitherto These birds are fondly protected in their defied the wasting tooth of time, so that the breeding places, not only by the Dutch, but self-same individuals exist in a tangible even in ancient times, though no doubt ed a European species, in consequence of formerly better known than now. Sir Thomas Browne, who died in 1682, records

Babylon is foretold as "a possession for the ceding, being now only a casual species in bittern, and pools of water." (Is. xiv. 23.) Britain. It is however recorded as indi-

assured that every creature has its own enjoyments, and a mode of shewing happiness is represented, though rarely, in Britain by peculiar to itself, and also of expressing it in that species called the glossy ibis, a bird the most appropriate way, according to its which shared in the mysterious sepulchral particular appreciation of the case. Of course honours so mis-bestowed by the ancient it would be by no means becoming in bridal Egyptians. It is remarkable for the great parties of the human race to roar like bulls extent of its geographical distribution, being There are several others of this long-necked found alike in Europe, Asia, Africa, and tribe which we cannot here notice, although America. It was more common during the preceding century than now in England, and The Stork (Ciconia alba) is one of the old gunners about Lynn, Yarmouth, &c., most interesting of European birds, and have been heard to discourse of the small presents, as Mr. Selby has well observed, a flocks of "black curlews" which they had remarkable instance of the laws which seen in their youth. It is extremely rare in direct the migrations of species, and confine Ireland. The embalmed bodies of the green Although or glossy ibis are still found in the cataeombs scarcely ever seen among the meadows of of Memphis, and other places of ancient our "sea-girt isle," it is among the first sepulture, and the antiquary and the natuobjects to attract attention in Holland, is ralist marvel alike at the wonderful art likewise well known in France, and spreads which, for some thousand years, has handed northwards during the summer season into down almost unimpaired to a far removed Sweden, Poland, and parts of Russia-"ob- posterity, the form and features of so frail serving the time of its coming." Its winter- a creature. The perfection of an obscurely by most of the nations among whom they form which wandered along the banks of dwell, and they have been observed in the the mysterious Nile in the earlier ages of Levant to prefer the house-tops of the Turks the world, or "in dim seclusion veiled" into those of the Greeks, who frequently plun- habited the solemn sanctuary of temples, der their places of repose. Mr. Thompson which, though themselves of most magnifiwas fortunate in finding a pair quietly nes- cent proportions, are now scarcely discernitled on the summit of the beautiful column ble amid the desert dust of an unpeopled at Avenches (Aventicum), anciently dedi- wilderness. It was, however, another cated to Julia Alpinula, whose filial affection species, called the sacred ibis (Ib. religiosa) is so finely commemorated by Lord Byron. the conservation of whose mystical body It certainly formed an appropriate resting chiefly occupied the skill of the ancient place for a species noted both for filial and Egyptian embalmers. This is the bird parental love. The stork does not seem to described by Abyssinian Bruce under the have been frequent in our own country, name of Abou-hannes.* It is now consider-

Thomas Browne, who died in 1682, records having seen it in the fens, and refers to its having been killed among the marshes between Norwich and Yarmouth. In regard to recent instances, we may mention, that the specimen in the Edinburgh Museum was shot in Shetland some years ago, and another was caught in South Ronaldshaw, one of the Orkney Isles, in 1840.

The spoonbill (Platalta leucorodia) may be placed in the same category as the pre-

having been found during recent years in tain a firm hold of his antagonist, a leap

whimbrels, redshanks, and several other which the enemy is over-arched, is for the greenshank (Totanus ochropus) is a shy and head of the other, but the ruff, although it wary, but very clamorous bird, which combats after the same fashion, has no spurs. spreads alarm by sharp, incessant, anxious A friend of Mr. Thompson's informed him, we observed that it frequently perched on and about one half were slain before the the taller twigs of brushwood, and Mr. vessel reached London. Hewitson, when in Norway, noticed it on for any shore-land species.

belong to the genus Totanus, Actitis, &c., and enliven by their shrill piping cry the solitary shores of inland waters. One of the most abundant, both in Britain and Ireland, is the so-called fresh-water sand lark, (T. hypoleucos, Linn.) It is a migratory species, leaving us in winter and re-appearing in the spring.

Passing over the avocets and long-legged plovers, which can be scarcely now regarded as natives, we come to a noted bird, nearly allied to Tringa, called the ruff, (Machetis pugnax,) a species which still breeds in England, but is only of casual occurrence in Ireland and the northern portions of the kingdom. It is remarkable for two thingspugnacity and polygamy. Its actions in fighting, as Montagu informs us, are very similar to those of the game-cock, the head being lowered, the bill held out horizontally, every feather more or less projected, the auricles erected, the tail partly spread, and the entire bird "assuming a most ferocious aspect." When either combatant can ob-

succeeds, accompanied by a sudden stroke We must here pass over the curlews, of the wing. In cock fighting the leap by interesting though well-known species. The sake of driving the spur of one into the cries, whenever an intruder ventures within that when he was leaving Rotterdam for a quarter of a mile of its domains. Al- London, in spring, a huge hamper, containthough a frequent winter visitant, it was ing several hundred ruffs, was put on board long unknown among us as a breeding bird, the steamer. Their incessant fighting proved till a company of sporting naturalists found a frequent though not very refined source of its summer haunts in Sutherland, in 1834, amusement to the passengers. Their crib Its flight though swift, is devious, and when was a perpetual battle-field, in which every inclined to rest it alights abruptly, runs a individual thought it his duty to be at all few yards, and then stands vibrating its times engaged as long as his own life lasted. body. In the northern county just named Great was the trampling down of the dying,

This species, of which the female is called the top of a lofty tree-an unusual position the reeve, is much rarer now than formerly, even in England, owing chiefly to the drain-The birds called Sandpipers are numerous ing of the fens, and the disturbing influence and diversified. The English term is applied without much discrimination to many account was published in 1813, found the species, which ought to differ in name, as trade of ruff catching in Lincolnshire to be they do in nature. The more maritime even prior to that period confined to few kinds, sometimes called shore larks, are persons, and scarcely repaying the labour Tringa, and consist of the dunlin, knott, and price of nets. The catchers lived in and many others, very abundant along our obscure places on the verge of the fens, and sea-coasts and estuaries during winter, but sold their birds for about ten shillings a either migrating to far northern countries, dozen to others who made a trade of fattenor betaking themselves to our interior lakes ing them for the market, and who obtained and marshes, in the spring. Other species for them, when fit for the table, from thirty shillings to two guineas per dozen. markable and convenient character of these birds is, that they feed freely the moment they are captured; and although their diet of bread and milk, or boiled wheat, must be as an "unknown quantity" in their native fens, they take kindly to such ingredi-ents on the instant. But such is their pugnacity, that they would starve in the midst of plenty, if their little feeding troughswere not placed here and there at some dis-tance from each other. Few are taken in spring, as they are then apt rather to pine than fatten. It is for other and obvious reasons an unadvisable period of capture, as likely to realize the fable of the goose and golden eggs,-every female caught during the season of incubation producing, by prevention, the loss of four young. The temptation to use the net at that period the ruff upon the neck, and indeed almost arises from the birds being observed to hill, as it is called, that is, to assemble on small patches of rising ground for the purposes of love and combat. These places are easily recognized by the trodden aspect of the turf. The principal and more appropriate period, * Temminck, Oiscoux d'Europe. Part iv. p. 392. however, is in September, when the young

birds are on the wing,-these being more a migratory species both in Britain and delicate for the table, less inclined to fight, Ireland, the great mass arriving in October, and therefore more submissive in confine- and taking an early departure during spring.

there are points of interest, even of difficulty wards sunset, and for hours thereafter, saw in its history, which we, the critical exposi-numbers in constant flight to and fro above tor, should ourselves be glad to have ex- the topmost boughs. In relation to this Britain than of old, when it was known only greater abundance in Ireland than in Britain. as a winter immigrant? Is this to be attri- It does not lie in the natural course of their change) an increase of woods and planta more open winter climate. Even Islay, the tions, which afford additional and more most south-western of our Scotish isles, is secure retreats, and a better and more more productive of these birds than any abundant supply of food? Sir William portion of the mainland. These facts have Jardine regards this increase as rather ap- been explained to us on the theory, or rather gy, and the more frequent observance and reach and most abide in Ireland, and such record of all natural phenomena. In Ireland, out-lying Scottish isles as Islay. The chief the occurrence of summer or breeding wood- objection to this idea is, that our woodcock cocks is quite familiar. Let us take the does not exist in the western world, and so instance of Tollymore Park, the Earl of cannot come from it. The American species, of Mourne, which rise to a height of nearly

The only other point in the history of in cocks continuing there throughout the year. or bill ? The first nest he saw was at the foot of a A few words on rails must conclude our larch tree, and looked like a pheasant's. It sketch of the Grallatorial order. Of these contained four eggs, and on these the parent the land-rail, or corn-crake, is our best sat so close as to allow him to approach known species. Though much given to conwithin a foot. When any one went very cealment in the natural state, it is easily near, she was always observed to bury her accustomed to captivity, as we stated in a bill to the base in the grass or withered preceding note. Its apparently defective ferns alongside the nest. Since 1838 the powers of flight have led to the belief in number which has remained to breed in certain districts, that it is not a migratory Tollymore Park has been on the increase, species, but hybernate in cold weather, con-la 1842 nine nests were seen; in 1843, cealing itself in drains and dykes. We have twenty-two; in 1847-8-9 they bred so abundantly, that no less than thirty nests although a few remain with us throughout were found in each of those years, and they the year in places comparatively free from are now so frequent and commonplace as to frost. In Orkney, as well as in Ireland, have ceased to attract attention. Wood-these birds are sometimes found in winter, cocks are also well known to breed in Scot"One was observed at Lopness in December land, as, for example, in the Dunkeld woods, 1812, and another in Rousay in 1847; and Perthshire, at Braham Castle and Conan, upon several occasions, when digging up old Ross-shire, at Castle Forbes, Aberdeenshire, and at Darmaway and Cawdor, in the county torpid condition."* The torpidity here re-of Moray. They are, however, essentially ferred to may, we think, be accounted for

They cross away north-eastwards into Scan-Regarding a bird so well known as the dinavia, where (among the almost endless woodcock we need not here dilate. Yet pine forests of Norway) Mr. Hewitson, toplained. What is the reason of its breeding comparatively eastern residence of woodso much more frequently of late years in cocks, we have sometimes wondered at their buted to a change in our seasons, or (which latitudinal migration, and they must instinctmay have a casual connexion with that ively seek it on account of its milder and parent than real, and thinks it occasioned by hypothesis, that as woodcocks might come the greater attention now paid to ornitholo- from America, they would naturally soonest Roden's, in the county of Down. It is beauti- Scolopax minor, is quite distinct from that

3000 feet, and present a variety of surface, these birds to which we shall here refer, is abounding in wood of different ages, with oc- one which to ourselves is still a mystery. casional moist though open glades, which They are known to carry about their uneven in a dry and sultry summer afford a fledged young from place to place; and the suitable supply of food. Although a resi- problem to solve is, by what means is this dent since 1828, it was only in 1835 that transportation effected? Of the fact itself Lord Roden's keeper became aware of wood- there is no doubt. Is it performed by feet

^{*} Birds of Ireland, vol. iii. p. 249.

^{*} Natural History of Orkney, Part I. p. 69.

by a constitutional power or peculiarity in | birds, are somewhat small and narrow, their rails not sufficiently known or adverted to. almost vibratory movements are so quickly They possess, and frequently exercise the repeated, and the onward impetus of their faculty of simulating death when captured. This has been several times noted by trustworthy observers of the British species, and is very remarkable in a nearly allied American bird, (Rallus Carolinus,) of which Mr. George Ord of Philadelphia, in a communication to Alexander Wilson, gives a good account.*

We shall conclude the present branch of our subject by observing, that the following species, (all of rare or accidental occurrence,) belonging to the Grallatorial order, have been found in Britain, but not in Ireland :-

1. Cream-coloured courser,
2. Little-ringed plover,
3. Great white heron,
4. Puff-back, or little white heron, Cursorius Isabellinus. Charadrius min Ardea alba. Ardea russeta. Ciconia nigra Totanus macularius.

4. Puff-back, o.
5. Black stork,
6. Spotted and piper,
7. Spotted and piper,
8. Spotted and piper,
9. Spotted

Sported sandpiper,
 Brown or grey sulpes,
 Pectoral sandpiper,
 Little crake, or olivaceous Gallinule, Crez panilla.
 Red-necked phalarope,
 Phalaropus hypers

bulky bodies, once under weigh, is so great, that they probably advance at a more rapid rate than the species of any other order. It is long since Major Cartwright calculated the flight of the eider duck as equal to ninety miles an hour,-a progression which, in the estimation of the bird above, must render travelling express by railway train, a most unwarrantable waste of time. Great Britain and Ireland being now well

known to be islands, to say nothing of the Great and Little Cumbrays, our shore and water birds, compared with those of Enrope in general, are relatively more numerous than our land species under the same comparative view. Although the birds which have actually occurred in Europe, counting allexotic and other stragglers, have been estimated at 500, and the British kinds, also counting stray species from the ends of the earth, at 350, yet for the sake of a more correct comparative view, we shall fall back a few years to Mr. Gould's enumeration of the ter-being 322. Of these 460 continental birds, 279 are land birds, properly so called, than one half) are water birds and waders. We fear our remaining space will scarce- By the former enumeration, continental Europe, in possessing 279 land birds, is richer that Britain by 119 species, whereas in water

> The following table will shew the relative proportions at home and abroad, of these

Continental species. 279 Land birds, 78 Waders. 103 Water birds. British species. 160 Land Birds, 70 Waders. 92 Water birds.

322 460

Let us now pass in rapid review over the or otherwise according to the purposes to principal groups of the swimming birds, or which they are devoted, and much may be Natatorial order. Of Geese, properly so said on both sides,-which is surely more called, (genera Anser and Bernicla,) we have than can be predicated of that abominable in Britain eight different species. Next to the swans, they are the largest of our aquatie kinds. They are gregarious, inhabit during the summer season the swamps and matage over the strictly terrestrial kinds, in rine shores of the Arctic and Antarctic rebeing able to rest themselves on water as gions, and migrate before winter towards or well as land. Although their wings, as com- into equatorial countries. They walk awkpared with those of the majority of other wardly, fly vigorously, (often in a peculiar array, wedge-shaped, or in lengthened files,) swim buoyantly, feed on seeds and grasses, and never dive except when sporting with

The only Grallatorial bird ever found in Ireland, and unknown to Britain, is the Martinico water-hen, (Gallinula Martinica,) of former—being 460; and to Mr. Maegilli-which a specimen was found lying dead in a vray's estimate (in his "Manual") of the latditch, in the month of Nov. 1845, near the village of Brandon, on the sea-coast. It had probably been blown across the Atlantic in and 181 (much less than one half) are water a storm, and may serve as an example to its birds and waders. Of the 322 British birds, kindred to be more upon their guard in time 160 are land species, while 162 (rather more to come.

ly admit of our expatiating on the great and excellent order of swimming-birds, or Natatores. These, next to the Gallinaceous kinds, birds and waders, the excess is only 30. commonly called poultry, are, in an economical point of view, of the highest importance to the human race. The flesh of many is three great divisions,rich, well flavoured, and nutritious; their feathers, being soft and elastic, form the finest materials for beds and bolsters, while their exquisite down is unrivalled for quilts, coverlets, and various articles both of useful and ornamental elothing. They also supply us with quills, which are either serviceable substitute the steel-pen. The flight of many web-footed birds is powerful and long-sustained, and of course they possess an advan-

^{*} See Wilson's American Ornithology. Sir W. Jardine's edition. Vol. iii. p. 242. YOL, XIX.

each other, or to escape when wounded. Several swans are common to both the The wild goose, (Anser ferus,) sometimes Old and New World, and it is not easy to called the grey-lag, although the supposed say from Alexander Wilson's description of origin of our domesticated species, is now a "the swan," how much he knew about them. rare bird in Britain, being unfrequent even The distinctions have been clearly described in winter, and quite unknown among us as a only in later years. The wild swan of Eubreeder.* The bill is large and thick, with rope (C. musicus) inhabits a great range of its terminal nail pale grey or whitish. It is the Arctic circle. unknown in North America, the common goose there, and throughout the States, be- numerous family, diversified in their characing Anser Canadensis. Two of our native ters and aspect, widely distributed over the species, the bean goose (Anser segetum), and the pink-footed or short-billed species (A. ever found. We have thirty different kinds brachurhunchus), are frequently confounded of ducks in Britain, many of them, however, with the grey-lag. In both the former the being only occasional or accidental visitors. nail upon the bill is black.

The swans are the grandest and most the species :graceful of all our native birds, whether of sea or land. There are eight species known, of which four (besides the tame one) have occurred in Britain. Of these the Honer (Cygnus musicus) is the most common, and like the others is only a winter visitant. It is not, however, the origin of our domesticated kind, or mute swan (Cygnus olor), not now found wild in Britain, but still well known in the natural state in many of the northern and eastern parts of Europe. latter is easily distinguishable from all the others by the large black frontal knob at the base of the bill. Many have marvelled why a bird so silent as the swan should have been dedicated to Apollo, the god of music. During their migrations, the wild species are said to utter loud trumpet-like cries, which when heard high in air are clear and mellow. and resemble "the sounds from a distant band of music." These notes are described as having a peculiarly exciting effect on the human mind, more especially in wild and desert regions, where they give rise to the most agreeable feelings among tribes dependent for subsistence on the chase.

* We bear in mind that Mr. St. John and others have stated it to breed in Sutherland; but we think there must have been some misapprehension of the species. The kind we have several times found there

in summer was not the grey-lag.
† Wild swans are numerous in Iceland during "the sleepless summer of long light," which pours such a continuous blaze into the meres and marshes of that otherwise dreary region. Some even pass the winter there, and their so-called song is often heard through the darkness of that long enduring night as they are passing, like a stream of snow along the murky sky, from place to place. It is described by writers on Iceland as very grateful to the ear, somewhites of termin as very gracini to the ear, some-what resembling the tones of a violin, each note oc-curring after a distinct interval. This music may probably be regarded as a signal or watchword to prevent dispersion, "in the twilight, in the evening, in the black and dark night." The singing of the swan, whether living or dying, is therefore not a fa-ble. It has at least its foundation in truth, as have necessarily most things which have been fabled, Olafsen (th. i. p. 34.) describes it as "most pleasant

The Anatida, or ducks, are an extremely The following is a systematic exposition of

1. Shieldrake, 2. Ruddy shieldrake, 3. Common wild duck, 4. Bimaculated duck, 8. Common teal. 6. Garganey 7. Gadwall,3 9. Blue-winged shoveller,4 Wigeon,

10. Wigeon,
11. American Wigeon,
12. Pochard,
13. Red-crested pocherd,
14. Ferruginous scaup duck,
16. Tuffed scaup duck,
16. Tuffed scaup duck,

17. Surf scoter,8 18. Velvet scoter, 19. Black scoter, 20. Eider duck 20. F.ider duck, 9
21. King duck, 9
22. Steller's duck, 10
23. Harlequin duck, 11
24. Golden Eye,
25. Buffel-headed duck, 12',
26. Long-teiled duck,

27. Goosander, 28. Red-breasted Goosander, 29. Hooded Goosander,13 30. Pied Smew, or Nun.

Tadorna vulpanser. Tadorna vuipanse Tadorna casarka. Anas boschas. Anas glocitans. Querquedula crecea. Querquedula circia.

Querquedula etreta. Querquedula acuta. Rhynchaapis etypeata. Mareca penelopa. Mareca Americana. Author fering. Aythya rerina. Aythya rufina. Fuligula Nyroca. Fuligula marila. Fuligula cristata. Oidemia prespicillata. Oidemia fusca. Oidemia nigra. Somateria multissima.

Somaleria spectabilis. Stelleria dispar. Clangula histrionica Clangula chrysophthalma Clangula albeola. Harelda glacialia. Merganser caster. Merganser servator Merganser cucullatus Mergus albilus.

The wild duck (Anas boschas) is the undoubted origin of our domesticated species, a relationship which does not exist be-

to hear." Henderson (vol. ii. pp 10, 136,) records the wild swan as "singing melodiously;" while in the Edda we find Niord, when forced to take up his residence in the interior of the country, uttering in lamentation,—"How do I hate the abode of the mountains! There one hears nothing but the howling of wolves, instead of the sweet singing of the swans who dwell on the sea shores." (Mallett's swans who dwell on the sea shores." (Mallett's Northern Antiquities, vol.ii. p. 58.) The Icelandera regard the note of the swan as presaging a thaw, and are therefore well-all and the property well-al are therefore well pleased to hear it during long-continued frosts.

- Accidental, from North-eastern Europe.
- Accidental, from Northern Asia. 3 Rare, from Holland and Northern Europe.
- 4 Rare, from Continental Europe. Accidental, from North America. Suppose by some to be identical with our common wigeon,
 - Occasional, from North-eastern Europe.
 - Occasional, from Eastern Europe.
 Accidental, from North America. Rare, from the North of Europe and America.
 - Accidental, from Northern Asia and America.

 Rare, from North America.
 - n Accidental, from North America.
 - a Accidental, from North America.

tween our wild and tame swans. In the from the hinder extremity of the body. natural state this species pairs,—the male, The feet are fully webbed only at the base, although he takes no share in the labours of but each toe has a broad lateral expansion incubation, keeping a careful watch in the of its own. The plumage of the grebes is neighbourhood of his brooding mate. Tame soft and beautifully blended, generally on ducks, on the other hand, lose this more the lower parts of a silky texture and silvery steady sentimentalism, and instead of pairing lustre, well adapted for tippets. These birds become polygamous.

waters, and congregating in winter. The wigeon is a most abundant winter species, especially in England, a greater number being caught in the decoys of the southern counties, than of all other ducks combined. Their distribution is somewhat peculiar. Although numerous in Orkney during winter, they are rare in the north of Scotland, and said to be unknown in the outer Hebrides. They increase as we advance southwards, and swarm in the shires of Somerset and Devon. Wigeons begin to arrive in Britain towards the end of September, and depart in spring. So very few remain during the summer, that they were unknown as native breeding birds until June 1834, when a party of naturalists, while exseveral lakes of that interesting and wellcared for county.

The eider-duck is one of our most noted species, although of little economie value, as its flesh is fishy tasted, and its breeding places in Britain too few to be of much importance in respect to down. Its great haunts are Iceland, and other arctic regions, where it lays from five to eight large eggs of a pale greenish-grey colour, which it imbeds in, and occasionally covers over, with down plucked from its own fair body. This bird is common alike to Europe and America.

The mergansers and goosanders form a peculiar group, distinguished from all other ducks by their straight, lengthened, somewhat cylindrical bills, with the lamelle of the mandibles narrow, sharp, in some strongly serrated, or tooth like. They seek their food by swimming under water,—not merely by immersing head and neck, like the majority of their congeners,-and in that habit, as well as by their elongated, clliptical, depressed form of body, and lengthened necks, they form a natural transition to the genuine divers, such as the colymbi, grebes, and

The grebes (genus Podiceps), of which we have four species in Britain, besides the skin of the abdomen, seeming to proceed bows of a roaring steamer.

are piscatorial in their habits, and are scarce-The teal is one of the smallest and most ly ever seen on shore, where they walk beautiful of our ducks. It abides with us awkwardly, and are ill at ease. They never throughout the year, breeding abundantly alight except upon the surface of water, and in the northern counties, near our inland it is almost impossible to make them take

to flight.
The divers, properly so called (genus Colymbus), are much larger than the grebes. Their bills are compressed and very sharp pointed. Their feet are fully webbed, and their tails are composed of feathers of the ordinary structure, instead of being, as in the preceding group, almost undistinguishable downy plumclets. These birds are re-markable for the immaculate and almost snowy purity of the under parts of their plumage, and the deep glossy blackness of the upper portions,-the latter being exquisitely starred and streaked with white. have three kinds in Britain, of which the largest and most majestic is the northern diver (C. glacialis), perhaps the most beautiful of all ploring Sutherland, found their nests in those birds which are found on the surface of the great deep. It has never been observed to breed in Britain. The black-throated diver (C. arcticus) is another species of considerable size and great beauty. Although at no time numerous, it is by no means an infrequent bird along our northern shores in winter. Till of late years it was unknown as a breeding bird in Britain. We had the good fortune to find its nest, or rather its callow young, (for there was no vestige of a nest,) among some stony herbage projecting into a shallow creek of Loch Craggie, near Lairg, in Sutherland, and we have since seen both old and young in other lochs of that county during summer. The only other native species is the red-throated diver (C. septentrionalis), more abundant at all times than either of the two preceding. Nothing can exceed the activity and wary watchfulness of this bird on its proper element. Even the unarmed angler never finds himself on the same side of the loch with it. It swims with excessive speed, and, like others of its kind, seems to possess the power of sinking its body without diving, that is, the observer sees it progressing rapidly with nothing visible but a snake-like head and neck. obviously belongs to the "uneasy classes," and is never satisfied or at rest. It can dab-chick, are birds of a very peculiar form, seldom be approached in an open boat, but with small wings, and the legs, in conse- seems less suspicious of larger vessels, and quence of the tibia being covered by the has been seen to rise from under the very

The Awks and Guillemots (including the Graba informs us that it is now unknown in no degree of fishy flavour, but it must be Martin says-" he flyeth not at all." boiled hard, and then the so-called white ing from two to three eggs.

known to breed along any of the northern was found in a pond of fresh water in Buck-shores of continental Europe for towards a inghamshire, two miles from the Thames. hundred years, and although as recently as Landt's time it was still seen in Iceland,

Puffin) form the next group, consisting in there, and has not been observed or heard all of about eight British species. We have of either in Greenland or the Faroe Islands sometimes wondered at the extreme abund- for many a day. None of our own assiduance of the Common or Foolish Guillemot ous northern voyagers over met with it, and (Uria troile) on all our seas and firths, con- although known in St. Kilda by the name of sidering that it lays only a single egg. That gair-fowl (Geir fugl of the leclanders), it egg is, however, a large and excellent one, has now ceased to frequent that lonely isle.

The most recent authentic instances of its becomes firm, though continuing of a some- occurrence may be briefly mentioned. The what transparent bluish hue. The yolk is late Mr. Bullock, while visiting the Orkneys granular and oily. These birds lay on nar-in 1813, discovered a male bird, called by row shelves or ledges, along the faces of per- the natives King of the Awks, off Papa pendicular cliffs, and it is a marvel to many Westra, and pursued it unremittingly for how the eggs, placed without bedding on many hours in a six-oared boat, but such the bare hard rock, do not roll away at once were the rapidity and perseverance of its into the sea. The fishermen say that they courses under water that he was completely adhere, as if glued by some natural viseidity, foiled, and finally gave up the chase. This but their saying so neither enables the birds individual was, however, obtained after his themselves to do this, nor others to ascertain departure, and is now in the British Museum. that it is done. The Black Guillemot (U, A female, the supposed mate of the pre-Grylle) is a well known but less abundant ceding, had been procured in Orkney a few species. It is called Geara breac among the weeks before Mr. Bullock's arrival, but her Hebrides, but never Scraber, which is the remains were not preserved. Dr. Fleming, name of another and very different bird- while taking a cruise in the autumn of 1821, the Manx Shearwater (Puffinus anglorum). with the late Mr. Robert Stevenson, in the Now Mr. Martin, in his "Voyage to St. Light-house yacht, obtained a live specimen Kilda," makes sad confusion by comming- of the great awk at Scalpa (Isle of Glass), ling the description of the one with the dis- which had been captured by Mr. Maclellan similar habits of the other, thus pleasantly some time before, off St. Kilda. It was creating for himself a fictitious bird which emaciated and sickly, but improved in conhas no existence in nature. The black guil- dition in a few days, in consequence of being lemot differs from the common kind in lay- well supplied with fresh fish, and permitted to sport occasionally in the water, being The razor-bills differ from the preceding secured by a cord attached to one leg. chiefly in the more dilated form, and grooved Even in this trammelled, state, its natural character of the bill, and the wedge-shaped movements while swimming or diving under tail. In character and attributes they water were so rapid as to have set all naturally conduct us to the awks. We may pursuit at defiance had the bird been free.*
here note that the genus Alca of Linneus As it was, its love of liberty eventually included the razor bill, the puffin, and the proved stronger than the cord by which that great and little awks. Its constitution is liberty was restrained, for during a subsenow changed and restricted, only a single quent washing with which it was consider-species being retained in the genus. This ately favoured, off the island of Pladda, to is the Great Awk, or Northern Penguin, as the south of Arran, it burst its bonds, and it has been sometimes called (Alca impen-nis), one of the rarest and most remarkable afterwards a dead specimen was found of European birds. It measures nearly three feet in length from the bill to the toes. The prevailing colour of the upper portion fondly fancied that this may have been Dr. of the plumage is black, shading into Fleming's individual, but it would have brown, and slightly glossed with green, while a conspicuous patch between the bill that, under the circumstances, no claim was and eye, and all the under parts, are white. So unfrequent has this great sea bird become of late years that many considerate proven inability of this species to fly, and become of late years that many considerate proven inability of this species to fly, and people begin to question the continuance of the ground, we do not set much store by its existence upon earth. It has not been Mr. Bullock's statement that an example

^{*} Edinburgh Phil. Journ., vol. x. p. 96.

There are many large goese in the world, and gannet adventure across an isthmus (an illone would suffice either to make or occasion selected one, as it speedily appeared) about the mistake.* The great awk has occurred in half a mile in breadth. Unfortunately an Ireland. A specimen was obtained by Dr. eagle that happened to be flying past ob-Burkitt of Waterford, who stated to Mr. served and struck it down. It was taken up Thompson that he received the bird in dead by some people who were standing September 1834, and that it had been taken near the place, and perceived the unexpected during the preceding May by a fisherman, onslaught. Gaunets are much more gregaoff Waterford harbour. It lived in captivity for four months, feeding more fondly on easily satisfied in the selection of a site, trout and other fresh-water fish, than on they necessarily congregate in the few those of the sea. It was rather fierce. A breeding places which befit them. Their second example was obtained off the Water-only nestling haunt in England is Lundy ford coast about the same time, but falling Island, in the Bristol Channel. Their into ignorant or careless hands, it was sole Irish station is one of the Skellig Isdestroyed. In February 1844, a note was lands, on the coast of Kerry. None breed communicated by the Rev. Joseph Stopford on St. Kilda, properly so called; but the to Dr. Harvey of Cork, stating that one of neighbouring island of Borrera, and two these birds had been found on the long huge adjacent rocks, called Stack Ly and strand of Castle Freke,—"having been Stack Namin, are covered with them thick water-soaked in a storm." This is a remark—"as leaves in Vallombrosa." Two other bable expression, and describes, almost in a word, the condition of a bird naturally by gannets,—Suliskerry, which lies between unable to fly, and so forced to abide, under the Orkney Islands and the Butt of Lewis, adverse circumstances, in the "injurious and that fine old, though sometimes inconsea." Mr. Thompson believes, from a venient mountainous rock called Ailsa description given him by an experienced Craig, in the month of the Firth of Clyde. wild-fowl shooter, on whose powers of Their only place of settlement along our eastobservation he could rely, that two great ern shore is the Bass Rock,-from whence awks were seen together in Belfast Bay in they derive their specific title of Bassana, September 1845.†

cormorants and solan geese,-birds which, lows), yet they leave their breeding haunts differing considerably in the structure of the during the colder months, spread themselves bill, the colour of the plumage, and the habits of life, are now properly placed in sepa- not seldom seen, even in midwinter, diving rate genera. Cormorants are seldom seen for pilchards off the coast of Cornwall. They upon the wing, and seek their food by diving for it from the surface on which they swim; in early spring. solan geese, while feeding, are almost ever on the wing, and plunge for prey by a sud- tual and ascertained history of all creatures, den descent upon it from a considerable that we cannot see the need of ever stating height in air. The great black cormorant what is either doubtful or untrue. Yet both is frequently found inland on our tranquil the early and more recent records of the ganlakes of fresh water,-the green or crest d net are full of "fond inventions." 1st, In species rarely leaves our rocky shores. The O'Flaherty's "West or H-Jar Connaught," gannets never do so. In fact, the latter will a work written in 1684, (published by the rarely cross even a narrow neck of land, but Irish Archaeological Society in 1846,) we prefer "doubling the Cape," however free are informed that - "Here the ganet

Although gannets are not strictly speaking The family called Pelecanida includes the birds of passage (in the same sense as swalsouthwards into warmer regions, and are assemble again upon their rocky fastnesses

So many curious things occur in the acfrom Caffres. Mr. Macgillivray once saw a soares high in the sky to espy his prey in the sea under him, at which he casts himself headlong, and swallows up whole herrings in a morsell." Serves them right, and all according to nature. But it is immediately added, "This bird flys through the ships' sailes, piereing them with his beak." Now, we don't admit this feat, not so much beway files with great rapidity, passing with ease all guilte terms, and other birds of merely buoyant flight. Its performance, as because having no pur-The genus. After, however, as now constituted, cor. pose to serve thereby, he is not likely to try an experiment which might be dangerous as well as unproductive. 2dly, Mr. John Mac-

† Birds of Ireland, vol. iii. p. 239.

^{*} We believe it to be true that the great awk is incapable of flight; but we cannot accept Baron Cuvier's definition of his own genus (Alca), where he states, "Leurs ails sont décidément trop petites our les soutenir, et ils ne volent point du tout," pour jes soutenir, et us ne voient point un tout, (Règne Inimal, tom. i. p. 549)—because he proceeds to describe as his first species the Common awk (Alea torda), our razor-bill, which when fairly under tains no other species than that truly flightless bird -the great awk, Alca impennis.

gillivray tells the following story, and "be- free agent. If so, what are we to say to that gillitray tells the following story, and "bo- free agent. If so, what are we to say to that lieves it true:"—Several years ago an open same power when the poor bird is sorely boat was returning from St. Kilda to Harris, beset by miserable meshes, and moreover and a few herrings happened to be lying in the foot-rope of the net is kept firmly down the bottom, close to the edge of the ballast, [and of course among or very near the boatmen's feet.] A gannet passing overhead, matter, let us turn up the Admiralty stopped and hovered for a moment, and then suddenly dashing down upon the fish, passed through the bottom of the boat [a Glyde, and we shall there find that the fish-passed through the bottom of the boat [a ing-bank in question (with which we have gannet perceives, and will descend to in pur- master of Ballantrae. suit of prey, reports the experience of a The Terns, or sea-swallows, are an ele-"worthy resident of my acquaintance," the gant and rather numerous tribe, being genepost-master (in the year 1836) of Ballantrae, rally characterized by a sharp and slender a well-known fishing village on the coast bill, lengthened wings, forked tail, with the of Ayrshire, and the conclusion he comes crown of the head black, the upper parts of to is, "that numbers of these birds have the plumage pure pearl grey, the under been taken in nets at a depth of 180 feet. white. Their flight is easy and buoyant,

"Gannets," quoth the post-master, "are very commonly caught about Ballantrae (chiefly in the month of March) in the fishermen's nets. which are generally sunk from nine to twenty, but sometimes to the depth of thirty fathoms birds or foreign stragglers to account, about (180 feet), just as the fish, herrings, &c., are nineteen different kinds have been seen along lying. They are taken at all these depths when the British coasts, our now exceeded limits the water is rough as well as smooth, and in warn us to be silent. We shall conclude both the cod and turbot nets (respectively five and seven inches wide in the mesh). Of the greatest quantity taken at one time, 'John, son of old Alexander Coulter, can make oath, that he took ninety-four gannets from one net, at a single haul, a few years ago. The net was about sixty fathoms long, a cod-net, wrought in a five- and tubular nostrils give it an organic rela-inch scale. The birds brought up the net, with tionship to the birds above named. Its prininch is sinkers and fish, to the top, when such as were not drowned, made a sad struggle to escape. There were four nets in this train; but the above ninety-four were in one of the nets, and there were thirty-four additional birds in the other part of the train, being 128 gannets in

Now, we do not think that the excellent Now, we do not think that the excellent historian of the birds of Ireland has here exercised his customary caution. It does not C. Robinson, R.N., F.G.S. 1516. follow, and certainly the fact is not stated, that on the occasion above referred to the nets had been sunk to thirty fathoms; and the circumstance of the extreme buoyancy of the birds being such as to bring up the net.

well-conditioned one, we may suppose, when ourselves some practical acquaintance) lies employed on so exposed a voyage as far as at a depth of only from seven to eleven employed on so exposed a voyage lastar as at a depth of only from seven to eleven the middle of its o-a body; and being relatined in that position by one of the crew, thus not more than one-third of what would yielded compensation by effectually stopping the leak which it must otherwise have made.* 3ddy, Mr. William Thornpson, while discoursing on the depth at which a even against John Coulter and the post-

and their cry, though neither loud nor long, rather grating. But of these, and the more familiar family of gulls, of which, including the various sub-genera, and taking stray birds or foreign stragglers to account, about with a brief notice of one or two rather peculiar species, more nearly allied to the petrels.

The fulmar (procellaria glacialis) in its general aspect is very like a gull, but its bill cipal, if not sole breeding place among the British islands, is St. Kilda, where it is found during the summer season in countless multitudes, affording the natives an invaluable addition to their domestic comforts in the form of food and oil. Where it gets this

the birds being such as to bring up the net, from the surface, and then progresses downwards or proves that they were not far from the surface. Sink a solan goose to the depth of 180 feet, and its power of flotation upwards would be much diminished, even were it a second. To descend hirty fathoms, and reappear in that time, it must swim at least 360 feet (o. 18 Edinburgh Phil, Journal for January 1842, p. 66.
 feet per second,) even if it goes and comes in a line
 Birds of Ireland, vol. iii. p. 258.

oil, nobody that we have ever met with | lights which serve to cheer the sadness of seems to know. Does it fly for it as far as those desolate dwellings, so Greenland, where blubber most abounds? The Reverend Dr. (then the energetic Captain) Scoresby told us many years ago, how when his men were flensing the whale, these birds flew at all fatty matters which might fall aside, and often settled in crowds upon the insensate carcase of the monarch of the deep. So near do they approach the scene of surgical operations, that they are often knocked down in great numbers with boathooks, or even sometimes captured with the hand; and so greedily do they gorge themselves with their beloved blubber, as to become for a time incapable of flight. account contrasts strangely with the more superficial observance of the fulmar afforded by a chance visit to St. Kilda. There, over the sparkling sea, or within the sombre shadow of that great rock, a mild and doveeyed creature is seen for ever on the wing, gliding serenely over the surface with a most soft and buoyant flight, sometimes approaching within a few yards of boat or cutter, "in wonder, not in fear," but never, so far as can be seen, ever picking up anything from the redundant waves, or even helping itself to what is thrown towards it. Its more prolonged and distant flights seem northwards, and many are observed as if returning, though without either flurry or fatigue, from some far country, their interior being always stored with a rich amber-coloured oil, well clarified, and fit for instant use. By what means, and whence, is this obtained, and how far have these beneficent "slaves of the lamp" to fly for it across the briny waves? We have sometimes thought it by no means easy to be a perfectly well instructed ornithologist. Many points occur of difficult solution, although there are certainly few things more familiar than oil and feathers.

The old fulmars feed their young with this liquid fat, emptying it from their interior into that of their offspring, and when seized upon by any ruthless and unauthorized intruder on the sanctity of their rocky ledges, having an undoubted right to do what they like with their own, they squirt it suddenly through the throat into the face and eyes of the assailant. So, when the natives make a sudden nocturnal dart upon them in their nests, they are always careful to grasp them firmly round the neck, to prevent the use or abuse of this most precious oil. The bill is then opened, and held over the prepared gullet of a solan goose, till about a table spoonful has been disgorged. The young birds, when handled, also yield, though in smaller proportions, their contribution to the evening

"Far amid the melancholy main."

The flesh of the young fulmar, on account of its inherently oily nature, forms a favourite food with the inhabitants of St. Kilda.

The only other species we shall notice is likewise a native of the last named island, though not so exclusively confined to it—we mean the Shearwater (Puffinus Anglorum). From the darkness of its plumage, its nearly nocturnal habits, its subterranean baunts, and the carefulness with which it keeps itself concealed throughout the day, there seems to be something rather sinister in its character. It generally breeds at the far end of a hole, which it excavates in soft or sandy soil, sometimes taking possession of a rabbit's burrow, where such occurs. It lays only a single egg, which, when fresh, is of the most dazzling whiteness, and peculiarly beautiful in its texture. In summer we find this bird not only in St. Kilda, but in several of the Orkney and Shetland Isles. It seems now, however, to have entirely deserted that small island the Calf of Man-its only southern locality that we know of being a barren isle called Annet, one of the Scilly group. Its frequency in former days in Orkney is attested by the Reverend George Low in his Fauna Orcadensis. These birds disperse themselves over the seas in winter, probably migrating southwards. Their flight is smooth and gliding, occasionally very rapid, always buoyant and easy. They fly low along the surface, often descending into the trough of the sea, then mounting up into the air, over the sparkling crest, and down again into the smoother hollows. What a strange thing it is for a creature which can do all this so gracefully, and with such unwearied wing, to pass the livelong day in a darksome subterranean cell, without one glimpse of that immeasurable main on which, at other times, it so rejoices! We scarcely got more than a glance of this mysterious shearwater during an exploration, some years ago, of the marvels of St. Kilda. Only two or three were seen one evening after sunset, gliding. as it were, from beneath the "stones of darkness and the shadow of death," and betaking themselves scawards, just as the curtain of night was falling upon the great waters.

The following Natatorial species have occurred in Britain, but not in Ireland :-

- Cygnus immutabilis. Anser brackyrynchus. Anser sambensis. Anas glocitans.
- 1. Polith swan,
 2. Pink-footed goose,
 3. Spur-winged goose,
 4. Birnaculated duck,
 5. Steller's western duck,
 6. Red-crosted whistling duck,
 Fulgula rayina.

7. Ferruginous, or Nyroca duck, Ful. leucophi.
8. American scaup duck, Ful. mariloides.
9. Harlequin duck, Claugala histria Claugala histrionica 10. Buffel-headed duck, 11. Caspian tern, 12. Gull-bill tern, Chugala alleola Sterna Caspica. Sterna amplica. 13. Ross's gull, 14. Laughing gull, 15. Bulwer's petrel, 16. Wilson's petrel, Lavus atricilla. Tralassidroma Bulweri.

The following kinds, all casual stragglers from far countries, have been met with in Ireland, but not in Britain :-

 Ruppell's tern,
 White winged black tern,
 Noddy tern, 4. Bonspartian gull,

Sterna velox. Sterna leucoptera. Sterna stolida. Larus Bonapartii.

Thal. Wilsoni.

In the foregoing Ornithological Sketches, we have necessarily left unnoticed many interesting species, particularly among those which only winter with us, and take their spring departure to far northern climes, where they may rest alternately on firm enduring earth, and the glittering battlements of polar icebergs.

"Who can recount what transmigrations there Are annual made? what nations come and go? And how the living clouds on clouds arise? Infinite wings! till all the plume-dark air And rude-resounding shore are one wild cry."

ART. II .- 1. England, Ireland, and America. By a MANCHESTER MANUFACTURER. Edinburgh, 1835.

2. Russia. By a MANCHESTER MANUFAC-TURER. Edinburgh, 1836.

3. Annuaire des deux Mondes, pour 1851. Les Cabinets. Paris, 1852.

4. Thoughts on our Foreign Relations. By a Member of the House of Commons. London, 1853.

5. 1793 and 1853. Three Letters. RICHARD COBDEN, M.P. 1853.

Is England to be a great nation, or a little we had no concern, and to not a few of interisland? Is she to have a colonial empire vention in a scandalous manner, and in an and a European policy? Or is she, as some unrighteous cause-of freedom crushed and would teach us, to abnegate both? Is she to oppression made triumphant with our sanebid a long and unreluctant farewell to ances- tion and by our aid. We admit, with shame tral greatness, to wide-spread influence, to a and sorrow, the severe impeachment; but powerful, formidable, honorable name, and we draw from it a very different practical henceforth to think only of safety and wealth? conclusion. We would atone for the past, Is she to stand aloof and apart in sublime not by inaction, but by purified and amendand selfish isolation, careless of the fate of ed action. We would endeavour to compenothers, so long as she herself is invulnerable sate whatever evil we may heretofore have and unmenaced? Or is she, as heretofore, wrought, not by abstaining from internationto embrace the four quarters of the globe al relations altogether, but by conducting those sympathies boldly, and to maintain spirit. them firmly? Is she to renounce every pos- On what principle our international rela-

session, and abstain from every action, of which the pecuniary profit will not admit of demonstration? Or is she to believe and to proclaim that there are objects dearer than wealth, worthier than prosperity, more indispensable even than traquillity and comfort? Is she to deny her antecedents, and desert her mission, because she has sometimes, in past years, overstepped its limits, and pursued it imperiously, unrighteously, and at fearful cost! Or is she, profiting by sad experience, and taught and warned by ancient errors, to be greater, wiser, more generous and more beneficent than heretofore, and so to act, so to live, so to speak, that her alliance shall be safety and honour, her maternity a matter of pride and attachment to her children, her rule a blessing to her subjects, and a model to the world?

There is a school which has risen up among us of late years-comprising many men who can neither be ignored nor despised, because, though their views are narrow, their energy and sincerity are indisputable-whose doctrine it is, that we ought, properly speaking, to have no international relations except commercial ones; that we ought to imitate the policy which Washington recommended to his countrymen, and hold ourselves apart in cold indifference to the vicissitudes, the sufferings, the aspirations of our neighbours, so long as they will buy from us and sell to us: that, in short, we should cease to be a member of the great European Commonwealth of Nations, except for purposes of barter. These reasoners, unpalatable as is the policy they recommend to the pride, the instincts and the traditions of Britons, have unquestionably a strong vantage ground from which to urge their doctrines. They can point to many enormous and expensive follies, to many undeniable and costly crimes, committed in times past by the adherents, and in the name, of the policy they reprobate. They can point to numberless instances of unwarrantable interference in matters with which within her expansive sympathics—to express those relations in a juster, humbler, wiser

tions ought henceforward to be regulated- | course of the last five and thirty years. whether our friendships are to be decided by mere similarity of external and material interests, or by congeniality of internal institutions and principles of governmentwhether our alliances are to be formed with rulers or with people-whether we are to shew no preference, and pronounce no opinion, regarding the conduct or doctrine of foreign states-to manifest no sympathy for freedom, no condemnation of ruthless and barbarous oppression, nor disapproval of orimes against humanity and civilisationwhether we are to be as ready to have "cordial amity and understanding" with despots crushing liberty as with freemen struggling for amended laws, if such arrangement should suit our temporary or commercial interests -whether we are to allow constitutional governments to be overthrown by a coalition between perjured conspirators at home and the armies of a foreign tyrant-what are the limits, and what the nature, of the great and sound principle of non-intervention-whether it be a merely passive or an active rulewhether it merely binds us not to interfere ourselves in the internal contests of an independent nation, or whether it involves also the duty of seeing that no others interfere to do for the wrong what we abstain from doing for the right-whether, whatever iniquities be practised, and whoever be the sufferers beneath them, we are to imitate the selfish priest and the unfeeling Levite, who saw it would be a troublesome business, and so passed by on the other side-or whether, by timely and judicious acts of friendship and assistance, we are to lay up friends for ourselves against our possible day of menace and of peril-lastly, how our foreign policy, which has hitherto been too often only the policy of the Government, or perhaps only of a section of the Government, may be in future made really the policy of the nation, expressive of its paramount and united will, and therefore steady, consistent, generous, and truly national, and in consequence irresistibly triumphant-all these are questions which must soon be discussed and decided. but to treat which as they should be treated would take us over a far wider space of ground than we now have time to travel. We must content ourselves for the present with a less ambitions task, and shall begin by pointing out a few of the changes which have come over the international position of Great Britain and the tone and temper of her Foreign Policy, and the causes and consequences of those changes.

The first remarkable change to be noticed is that which has come over the character and temper of the British nation in the

were thus delineated in the early part of the century by a broadly sarcastic but not an unfriendly pencil :-

" John Bull is a busy-minded personage, who thinks not merely for himself and family, but for all the country round, and is most generously disposed to be everybody's champion. He is continually volunteering his services to settle his neighbours' affairs, and takes it in great dudgeon if they engage in any matter of consequence without asking his advice; though he seldom engages in any friendly office of the kind without finishing by getting into a squabble with all parties, and then railing bitterly at their ingratitude. He unluckily took lessons in his youth in the noble science of self-defence, and having accomplished himself in the use of his limbs and his weapons, and become a perfect master at boxing and cudgel play, he has had a troublesome life of it ever since. He cannot hear of a quarrel be-tween the most distant neighbours, but he begins incontinently to fumble with the end of his cudgel, and consider whether his interest or honour does not require that he should meddle in the broil. Indeed, he has extended his relations of pride and policy so completely over the whole country, that no event can take place without infringing some of his finely-spun rights and dignities. Couched in his little domain, with these filaments stretching forth in every direction, he is like some choleric, bottle-bellied old spider, who has woven his web over a whole chamber, so that a fly cannot buzz, or a breeze blow, without startling his repose, and causing him to sally forth wrothfully from his den. Though really a good-hearted, good-tempered old fellow at bottom, yet he is singularly fond of being in the midst of contention. It is one of his peculi-arities, however, that he only relishes the beginning of an affray. He always goes into a fight with alacrity, but comes out of it grumbling even when victorious; and though no one fights with more obstinacy to carry a contested point, yet, when the battle is over, and he comes to the reconciliation, he is so much taken up with the mere shaking of hands, that he is apt to let his antagonist pocket all they have been quarrelling about."*

Who can withhold a smile at the humorous accuracy of this picture as applied to the Englishmen of fifty years since ? Who can recognise in it the faintest resemblance to the Englishmen of to-day?-the indolent, insouciant, pacific, and far from sensitive citizen, who can scarcely be roused to believe in any hostility, or to prepare against any danger; whom scarcely any insult can goad out of his apathy; who, so far from being prompt to rush into a quarrel, shrinks from war as a horror, and loathes it as a sin, and is even beginning to listen to arguments against the righteousness of self-defence; who, if there is the faintest rumour of a

^{*} Sketch Book, by Washington Irving.

rupture between any other nations, instantly | European war, startled all reflecting men, who, from being aggressive, has actually become almost submissive; who settles boundary disputes, when they arise, with a liberality which amazes his opponent, and which is partly wisdom, partly apathy, partly magnanimity, and partly economic calculation; who, though wealthy enough to encounter any contest and to maintain any force, and courageous enough, when once excited, to dare any odds, yet has begun to doubt whether anything short of unquestionable honour or absolute existence is worth fighting for; whose sympathy with foreign nations, even when struggling for those interests of freedom and humanity which he has most at heart, seldom goes beyond words of remonstrance or encouragement; and who, within the last four years, has languidly allowed opportunities to pass, which, at the beginning of the century, would have been seized with alacrity, and has stood tamely by to witness international iniquities which would have made the swords of the last generation leap from their scabbards with a unanimous cry of indignation and disgust. Formerly, even the Liberals were not averse from a legitimate pretext for any intervention which might extend their influence abroad : now, even the Tories ostentatiously proclaim that their maxim is to interfere with the internal arrangements of no foreign state. Formerly, we spent the treasure, and hazarded the safety of the nation, for the purpose of replacing the legitimate sovereign on the throne of a neighbouring nation; now, whatever be the government it may please that volatile nation to adopt-whatever monarch she may choose, or whether she abjures all monarchy whatever-we hasten to recognise it by return of post, with laudable impartiality and promptitude.

ground both for congratulation and for self imbibed since 1832. Not only have our applause; for it has its origin in the spread commercial relations become enormously of wiser and juster notions than formerly more extensive and complicated, but those prevailed. It is not merely that we are who are connected with commerce, and who more alive to the sin, the evil, and the cost conduct these world-wide enterprises, have of war, and that we measure by a truer obtained an influence in the Legislature bestandard than we used to do the real value fore unknown. A war would now be conof the objects of national ambition; but we fusing and mischievous beyond all previous have awakened to a clearer perception and a parallel, and those who would be injured or sounder estimate of the rights of others, and ruined by it have how a voice potential in a humbler, and therefore juster, apprehen- the councils of the State. Then the people, sion of our own position and its claims and who pay a large portion of the taxes which duties. Many circumstances have combined a war would so grievously augment, have to bring about this wholesome alteration, now a great control over the representation, The frightful carnage, the enormous expendi- and would not fail on occasion to make their ture, and the unsatisfactory result of the last power felt. So obvious is all this, and, in-

offers his anxious services to heal the breach; and the perpetual and heavy burden which that war entailed upon us has acted as a constant and salutary memento. The yearly budget forbids us to forget these things. We had never before been foolish on so grand a scale, or paid so dearly for our folly. Then, in all things we hope we are become a more considerate and sensible people. We look more at realities and less at conventionalities. We are more governed by interests and less by impulses and watchwords. measure more accurately than we used to do the value of an object against its price. are more alive, too, to the essential and eternal ordinances of morality. We estimate human life, and the human being generally, more highly than we did. have a higher criterion of duty to our fellowcreatures-a stronger sense of the degree in which it is possible in national matters to approach the Christian standard. The principles of the Peace Society-fanatical as they are-have unquestionably gained ground among us. Statesmen shrink from war now, not only on account of its risks, its costs, its possible unpopularity, but from a new-born sense of the tremendous moral responsibility which lies upon those who, directly or indirectly, bring upon humanity such an awful curse. More alive than formerly, in all respects, to the mighty and solemn obligations attendant upon power, in this respect they are peculiarly so. have begun to feel that those who either commence, facilitate, or permit an avoidable war, are answerable in the eye of Heaven for all the guilt, all the suffering, all the nameless horrors, all the fearful contingencies which war involves-a liability which the rashest and hottest may well hesitate and tremble to encounter.

But, more than all, may the change be traced to the political modifications which In the change which has thus come over our constitution has undergone, and the large the temper of the nation there is much infusion of the popular element which it has

we may feel quite certain no statesman could or would dare to involve this country in a war unless the objects of it were so important, and the justice of it so clear, that the whole nation shared his sentiments, and were prepared to back him. The next war which England undertakes will assuredly be both a just, a necessary, and a popular one; and wo, therefore, to those who force it upon us. The reform Bill of 1832, again, introduced into Parliament, and into public affairs, an entirely new class of men, accustomed to look at all subjects from a common-sense rather than a conventional point of view, fond of recurring to first principles and of eschewing all established formulas, and wholly uninfluenced by a shadow of respect for the traditional maxims which for generations guided the foreign policy of Great Britain-a class of men as useful as an ingredient in our Legislature, as they would be dangerous did they constitute its substance. They have compelled a sort of re-examination of all ancestral rules, predilections, and precedents, have insisted upon bringing them all to the bar of reason, and testing them by the standard-often, it is true, a somewhat low one-of direct and material national interest, and have thus succeeded in casting discredit upon all which could not hold their ground, or make out a good case for themselves. By this course they have often done good service, and have succeeded, partially at least, in emancipating us from too close and formal an allegiance to a questionable past.

The change in the tone and attitude of the nation which we have thus briefly traced, is, beyond question, in the main a most hopeful and salutary one. But it is important to note it and bear it in mind, because it indicates that the quarter from which danger is to be apprehended, and the tendencies against which we have to guard, have been entirely shifted. Whatever may be said of this or that individual minister, (who may have his special idiosyncrasies,) there can be no doubt that the disposition of the nation is no longer aggressive and meddlesome, but rather patient, enduring, indifferent, and prone to compromise; and those who contime to declaim as if we were still the same petulant, pertinacious, ambitious, intrusive busy-bodies, which, perhaps, we were truly represented to be half a century ago, are simply guilty of the same kind of anachronistic nonsense as those who are even now crying out, as their fathers did before them, against extravagant official salaries, sinecures, and jobs.

It is worthy of observation, moreover,

deed, so commonly felt and admitted, that | described as having come over our countrymen, is by no means confined to them, but is shared in a greater or less degree by all continental nations. It is true that great difference of opinion exists among the various peoples of Europe as to what objects are or are not worth fighting for. Some will go to war for points which others would think descrying only of a dignified remonstrance, or at most, perhaps, of a temporary withdrawal of diplomatic intercourse. governments are much more ready than others to resent insult, to demand explanations, to take umbrage at suspected ulterior designs; but all are far more disposed than formerly to shrink from quarrels about trivial concerns, to accept friendly mediation in case of disputes arising between them, and to concede, conciliate, and compromise, wherever the national honour does not absolutely forbid such a course. The general prevalence of this temper has been proved on numberless occasions during the last twenty-five years: misunderstandings have been explained, disputes have been adjusted, breaches have been healed, animosities and heart-burnings have been allayed, menacing crises have been safely got over, which at any previous epoch in European history, would infallibly have ended in bloody and disastrous wars. Half a dozen times since 1829 has war seemed almost inevitable; yet no war has occurred except those internal ones which arose out of the events of 1848 -events which nothing except the universal desire among the Cabinets of Europe to remain at peace could possibly have hindered from ripening into a general conflagration. The truth is, that since the Napoleonic era the commercial connexions of nations have become so much more extensive, close, and confidential, that a war would be ruinous to the people of every country in a far greater degree even than formerly; and in proportion as it would be so would it be unpopular; and even the most absolute governments are obliged to respect the sentiments and interests of their subjects. In addition to this, they all naturally enough take pride in the prosperity of their respective countries, and they have learned at last that this prosperity depends upon the arts of peace, and can never be really promoted even by the triumphs or the trophies of war. Hence we see that if the faintest spark of fire shews itself in any quarter, nearly all the sovereigns of Europe rush, as by common consent, to tread it out, instead of endeavouring to fan it into flame, as was their wont in less enlightened times.

Side by side with the pacific dispositions that this pacific disposition which we have which have gradually taken possession of Englishmen, has grown up a disinclination with every international question as it arises for foreign alliances and treaties, offensive -entirely on its own merits." That is to and defensive, with Continental States. It say, that we are to abandon all idea of prois argued that these lead us into perpetual tectorships of feeble states, or to exercise quarrels, in which we have no personal in- such functions only in conjunction with other terest, and are generally formed with States, great powers, or to interpose on behalf of our as Portugal and Turkey, which can offer us smaller and weaker neighbours only when nothing in return for the sacrifices which they our own interests can be served by doing call upon us to make, and which would be so; but to enter into no engagements with utterly powerless to assist us in case of them. We by no means intend here to prodanger. The member of Parliament whose pamphlet we have placed at the head of this rule of policy; we merely wish to direct at-Article, writes thus, and unquestionably with tention to the change which has come over very considerable reason :-

"Whenever (in consequence of our alliance with Portugal) that country has been invaded, she has always appealed to this country for military support and assistance, which has ever been readily afforded; thus, in consequence of an antiquated treaty, made two centuries ago, under peculiar circumstances, and for merely family reasons, this country is to be forever dragged into wars when neither her security, honour, or interests are in any way possibly concerned; and this, too, for the maintenance of an insignificant paltry nationality which could not reciprocate our support in the slightest possible degree.
It is time this was put an end to. It is profitless,

expensive, dangerous, and gratuitous. ought to be a six months' notice given that the treaty shall henceforth be cancelled, and that we hold the Portnguese, 'as we hold the rest of the world, enemies in war-in peace friends.'

" in a common sense point of view there should always be a mutuality of advantages in every international alliance. An alliance should never be entered into but for pure state reasons, and for specific and definite objects; and should be discontinued when the circumstances which originally made it imperative no longer exist. Our alliance with Portugal is continued because every minister who comes into official harness finds it in existence; and for no better reasons upon earth. Portugal has everything to gain by the connex-ion, and we have everything to lose—she could not bring us a ship or a regiment in our hour of need (if such should ever arrive,) but wants, on the other hand, perpetually supporting and cover-ing up; involving all the disadvantages of a partnership, without one equivalent."

The principle of foreign policy recommended by this writer is, to "leave ourselves (untrammelled by any entangling alliances) at liberty to take our own course, and improve events as they arise to our own advantage." He would not, however, "have Great Britain utterly indifferent to all or anything that is passing on the Continent. I would have her interfere when honour, duty, or interest, necessitated an interference : but in the meantime I would have her states,) which are a source of expense, anx ing way in which it has been carried out; iety and weakness; and then let her deal and the crimes, follies, and expenditure of

nounce any opinion upon this new guiding the traditional doctrines of the British nation, when these recommendations are publiely urged by men of station and repute, and received with favour by a large class in the community.

Another indication of the same change is to be found in the very different manner in which our supposed interest and duty in preserving "the equilibrium of power" in Europe, are regarded now from that in which they were regarded fifty or even thirty years ago. Then it was alleged and accepted as a valid ground for constant diplomatie and even warlike interferences with foreign states: now statesmen are beginning to be rather shy of using the phrase, especially of pronouncing it as a pretext for armament or action; and "members of Parliament" can

write of it thus :-

"Thirdly, As to the 'balance of power.' This is too absurd a proposition to be seriously entertained. It means anything, or nothing, according to the whim or caprice of any Court or Government; it implies rights which do not exist; it involves duties that belong only to time, or fate, or Providence; it is a nebulous, intangible apology for a principle which exists only in the imagination of the diplomatist or the dreamer; it is a question upon which all eminent writers disagree, a plain proof that it has no actual existence as a moral or political principle at all. So seriously do I look upon this political fraud, 'the balance of power,' that I should think every shilling spent in its defence was to that extent a robbery of the people of England; and every soldier's life sacrificed in any attempt, under any circumstances, to carry it out, morally speaking, to be a murder."-Thoughts on our Foreign Relations.

The politician who has mainly contributed to bring about the altered state of national feeling on this question is unquestionably Mr. Cobden. In his pamphlet entitled "Russia," published sixteen years ago, he devoted a chapter to a caustic and clever, though one-sided analysis of "the chimera" of the balance of power. He shewed up with great effect the vagueness and variabilcast clear of all the miserable alliances she ity of the idea involved in it; the incomplete has formed, (generally with little or weak application of it; the imperfect and vacillatStates would have been unable to secure for their consequences. These were its objects: and it

which it has in past times been the pretext one, had it only been wisely applied-obsta or the cause ;-but he failed to perceive the principis; do not postpone resistance till it will germ of sense and truth which lies at the be too late to resist with success; do not wait root of it, and without which it could never till your rival actually attacks you with overhave received the sanction or swayed the whelming force, but arouse the vigilance of proceedings of all our great statesmen, of the great Areopagitic Court of nations (of whatever party-as he admits that it has which Mr. Cobden preaches up the formadone. Since the publication of his first on- tion so earnestly, but which, in fact, this slaught, his course has been persevering and very abused idea of political equilibrium consistent: in and out of Parliament, by long since tacitly created) in time to prevent speeches and by letters, he has unceasingly that force from ever becoming overwhelmdenounced all connexion or interference with ing; interfere on the first encroachment European politics, and has endeavoured to which intimates an intention on the part of reduce the relation between Great Britain a great State to absorb, to oppress, or to reand foreign nations to the simple element of duce to dependence its weaker neighbour, commercial intercourse; and his views con- - partly in the name of justice, but princitain so much that is sound, and so much pally because your own future interest or more that is plausible, that we cannot won-safety dictates such timely prevention. Let der at the extent to which they have spread all the great powers of Europe, for example, among the middle classes, and have influ-interpose to forbid France to annex Belgienced even the opinions of statesmen and um, Holland, and Savoy,-partly because the conduct of Cabinets. It cannot be de-such annexation would be a spoiling of the nied that our claim to hold the "balance of comparatively feeble, which would outrage power" in Europe has often been dogmati- all private as well as all international mocally and haughtily asserted and offensively rality, and partly because it would give (or carried out; that it has often prompted us might be expected to give) to France such to unwarrantable interference and unjust ag- an accession of aggressive power as would gression; that it has often led us into wars be, and would be felt to be, menacing to in which we had no interest, and into extra- other States, and would compel them to invagant expenditure for which we obtained crease their defensive armaments. Do not no equivalent;—but in arguing from the allow Austria to seize upon the Italian pe-abuse of a thing against its use—in main-ninsula, because she would thereby enrich taining that England has no concern with herself enormously, and obtain a vantagethe conduct or aggrandizement of foreign ground which sooner or later she would be states as long as she herself is not the object certain to use to the injury and emperilment of direct attack—Mr. Cobden has, we think, of her neighbours. Do not let Russia disbeen led into a false and untenable position, member Turkey, and take possession of -an error the more remarkable, inasmuch as Constantinople, because that would at once this very system of "equilibrium," rightly until the hands of a Power which we know understood, is a step towards, an imperfect from all history to be of all others the most substitute for, and an attempt to effect the ambitious, and the most boldly and perso-objects of that very plan of "arbitration" veringly encroaching, and which is now held of which he is the unwearied and zealous in check only by the circumstance of her apostle. For, the very purpose and idea of one great sea-port being so easy blockadable the system was, by a combination among by her maritime rivals. We give these all the States of Europe, to prevent such an only as examples. Statesmen may be misaggrandizement of the power of any one of taken in the assumption, that these acts of them as would enable that one to impair the aggrandizement (the two first specified at independence or threaten the national exist- least) would really augment the strength of ence of any of the others. It was a barrier the nations which were guilty of them; but against universal dominion; it was a bul- assuredly there is nothing "vague" or "sensewark to protect the weak against the strong less" in the idea which prompts us to prevent -to secure that by association, consent, and them in the outset, rather than quietly cona general law, which individual and isolated nive at their perpetration, and then abide

Besides, this system of "political equiliis no derogation from the importance of them brium" ought to be, and to a great degree to allege, that they were often ill-attained; really is, that very "Peace Congress" which that the rules laid down for securing them Mr. Cobden so anxiously desires. How were often violated; that the means employ- many wars of territorial aggrandizement ed were often injudicious and ineffectual. The and unjust encroachment have been premaxim of the system was itself surely a wise vented by the knowledge of the ambitious

potentates who meditated them, that the denounces, brings about-imperfectly it is guardians of "the balance of power" would true, but often most effectually—that system at once interpose to forbid the realization of of control, mediation, arbitration, and entheir aims! How many State crimes have forced peace, which he is so desirous to been smothered in the conception, because establish in a recognised and ostensible it was known that, in the face of this derided form. The Five Great Powers of Europe, theory, they could not be committed with in fact, unite to compel any one of them impunity! How frequently, especially of which might be disposed to seek its own late, has the peace of Europe been maintained in the face of the most menacing its own hands," to submit the case to their crises, by the general fear lest a war should derange the system of mutual equilibrium which it has cost so many efforts and so much blood and treasure to preserve! Was not a most threatening danger averted not two months ago, and the Ottoman Empire saved from a struggle in which she must ultimately have been crushed, because it was felt by all the powers that a general war would almost certainly result from the derangement of "the equilibrium" consequent upon the dismemberment of that vast and tempting State? Does Mr. Cobden suppose that Switzerland would not long since have been seized upon by Austria at the cost of a cruel and a crushing war, and one of the worthiest and most hopeful nationalities extinguished, had she not been guaranteed and protected by the other Governments of Europe, in the name and for the sake of the "balance of power?" Does he believe that Italy would not long since have been parcelled out between Austria and France, but for the obvious impossibility of their agreeing about the division of the spoil, and the certain veto that England and Russia would have interposed to such a derangement of the "balance of power?" Does he not know that Russia would long since have been mistress of Roumelia and the Dardanelles, at the cost of a savage war, and with the certainty of a rich harvest of future ones, had not the " Peace Congress of Nations," which watches over the "political equilibrium" of Europe, beckoned to her to withhold her hand? Does he believe that France, which has so long hankered after Egypt, would not long ere this have established herself upon those fertile but now wretehed and desolated shores, and thus have perpetrated a scandalous robbery and a great crime, but for the knowledge that neither we, nor our allies and colleagues in the Arcopagitic Council, could have permitted an aggression which, by cutting off our nearest access to our Indian Empire, would so greatly weaken England and relatively strengthen France? In all these cases, and in others that might be adduced, the vigilant and zealous interest which each State takes in the proceedings of its neighbours, and which Mr. Cobden

aggrandizement, and "to take the law into consideration and arbitrament: they do habitually and tacitly, and by a sort of necessity, what Mr. Cobden would have them do in virtue of diplomatic arrangements and formal parchment treaties.

There is indeed one weak point, one decided imperfection in the theory of the "balance of power," upon which both Mr. Cobden and Lord Brougham, with the usual acuteness which distinguishes them, have put their finger. It is this:-The relative strength of a State-for aggression as well as for defence-may be augmented as much, or even more, by the development of its internal resources, than by any family alliances or territorial acquisitions; and yet this is a species of aggrandizement, a derangement of the equilibrium, which no other State can with decency protest against or forbid. A nation may make no new treaty, contract no fortunate marriage, abstain from adding one square mile to its dominions, and yet, by dint of wise laws, free institutions, increasing population, intellectual activity, commercial enterprise, the discovery and good management of internal wealth, may spring up in the course of a century from a third or fourth-rate to a firstrate power. Mr. Cobden perceived this, and hastily jumped to the conclusion, that therefore the whole theory of "balance of power" was a chimera and a humbug. Lord Brougham perceived it, and with unflinehing logic carries out the theory to the assertion of a right in rival States to interfere in the case of this natural, internal, and righteons development of power, as well as in that of an aggressive and acquisitive one. Both, however, adopted these strange conclusions in their early youth: both, we hope, have modified or abandoned them in more advanced years. The conclusion of the latter is a monstrous doctrine, which has made no converts: that of the former will be adopted by few statesmen but such as discern no difference between admitting limits to a principle of action and throwing it overboard altogether. The natural and internal aggrandizement of States is a thing for others to emulate, not to prevent; and having been

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menace to ourselves.

or to our manufacturers which they denied considerations. were perpetually engaged in negotiating peevish and half-civilized governments. commercial treaties, treaties of reciprocity, treaties to secure peculiar favour. In fact, half our wars, and nearly all our protocols dification of our relations with foreign states and ambassadorial correspondence, had for is that which has arisen out of the long their object to conquer so many millions series of political and social revolutions, of more of eustomers.

attained by wise and just means, is the less | We admit the competition of all people. likely to be made use of for unjust or We allow the ships of every nation to enter aggressive ends. The very causes which our harbours on the same terms. We have led to this prosperity and power will receive the merchandise of every nation on shew such States wherein lies their true the same terms as that of our own depeninterest and their real strength : and a nation dencies. We permit foreigners to supply which has grown rich and formidable by the our colonies and be supplied by them as arts of peace will be the last to jeopardize freely as ourselves. We no longer ask for its new position by departing from the any exclusive privileges or peculiar advanantecedents through which it has attained it. tages which ships of war are needed to extort Mr. Cobden's doctrines have, however, so or to protect. All that our diplomatists far taken possession of the English mind, have now to do in reference to commerce is that no British statesman would now dream to see that justice is done to our peaceful of engaging his country in a war merely on traders, and to endeavour to persuade foreign the ground of maintaining "the political nations to lower their tariffs in imitation of equilibrium of Europe,"-independent of a our own. If they impose heavy or partial clear case of insult, injury, or imminent import duties on our goods for the protection of their own manufactures, we do not menace them with war, as we should have done fifty Another most important change has been | years ago, nor do we retaliate by the impowrought in the very foundations of our sition of equivalent duties on their produce, foreign relations by the adoption of the as we should have done thirty years ago; principles of unrestricted freedom into our we simply leave them, after a remonstrance commercial policy. The triumph of free- and a lecture on economic science, to the trade involved many most momentous col-self-inflicted punishment of their own folly. lateral consequences, which have scarcely We no longer dream of extending our yet been fully recognised or realized by the markets by the sword (unless India may be national mind, though Mr. Cobden pointed an exception); we no longer knock men them out clearly enough as inevitable corol- down, and carry them, bound hand and foot, laries nearly eighteen years ago. Formerly to purchase at our shop; we no longer covet the extension of our commerce, in one form the colonies of other nations, nor desire to or another, was the motive of much of our multiply our own, for we have found out ambitious and intermeddling policy, and that they are troublesome to govern and the ruling idea in the minds of our diplo-costly to defend, and that our commerce matists. We negotiated, cajoled, bullied, with them may be just as profitable if they quarrelled with other nations, in order to are either independent or under foreign extort from them peculiar commercial pri- rule; and we are more and more in the vileges or preferences. We persuaded our habit of measuring every question of this allies to accord advantages to our merchants sort by mercantile and pecuniary The grounds of dispute to our rivals; and hence a fruitful source of with other nations are thus enormously disputes and hostilities with the latter. We reduced; and will be reduced still further, aimed at territorial aggrandizement for the as the rest of the world, seeing the prossake of extended markets for our merchan-dise; we founded colonies, or seized the under the régime of freedom, shall adopt our colonies of others, for the sake of monopoli- principles and follow in our path. Our zing to ourselves the supply of their wants navy is now needed only (so far as our and the enjoyment or the sale of their pro- commercial interests are concerned) to pro-We forbade other nations to enter tect our merchant ships from pirates in their harbours except upon the most unfair peace, and from privateers in war, and from and disadvantageous terms. Our diplomatists the occasional insolence or injustice of

But the most singular and perplexing mowhich the great French convulsion of 1789 Now all this is altered. We trust no longer to arms, but to arts. We rely solely since, on various occasions, agitated nearly upon the superior quality or cheapness of our every European country. The change may goods to secure them entry into foreign ports, be stated in two words: formerly we had to deal only with governments-now, we of that consummate diplomatist, read by M. have to consider nations likewise. Before Mignet before the Academy of Sciences. the date we have mentioned, our diplomacy -in whatever subtle, slippery, and intriguing fashion it might be carried on-was in its fundamental principle simple enough. We knew nothing of peoples, patriots, or parties. Each country was looked upon, for all practical purposes, as the private estate of the sovereign house which ruled it. We recognised only cabinets; we ignored their subjects ;-and, this, not from any affectation, or by a sort of legal fiction, or as a matter of courtesy, but simply because we never thought of them as having a distinct existence and possibly even a separate or opposing will. We did not deal with, or think of, "the French," "the Russians," "the Spainards," "the Austrians," or "the Dutch,"—but "the Cabinet" of Versailles, St. Petersburgh, or Madrid, "the Hague," the "Porte," the "Court of St. James," and so on. These were the governments which wielded the power, managed the affairs, represented the interests and the wishes of their respective nations, and with these alone, as with individual units, we were concerned. We had only to consider their opinions, family alliances, traditional policy, and obvious interests. Hence arose a system of international relations, the main features of which were not difficult to understand. Our next neighbour, as the one with whom we were most likely to come into collision, was our peculiar rival-or, as it was then phrased, "our natural enemy." Our next neighbour but one, as the " natural enemy" of our next neighbour, was our "natural ally." The relations of Nos. 1 and 2, 2 and 3, 3 and 4, were hostile, or at least watchful and suspicious; the relations of Nos. 1 and 3, 2 and 4, 3 and 5, by the same rule, were amicable. France was the natural enemy of England: Austria and Holland were our natural allies. Rarely were these normal and traditional relations departed An alliance between France and Great Britain, or between France and Austria, was regarded as something monstrous; designated as "unnatural" and anti-national.

How entirely these ideas were the basis of all diplomatic science is curiously shown by a document which has recently come to light-a memorial on the arrangements best suited to secure the peace of Europe, presented by Talleyrand to Napoleon when the decisive victory at Ulm seemed to give to the French Emperor power to carry out whatever plans he might approve.* It is contained in the sketch of the life and works

"Lui exposant alors ses vues, il ajoutait qu'il y avait en Europe quatres grandes puissances, la France, l'Autriche, l'Angleterre, la Russie-la Prusse n'ayant été placée un instant sur la même ligne que par le génie de Fredéric II.; que la France était la seule puissance parfuite, (ce sont ses expressions,) parceque seule elle reunissait dans une juste proportion les deux éléments de grandeur qui étaient inégalement repartis entre les autres, les richesses et les hommes; que l'Autriche et l'Angleterre étaient alors les ennemies naturelles de la France, et la Russie son ennemie indirecte par la sollicitation des deux autres, et par ses projets sur l'empire Ottoman; que l'Autriche, tant qu'elle ne serait pas en rivalité avec la Russie, et la Russie, tant qu'elle resterait en contact avec la Porte, seraien facilement unies par l'Angleterre dans une alliance commune; que du maintien d'un tel système de rapports entre les grands Etats de l'Europe naîtraient des causes permanentes de guerre; que les paix ne seraient que des trèves, et que l'effusion du sang humain ne serait jamais que suspendue.

"Il se demandait dès lors quel était le nouveau système de rapports qui, supprimant tout principe de mesintelligence entre la France et l'Autriche, separerait les intérêts de l'Autriche de ceux de l'Angleterre, les mettrait en opposition avec ceux de la Russie, at par cette opposition guarantirait l'empire Ottoman et fonderait un nouvel équilibre Européen. Telle était la posi-tion du problème. Voici quelle en était la solution. Il proposait d'éloigner l'Autriche de l'Italie en lui otant l'Etat Venitien, de la Suisse en lui ôtant le Tyrol, de l'Allemagne méridionale en lui ôtant ses possessions en Souabe. De cette manière, elle cessait d'être en contact avec les Etats fondés au protégés par la France, et elle ne restait plus en Après avoir hostilité naturelle avec elle. depouillé l'Autriche sur un point, il l'agrandissait sur un autre, et lui donnait des compensations territoriales proportionnées à ses pertes, afin que, n'eprovant aucun regret, elle ne fit aucun tentative pour recouvrer ce qui lui aurait été enlevé. Où étaient placées ces compensations ? Dans la vallée même du Danube, qui est le grand fleuve Autrichien. Elles consistaient dans la Valachie, la Moldavie, la Bessarabie, et la partie la plus septentrionale de la Bulgarie.

"Par là, dissit-il en concluant, les Allemands seraient pour toujours exclus de l'Italie; et les guerres, que leurs pretentions sur ce beau pays avaient entretenues pendant tant de siècles, se trouveraient à jamais éteintes; l'Autriche, possédant tout le cours du Danube et une partie des côtes de la Mer Noire serait voisine de la Russie et dès lors sa rivale-serait éloignée de la France, et dès lors son alliée; l'empire Ottoman acheterait, par la sacrifice utile de provinces que les Russes avaient dejà envahies, sa sûreté et un long avenir ; l'Angleterre ne trouverait plus d'allies sur le Continent, ou n'en trouverait que d'inutiles; les Russes, comprimés dans leurs déserts, porteraient leur inquietude et leurs efforts vers le midi de l'Asie, et le cours des évènemens les mettrait en présence des Anglais, transformant en futurs adversaires ces confederés d'aujourdhui."

Such was the spirit of diplomacy in the

[·] He urged it upon him again after the battle of Austerlitz.

troduced, and has attained power and recognition in the relations of European states,an element at once of discord and of unionsevering old allianees, and binding together ancestral foes. Out of the wars of the French Revolution, and the fermentation of ideas which preceded them, sprung up among most European nations a desire for freer institutions, for amended laws, and for a greater participation on the part of the peo-The ple in the functions of the government. rulers for the most part held by the old system, or modified it but slightly in accordance with the wishes of their subjects; but the people began to express independent volitions, to demand constitutions, such as France had once obtained, and England and America had long enjoyed, and to feel that avoid sympathizing in her heart with those litical blessings which she valued so highly, and not easy always to avoid some expression of that sympathy. This reciprocal feeling was, however, but imperfect and subdued, till the French Revolution of 1830 came to shatter in pieces so many hollow forms and conventional relations, and to in-augurate a new order of things. That event gave France a really constitutional and popular government; the Reform Act of 1832 did the same for England. The obvious interests and mutual sympathy of the two free nations of Europe at once bound them together in a strict and cordial alliance which bid defiance to all venerable and musty traditions; their common objects and feelings as freemen overpowered their ancient hostility as rivals; and, though competitors still, it was for a prize that both might win. The very same circumstances which united us with France, severed us from Austria and

age which is just past. But in the last quar-1 governments; Belgium, separated from ter of a century a new element has been in- Holland, became a free parliamentary state, and the ally and protégé therefore of France and England. The peace of Europe was preserved by a great general effort; our old alliances were formally maintained; but the unity of interest and cordiality of feeling which made them something more than a mere parehment tie, was seriously impaired. The alliance between France and England, which was felt to be the great guarantee of freedom, and the great hope for the progress of European civilisation, was maintained throughout the reign of Louis Philippe, though latterly somewhat shaken by the disposition of that monarch to recur to old dynastic notions and plans of family aggrandizement, in place of purely national and popular considerations ;-but when his opposition to the demand of his people for a their own governments might be their worst more genuine Parliamentary government enemies, and antagonist and rival nations led to the Revolution of 1848, and the subtheir truest friends. The sovereign in each sequent explosion throughout Europe, it becase might still be anxious as before for came plain how completely the sympathy of alliance with princes legitimate or despotic peoples had superscaled the wishes, or inter-like himself; but the nation, or a portion of ests, or traditions of sovereigns, as the ground-it, longed rather for a connexion with those work of national friendships. Though dreadstates who resembled it in the internal in-stitutions after which it aspired. England, cordially accepted the Republic in France; as the freest and most truly constitutional she showed and avowed her sympathy with state in Europe, came to be regarded as the the struggling Italians, offered her advice and sort of natural friend of the popular party in mediation, and though she refused to aid the every continental country; and as her own insurgent patriots by her arms, she was quite system became more and more liberal and prepared to have recognized their independemocratic, it was impossible that she could dence had they been able to establish it. She disapproved of Russian interference in who were desiring and struggling for the po- Hungary, though she took (alas!) no step to prevent it; she wished the Austrians to have relinquished Lombardy; she proposed a constitutional sovereign to the victorious Sicilians; and she expressed in no measured terms her utter detestation of Neapolitan barbarity then and since. Though true to her new principle of non-intervention, the savage behaviour of Austria in Italy and Hungary called forth manifestations of her feelings which that power can never forgive, and is now resenting by every petty and malicious weapon which she dares to use. The ancient alliance between England and Austria, is most effectually though not nominally dissolved; we now abhor that power more than any other in the world; we recoil from her benumbing tyranny; we loathe her mean and sanguinary conduct to her victims. Russia we respect, while we maintain a vigilant and jealous attitude towards her; but we sympathise too profoundly with the sub-Russia, both as discrepant in feeling, and as jects of Austria ever again to be able to no longer needing their alliance to counter maintain genuine friendship with her governbalance the hostility of France. Portugal ment. Henceforth, it is felt by our people, and Spain obtained nominally constitutional and beginning to be acknowledged by our

rulers, that, whatever may be our temporary | necine contest between Austria and Hunengagements and treaties, our "natural gary; and lay in the background of the enemies" are despotic powers, and our motives which induced Russia to aid the "natural allies" the free governments of former country and thus to acquire a sort

Europe.

Since 1848 another cause of modification and complication in international policy has acquired prominence and strength—the spirit and idea of NATIONALITY. In the course of time, by conquest, treaty, or family inheritance, it has happened that various peoples, often most incongruous in character, the tie of a common origin and a common religion, and political instincts, have been language will probably be found more irreunited under one sovereignty; while in other sistible than any despot and any treaties. cases the same race, speaking the same lan-guage, owning the same literature, and union in the first instance, and the separation in the second, are alike felt to be unnamate skill, wisdom, and forbearance. Still cordial and effective continental alliances, continued exertions of Mazzini and his par-quarrel with the co-German power of Prus-ty to make Italy "one and indivisible," sia, which refuses to admit her non-German This again was at the bottom of the inter-

of footing among the Sclavonian population which Austria now rules. This great idea will, we believe, gain power and distinctness year by year, and cannot fail to play a prominent part in all the future convulsions, alliances, wars, and re-arrangements of Europe. "Blood is thicker than water;" and

It is difficult to over-estimate the persprung from the same origin, has become plexities, the complications, the modifications, split into several states. In such cases, the the bouleversement, which these two causes -the Revolutionary and the Nationalizing element-have introduced into the internatural arrangements, capable of being main- tional politics of Europe. In virtue of them tained only by brute force, or by consum- Great Britain has become isolated from all such had long existed, and were sanctioned and a singular and confusing metamorphosis and even extended by the great settlement has been wrought in her traditional policy of 1815. Norway and Sweden were then and her ancestral friendships. By them forced into a repulsive connexion. The Eng. France is now a puzzle to herself and to lish and Irish, with little but their humanity every one around her. Her mission, (to in common, had long been bound together, which in spite of temporary eclipse we bebut not harmonized. Austria grasped under lieve she will yet return,) as the great aposher rule Germans, Italians, Sclavonians, the of democracy and the ally of popular Croats, and Magyars, and has perpetually movements, led her to sympathize with the but vainly endeavoured to blend and fuse Italian Revolution of 1848; her hereditary all these inharmonious elements by the instinct of jealousy of Austrian influence in-force of an iron centralisation. Belgium duced her on the contrary to interfere to and Holland were unequally yoked together; crush the Roman Republic in order that her on the other hand the Germans, the Sclaves, rival might have no excuse for doing so. and the Italians, in spite of their consan- Her Emperor too is an enigma and an anoguinity, their common language, and their maly. England, while recognising him as internal affinities, were respectively split up the undoubted choice of the nation, is coninto many states. The year 1848 showed founded thus to find herself in the position the prevalence of a strong and almost in- of ratifying and sanctioning one of the most stinctive tendency on the part of all these iron absolutisms in the world. The conpeople to re-arrange themselves anew accord- tinental sovereigns on the contrary, while ing to their natural ties, in distinct and com- rejoicing over the crushing of socialism and prehensive NATIONALITIES. This principle republicanism which he has effected, and had already divided Belgium from Holland. grateful to him for having destroyed their This has been the pretext, and in great part bugbear and done their work, cannot withthe cause, of our Irish difficulties and dis- out a feeling of amazement and disgust turbances. This entered largely into the welcome to their fraternity a sovereign who causes of the creation of the kingdom of is elected by universal suffrage to fill the Greece. This gave rise to the Frankfort throne on which a legitimate monarch used diet and the Holstein war. This showed to sit, and who openly proclaims that he itself in the Italian struggle-in the reigns "by the will of the people." In virmarch of the Romans and Neapolitans to tue of these two elements, the Austrian join the Lombards—in the gallant but un-successful efforts of Charles Albert—in berment and dissolution, while she is sever-the temporary union of Lombardy and ed from England, her close, cordial and Piedmont—and in the energetic and still [saithful ally of many centuries,—incurs a rival, namely, Russia,-whom she dreads expressed. with only too well-grounded a fear. Austria well knew the danger she was encountering when she invited a Russian army into whose dormant nationality the Emperor of Russia was the natural and acknowledged chief: she dreaded the influence which, even as foes, that army would be able to obtain over her Hungarian insurgents, by the contrast which they would take care their conduet should present to that of the Austrian force. The result has fully justified her fears ;-but the imminence of the peril which threatened her dominions, and the unfriendly attitude of England left her no alternative. She feels bitterly and indignantly the false step which she has taken; and the passive share which England had in obliging her to take it is one of the causes which make her so furious against us. Russia took care to improve the oceasion to extend her influence over the Sclavonie populatiou of the Austrian provinces, and even to make friends among the Magyars, and takes no great pains to disguise from Austria or from herself the species of suzeraineté she has thus established ;-so that the feeling and secret attitude of the two allied courts are in reality far more hostile than before the service was asked of the one and rendered by the other. Finally, Russia, prompted by old hostility, and by ulterior views, to leave Austria to succumb to the attacks which beset her on every side, would not lave been sorry to see a powerful rival weakened, and a way opened for the severmee from her of provinces which might naurally have blended with her own kindred ubjects; but on the other hand, as essenially autocratic and anti-revolutionary, she ould not see with tameness or with comlacency, so near to her own inflammable 'olish dominions, the triumphs of a people sho fought, as the Magyars did, at once in he name of nationality and of popular astitutions. Nicholas, moreover, was far too clever not to perceive the danger of bringing his own troops into intercourse (for there is much necessary intercourse even with the soldiers you fight against, the prisoners you take, and the people whose country you invade) with men as enthusiastic as the Hungarians in the cause of liberty and constitutional rights. As a fact, indeed, there can be no doubt that the Hungarian Campaign had a most alarming effect in home, five at least were shot, and many the world, if we are unprepared for the crisis

driven for safety to throw herself into the more exiled to Siberia in consequence of arms of her most formidable and insidious the free sentiments they had imbibed and

Such are some of the causes which have brought about the present position of Great provinces peopled by those very Sclaves, of Britain in reference to the other powers and nations of the world. It is one quite new to history, and ought to be well understood, and thoroughly realized. We are henceforth a pacific and purely defensive State. We eschew and dread all idea of territorial aggrandizement; anything of the kind that takes place in India is forced upon us; we rejoiced over, instead of regretting, the severance of Hanover; if the fairest portions of Europe were now offered to us as our inheritance, we should in all probability decline the gift without even the formality of deliberation,-or if we did accept it, we should do so-however our misinterpreting rivals may sneer at the assertion-out of a pure regard to the interests of civilisation, and with undissembled fear of the consequences to ourselves. No state can seriously pretend to dread aggression upon our part; and nothing now could force us into war, except intolerable insult to ourselves, or unprovoked attack upon our allies; -and even then war would be not as of old our first, but our last word. Yet we stand in a position of isolation which we never occupied before. We are in a state of nominal and formal amity and alliance with every power in the world, except the King of Ava; but all our genuine, natural, and cordial alliances are with the SMALLER and FEEGLER States of Europe, inasmuch as these only have constitutional governments. Belgium, Piedmont, Norway, Switzerland, may be said to be our cordial friends; Spain, Portugal, and Holland, friends, but perhaps not quite so devoted. But all of these are protégés rather than effective allies; not one of them could render us any prompt aid; all united would not suffice to counterbalance the hostility of one of the great powers of Europe. In case of any exigency they would demand from us much; they could reciprocate little. It is questionable whether we should not be far safer had we no continental allies at all. Those we have might easily drag us into wars to the prosecution of which they could contribute no efficient assistance. Among the first-class States of Europe we are the sole remaining representative of constitutional freedom. Popular institutions have taken refuge in England as their last asylum; on us, alone and unsupported, is spreading liberal ideas among the Russian laid the glorious but heavy burden of deofficers who took part in it; on their return fending them. Wo and shame to us and to

or unequal to the duty !-- if we quail from struggling and the oppressed of every from the blindness that will see no danger, or the deafness that will listen to no warning, or the niggard parsimony that grudges any outlay, however moderate, for any cause, however grand, or the selfishness that cries, "Am I my brother's keeper ?" or the shortsighted policy that will defend no outworks, but waits for the attack upon the citadel (feebly hoping it may never come) or the laziness that shirks exertion, or the timidity that shrinks from peril, or the slavery to precedent that dares venture upon no courageous or unsanctioned novelty. As was grandly said on an earlier occasion-"As far as the interests of freedom are concerned, in the eastern hemisphere at least, we stand in the capacity of the federal representatives of the human race, and are placed for their defence in the Thermopylæ of the universe." Depositaries of the most sacred and precious treasure, trusted guardians of the holiest and the noblest cause, and face to face and alone with the most formidable foes that ever menaced the one or coveted the other,-there are yet those among us whose recipe for the conjuncture is to ignore the danger, to repudiate the duty, and to stick, like the ostrich, their head into the blinding

With regard to Austria, as we have said, our attitude is one of distant coldness and unmeasured disapproval on our part, and of undisguised irritation and dislike on hers. The ideas and principles of Russia are the exact antipodes of ours, and our views and objects bring us into inevitable rivalry; but we respect, and do not dislike her. Circumstances, and irreconcilable differences of political creed, but no feelings of hostility on either side, keep us asunder. Our relation to France is singular and complicated; it is difficult both to ascertain and to define, and indeed, is searcely yet decided. We naturally eling to her alliance, because we feel that we have no interests which come much into collision; her conquests are in Africa, and ours in Asia; we are naval, she is military; we have the supremacy by sea, but should not dream of rivalling her by land; we are made, therefore, to act together, if only our objects and our principles could harmonize. We cling to her alliance, again, because we feel that, with England and France cordially united, the peace of Europe may always be enforced, and the progress of freedom and civilisation secured and promoted; because we cannot but believe that a nation which has done and suffered so much for the cause of popular rights must

the encounter, or sleep on the volcano, either country, and will sooner or later join us in proclaiming the justice of their claims; and finally, because France has long enjoyed a constitutional government like our own, and the majority of her most cuninent and intellectual men are still attached to the free institutions which are for a time placed in abeyance. We cannot help perceiving, too -and Russia and Austria perceive it as well as we-that there is this wide difference between the elected sovereign of France and the legitimate despots of Vienna and St. Petersburg, absolute as they all are-that he reigns by the will of the people, and they by divine and hereditary right. He has paid homage (rough and violent as it was) to that principle of popular sovereignty which we adopt, and which they repudiate; and if he resembles them in the form and style of his government, he resembles us in the basis on which that government avowedly reposes. Between an autocrat who stands upon the ground of legitimacy, and a dictator, however tyrannical, chosen by universal suffrage, lies a great gulf, which only time can bridge over :- between two nations, both of which choose their own government, even though one chooses an Imperial, and the other a Parliamentary rule, there is a link though an imperfect one-a consanguinity, though not a close one-a sympathy, though a mutilated and a wondering one.*

With the French nation, therefore, we still feel, in spite of all that has passed, as if we were in a natural alliance. French Emperor, if he really believes that he is, as he declares, the creation of the popular choice, there is no reason why we should not be in alliance also; nor is there, we think, any insuperable difficulty in his becoming the ally of the patriots-as distinct from the mere insurgents and socialists of other lands-always assuming that he is, and in-tends to be, the real head, the choice, the representative, of the people whom he governs. We may blame his conduct as we blame that of the republic of the United States, or as we might have done that of Italy had Mazzini succeeded in establishing it. may wonder and regret that the French should prefer a dictatorship, or that the Swiss or the Americans should prefer a democracy to our mixed and moderate form of polity. In like manner, Louis Napoleon may dislike a republic in Italy or a constitutional monarchy in Belgium; but if he can bring himself to recognise there, as he professes to do at home, the decision of the popular will, he

^{* &}quot;In eo libertas posita erat populi Romani quod at heart sympathize, as we do, with the non nascebatur sed eligebatur princeps."-Tacitus.

may yet become the ally of popular as op-, and the wisdom, moderation, and sense of posed to divine autocratic rule. Probably, justice of the government, may not always however, circumstances, more even than his be powerful enough, in such a democratic his decision depend, to all human appearance, Europe's destinies for long years to come.

Great Britain has a difficulty in her foreign relations from which all her rivals are ex-Her international connexions are more extensive and varied than those of any other European power. France and Russia have no outlying colonies, or none worth mentioning; Austria has scarcely any commerce, and no connexion with the East, and none of them, except ourselves, have any close link to the New World. But we are mixed up with the affairs of both hemispheres, and of every quarter of the world. Our Indian possessions render all the movements of Asiatic politics matters of vital concern to us, while our Canadian and West Indian colonies bring us into the closest relation with America. We alone of all nations are in contact with all the world: we alone of the great European powers are near neighbours, and political as well as commercial rivals, of the United States. In addition to all the great Continental States, we have another power to watch, stronger, more encroaching, and more formidable than they all-of more boundless resources, of more insatiable ambition. Our relation with the United States is peculiar and interesting, but full of perplexity and uneasiness. The two nations mutually value and respect each other; they are bound together by the thousand ties of a commerce the most vigorous and important in the world; they speak the same language, and enjoy, to a great extent, the same institutions, and they find an additional bond of union in the circumstance that they are the only two States in the world at once free and powerful. But many circumstances come in to menace the cordial alliance which these considerations should maintain. Our frontiers are conterminous; our commercial interests, real or apparent, constantly come into collision; our pretensions clash: the Americans are jealous of our power, and covetous of our possessions; they have long cast an eye of greed on Canada and the West Indian Islands: they are touchy, boastful, vain, self-confident, fond of putting forth the most unlimited and inadmissible claims, and as prone to take offence at our haughtiness as we are to be disgusted with their insolence. Moreover, owing greatly, we believe, to the Irish immigration, the feeling of the masses to-wards this country is anything but friendly, land's Zukuaft," written in 1821.

own deliberate choice, will decide for him State, to restrain the people from conduct whether he throws himself into the arms of which England would be obliged to resent liberalism or of absolutism. On his life and and oppose. Cuba is a certain bone of contention for the (probably not distant) future; and the constant talk, in which a particular class of Americans think fit to indulge, of "absorbing" Canada and the West Indies, and monopolizing the whole western hemisphere-tasteless, vulgar, and discreditable as it is-cannot fail to keep up a sort of chronic irritation, which may at any moment assume a sharper form. All thoughtful and prophetic statesmen must look to this quarter with great anxiety. We have not space here to dwell upon the subject in detail; but in conclusion, we will just intimate, and no more, one eircumstance which renders America especially formidable. She alone unites all the resources of civilisation with many of the tastes, the habits, and the passions of barbarism. She combines in an unexampled manner, the commercial and the warlike spirit. Her wealth and trade are already enormous, and are rapidly increasing; her resources of every kind are absolutely boundless; her merchants are the most enterprising, her sailors the most active, her pioneers the most restless and indefatigable in the world, and her people unite an increasing and almost morbid energy with the most shrewd, selfish, long headed sagacity. While the Yankees of the castern states are augmenting the riches of their country by the zeal with which they urge forward their manufacturing and commercial undertakings, the half-civilized settlers of the western and south-western portion of the Union-inured to hardships, trained to arms, practised in danger, as familiar with rifles and revolvers and bowie-knives, as with the plough and the axe, insensible to fatigue, violent in their temper, unscrupulous in their conduct, reckless and unprincipled in their , aggressive tendencies-are the very men to be always prompt for any enterprise which promises either plunder or excitement. A people at once so indefatigable in the arts of peace, and so ready for the pleasures of war, may well be looked upon with uneasiness and distrust. So formidable a combination of qualities the world has not before

> Having thus sketched out, as broadly and concisely as we could, the changes which have come over our national temper and

our international relations, and the peculi- | matic insult; if Spain and Portugal, or Belarities of the position we at present hold among the great powers of the world, we must proceed to consider briefly the principles which, as it appears to us, ought to guide the foreign policy of this country for the future. The real question, which embraces or involves all others, is that of solidarity or isolation. On this alone can there be any serious controversy. Of course, we are not to attack or encroach upon other States; of course, we are to defend ourselves, our possessions, and our colonies, against all foreign assailants, to the last drop of our blood, and the last guinea of our treasury. These are matters which it would be idle and insulting to discuss. But are we to confine ourselves strictly to our own immediate concerns, whatever may go on around us? Are we to take an interest in the internal affairs of other nations, and a part in the international politics of Europe, or are we to remain silent and inactive spectators of both-to withdraw ourselves from the noisy and turbulent arena, as one of much unpleasantness and of little profitto let others do as they will, so long as they disturb not our serene repose—to "daff the world aside, and bid it pass?" Are we to be content with Nemo me impune lacessit for our motto? or to adopt the nobler and more generous one of Nihil humanum à me alienum puto? For ourselves, we confess that we incline rather to the policy of connexion than to that of isolation, and we do so because, while recognising the unquestionable element of justice and of wisdom which lies at the root of the latter, we believe that the former involves a profounder wisdom and a more comprehensive rule of right.

It is obvious, at the first glance, that the question of foreign interference divides itself into two perfeetly distinct branchesthat of interference in the disputes or wars of independent nations, and that of interference in struggles between a people and their rulers. Let us bestow a few minutes' reflec-

tion upon each.

All Englishmen, whatever be their party views, will agree "without a division" that, where no interests of our own are threatened, we should strictly abstain from taking any part in quarrels between rival nations beyond offering our friendly mediation to preserve the peace. If Austria and Prussia chose to go to war on any mere German with a view of annexing them, or of abolquestion, such as their rival Zollvereins; if ishing by force the constitutional régime Russia and Austria thought fit to come to therein. It is possible that the despotion tria fell out in consequence of some diplo- powered by their common hatred of free

gium and Holland, got up a war among themselves; we should of course be most anxious to pacify the belligerents, and persuade them to prefer arbitration to an appeal to arms. But we should never dream of mixing ourselves up with the dispute. This is a great advance towards non-interference as compared with our former principles; and it is one which, we trust, we shall firmly maintain. The only exceptions would be where we were bound by actual treaty to assist and defend one of the parties concerned-where a distinct defensive alliance had been formed, which we could not honourably evade, as in the case of Portugal. But there is, we think, a strong and increasing conviction, that from these binding and isolated alliances we ought as speedily as possible to shake ourselves loose, so that we may never be involved in another nation's quarrel, against our judgment, and without our willing assent. This is another great advance. In cases of the attack upon a weak State by a strong one, which might end in its oppression or absorption, we should probably be called upon to interfere, by protest certainly, and possibly by active aid; but in most of these cases other powers have joined us in promising support to the State, and we should of course call upon them to join us in a remonstrance, and perhaps in a prohibition. We should still be ready to do our part, in conjunction with others, in maintaining the cause of international right and justice; but we should no longer regard ourselves, as we once did, as the appointed rectifiers of all wrong, the protectors of all the weak, the natural allies of all the menaced. We should not now interfere alone to prevent an aggrandizement of any State which seemed to derange the "balance of power," unless it involved obvi-ous danger or immediate injury to ourselves. This is the third concession made by "the spirit of the times" to the principles of the Peace Society; and beyond this we do not think that the nation is prepared, or that it would be wise or right to go.

Two cases, indeed, might occur (and neither of them, we fear, are impossible contingencies) where the feelings of the people and the opinions of statesmen would be divided as to whether this concession could be maintained : viz., if France were to seize on Belgium, or Austria on Picdmont, either loggerheads about their respective portions powers of Europe—their mutual jealousics of the spoil of Poland; if France and Ausate ach other's aggrandizement being overinstitutions—might connive at such a felony, those whose interests, whose desires, whose and that Great Britain might find herself aspirations, whose daugers are similar to our the sole remonstrant, What then ought she own? Is this a principle which it is wise, to do? What course would her new prin- right, or possible to carry out? Are we ciples of foreign policy dictate to her? It quite certain that even we may never need cannot be said that our own selish interests that assistance which we are now counselled would be seriously menaced in either case; for though France would find her territory greatly increased by the seizure of Belgium, it is by no means certain that her aggressive strength would be increased in an equal ratio, if we consider the number of fortresses she would have to man, and her uncertain hold upon the country she had overrun. It is true we should have lost a faithful ally, and France would have gained the splendid port of Antwerp; but a war would weaken and impoverish us more than the possession of Belgium would enrich and strengthen her. It is true that both in Belgium and in the Sardinian dominions a prohibitive would be substituted for a comparatively liberal commercial policy; but we have long decided that hostile tariffs are not admissible as grounds of war. As far as mere cold calculation is concerned-especially if that calcalation does not extend to remote considerations-it would be most prudent for our individual and immediate national interests to abstain from embracing the quarrel of can be more easy for them than to destroy the two injured States. Nor indeed, if we stood alone, could we embrace it with ef-But on the other hand, we are the natural allies of all constitutional and free States; our sympathies go with them; we feel that in their maintenance and extension are involved the dearest interests of humanity-civilisation and liberty; to these interests we are devotedly attached; to defend them is the glorious mission of our race; if Belgium and Piedmont go without a struggle, Switzerland and Norway will soon follow, and England will be left alone, not indeed "in her glory," but in her isola-tion and her shame. Would not the circumstance that such crimes had been perpetrated, and that she had suffered them, weaken her more than twenty wars? Would not even Mr. Cobden-who, if he is a friend of peace, is a friend of freedom also -who, if he loves commerce much, we hope, loves justice yet more-would not even he feel that there are evils worse than war, burdens heavier than taxation, losses more irreparable than money, interests dearer than a mere trading and inglorious repose? We would encounter and sacrifice everything in defence of our own freedom, our own institutions, our own independence-are we to do and venture nothing for those of friends and neighbours? Are we rigidly, and on system, to refuse aid to

coldly to refuse? These considerations may serve to shew, that the doctrine of non-interference or non-concern with European affairs, except where our own actual interests require it, has not yet, and probably never will, become unreservedly adopted as a maxim of our foreign policy.

Again. Intervention in the quarrels of other nations may become a matter both of duty and necessity, even where the grounds of the dispute and the interests at stake are in themselves wholly indifferent to us, if the probable result of the contest will be either the dismemberment or the virtual loss of independence of the conquered State, and if out of that victory will arise obvious danger to ourselves or to any of our possessions,-even though that danger be not immediate. The present position of the Ottoman Empire offers a case in point. There is but too much reason to fear that Austria and Russia have cast a covetous eye upon her territories; and it is certain that nothing and dismember her, if England or France do not interfere and forbid the iniquitous partition. Now, there can be no doubt that we are bound by positive engagements to uphold the independence of Turkey; but we will suppose these engagements cancelled in deference to the increasing strength of the principle in England. non-intervention There can be no doubt, either, that our commercial interests-our immediate and obvious ones at least-should induce us to support Turkey rather than her rivals; for she has the freest, and they have the most prohibitive tariffs in Europe,* and our exports to her territories are nearly double those to Russia and Austria together, and are increasing, while the latter are falling off: but this circumstance alone would not, according to our new creed, be held to justify interference by arms in her behalf. also there can be little reason to believe that either the moral or the material interests of those fair countries would benefit by a transference from the languid but still municipal institutions of the Ottoman rule, to the crushing and benumbing despotism

^{*} Turkey levies a duty of 3 per cent. on our manufactures, where Austria levies 60 per cent. exports were as follows:--

•	To Austria.	To Russia.	To the Turkish
1846-7.	£630,000	£1,785,000	£3,119,000
1850-1,	£710,000	£1,372,000	£3,858,000

this kind, we allow, would not now be held to justify our armed interposition in the contest. But other and more selfish considerations are at stake, to which none who aspire to the rank of statesmen can be indifferent. Egypt is a portion of the Ottoman dominions, and through Egypt lies our most direct and speedy communication with our Indian Empire. It is of the last importance, not to say absolutely essential, to our interests and almost to our safety in that quarter, that Egypt should be either in our own hands or in those of a power which can by no possibility become a rival. Our principles would forbid us to join in a dismemberment of Turkey, and so seeure Egypt for our own share; and if it fell into the hands of either Russia or France, our closest, easiest, and readiest intercourse with India would be at their mercy. They would thus obtain a control and command over us which could not be for one moment permitted, or even contemplated. England, therefore, must interpose to prevent the dismemberment of Turkey, unless she be unscrupulous enough to accept her portion of the spoil. For it is obvious, that even if the mezzo-termine was proposed, that Egypt should be independent and have her independence guaranteed, she would be precisely in the same position as Turkey is now; -i. e., she would exist only upon sufferance, and be compelled to submit to the demands of whichever of the great powers was disposed to bully her most effectually: we should only have transferred the seat of future collision; and we should have to defend Egypt against France and Russia in place of defending Turkey against Russia and Austria-with less power of doing so. What then should we have gained by our inaction?

But there is another point from which this subject may be viewed, and whence a similar conclusion may be drawn. steady policy of aggrandizement which Russia has pursued for a century and a half, and the singular success of that policy, are well known. Since the accession of Peter the Great, she has extended her frontier 700 miles towards Berlin and Paris, 630 towards Stockholm, 500 towards Constantinople, and 1000 towards the capital of Persia and towards our Indian possessions,* In this lat-

* See Progress and Present Position of Russia in the East," where her acquisitions are thus summed up:-"Her acquisitions from Sweden are greater than

of Austria or Russia: yet considerations of ter direction she has extended the influence of her diplomacy much further even than her frontier. She is well aware that if she can either directly or through the medium of Persia, approach near enough to the boundaries of our Eastern Empire to excite intrigues among our subjects and hostility among our warlike neighbours there, she will be able so to distract our attention, and to exhaust our energies, as materially to weaken our power of meeting, checking, and counteracting her in Europe, in case our mutual policy should bring us into collision, or in case she should have schemes which we must watch and counterwork. At present we have, in colloquial phrase, "the whip hand of her." We can bridle her effeetually, in case she should intrigue against us on the frontiers of Hindostan, by sending a fleet to the Sound. She has only one European access by sea-through the Baltie; and only one great port-St. Petersburg. Ice blocks this up during the winter, and a few line-of-battle ships stationed in the narrow seas of Denmark, would suffi e to blockade it the rest of the year. We can now shut up the communication of Russia with the western world; but if she had possession of Constantinople and Roumelia, the relative position of the two countries would be entirely changed. She would have nearly the finest port in the world, and many smaller ones, always open. She would be nearer to the Meditermnean than we are: and, unless we maintained a vast fleet there, would have the entire command of the Levant. Now, there may be some politicians who deny the value of our Indian empire, and are willing to surrender it, or to submit to have it wrested from us; but no one who does not go this length (and with such, whatever justice there may be in their notions, we are not now arguing) could see with indifference, or without active interposition, any steps which must result in handing over the city of the Sultan to the gratified ambition of the Czar.

The above considerations will suffice to shew, that the rigid rule of non-interference

what remains of that kingdom.

[&]quot;Her acquisitions from Poland are nearly equal to

greater extent than the Prussian dominions, exclusive of the Rhenish provinces.

[&]quot;Her acquisitions from Asiatic Turkey are nearly equal to the whole of the smaller States of Germany. "Her acquisitions from Persia are equal in extent to England.

[&]quot;Her acquisitions in Tartary have an area not inferior to that of Turkey in Europe, Greece, Italy, and

[&]quot;The acquisitions she has made in the last sixtyfour years (up to 1835) are equal in extent and imfour years top to 1833 are equal in extent and importance to the whole Empire she had in Europe before that time."

* This was the real origin of the misjudged and

the Austrian empire.

"Her acquisitions from Turkey in Europe are of mismanaged war in Affghanistan.

in the disputes of other nations, for which become victorious and supreme. Mr. Cohden and his friends contend, cannot cerns us greatly-both as regards security, be made absolute, unless we are prepared to abnegate the defence of our possessions, (or to abandon the most effective position for defence,) and to abjure for the future all sympathy in the fate of the free, and all indignation at the oppressions of the strong. The question of interference must remain one of discretion and degree. Public opinion is now strong enough, and has a marked enough inclination to the inactive side, to make all our statesmen shrink from intervention, unless it be clearly commanded either by duty to ourselves which we dare not tamper with, or obligations to others which we can never quite shake off.

The question of intervention in the internal struggles of other states-where subjects are rising against their sovereigns in order to extort from them ample justice or freer institutions, or where princes are striving to crush the rights and repeal the liberties of citizens-stands quite apart, and admits, we think, of much readier decision. We are not of those who hold that our political sympathies ought to be bounded by the four seas of Britain. It is natural that we should feel strongly in behalf of all who are fighting for those privileges which we have conquered or inherited, of which we are so justly proud, for which we are so reasonably thankful. It is impossible that we should feel otherwise. Believing that with civil and religious emancipation, and the institutions which are its guarantees, are indissoluubly bound up the progress of civilization, the diffusion of happiness, the security of peace, and the triumph of humanity, we look upon every nation which succeeds in obtaining them as a new ally, a fresh victory, and added strength; and upon every defeat which struggling patriots incur as "a heavy blow and a great discouragement" to the cause which lies nearest to our hearts. Nor do we pretend to disguise from ourselves that our more personal and selfish interests are very generally involved in these patriotic strifes, and seriously affected by their termination. It cannot be a matter of slight concern to us whether the institutions of a neighbouring nation are modified in a direction which will naturally increase its congeniality and friendly feeling towards us, or in a direction which will lead it to look upon us with hostility and distrust. It cannot be a matter of indifference to us whe- should not for a moment tolerate such an inthe party which admires us or the party bellion had broken out in England in 1848, indifference whether the advocates of a pro- or if the Americans had sent assistance to

prosperity, and peace-whether the rulers of France are Parliamentary Constitutionalists, or ambitious soldiers-whether those who sway the destinies of that great nation are such as will throw her weight into the popular or into the despotic scale, such as are likely to stand side by side with us, or face to face against us. It concerns us greatly whether a free Prussia interposes her patriotic barrier between the feeble lib. erties of Belgium and Holland and the absolutist principles of Russia-or whether she calls in Cossack aid to crush her discontented people, and pays away her independence for that aid. It concerns us greatly whether Italy, which might be so rich a market for our manufactures, shall be ruled by Austria which closes all her ports against them, or by free Italians who would admit them freely and by preference. It concerns us, too, whether the Roman States be governed by a Pontiff whose principles, duty, and position, make him the natural enemy of our internal peace, wherever he has the power to be so, or by secular chiefs with whom we should have no connexion but that of distant alliance. Finally, it conceins us much and seriously whether Hungary-with her vast resources, her kindred constitution, and her fine strategie and political position-shall be under a native government which will develop those resources into a rich equivalent for British produce, which will maintain and strengthen that constitution till it becomes in the E st what ours is in the West-a model and a casket of temperate freedom,-and which will use the critical position of their country to render her a cheek upon the ambition of the two contiguous empires; or whether, on the other hand, she shall be ground down under an alien, a leaden, and an ignominious seeptre which will waste her wealth, erush her energies, annihilate her ancient Parliament, and abuse her position to press upon our Ottoman ally and menaee our Indian communications.

We admit and feel the full force of all these considerations; but we maintain, nevertheless, that all principles, both of justice and expediency, peremptorily forbid our intervention in the internal revolutionary struggles of foreign states-and this on three In the first place, we distinct grounds, ther the power of the state is wielded by terference in our own case. If a chartist rewhich abhors us. It cannot be a matter of and had been aided by French sympathizers, hibitive tariff or a free commercial policy the Irish insurgents, we should have pro-

nounced such conduct an insolent and un- and we felt that we should ultimately be warrantable meddling with matters which great gainers by the establishment of Hunto do in the affair, and could not even pretend to understand it; and, indeed, foreigners can very rarely be competent really to cases. The facts are seldom fully known to the second place, freedom must be wonnot conferred : it must be conquered by nations with their own right arms, not obtainmay sometimes occur, there can be no doubt that, as a general rule, any people who are ripe for free institutions may extort them from their sovereign, and that if they cannot achieve them for themselves, neither could they maintain them if won for them by others. By inactive sympathy to cheer the strife, by friendly mediation to effect a compromise, by ready recognition to reward and consolidate the victory-these are the limits which should bound our intervention. For, in the third place, if we went beyond this, intervention on one side could but lead to intervention on the other; Europe at large would be dragged into the conflict, and the combatants would be indefinitely multiplied without the chances of the issue being materially varied. Our only prospect of future peace lies in a rigid adherence to our rule.

But here a question of great difficulty and of vast importance presents itself -the great practical question of foreign politics in the present position of affairs. Having laid it down as a principle that we will not interfere on behalf of freedom, are we to allow other powers to interfere on behalf of despotism? Are we to permit to them a privilege which we have stoically abnegated for ourselves? Are we to allow to the Wrong an advantage which we deny to the Right? It is clear that the two cases ought to be judged of by the same law. Take the case The principles of Russia of Hungary. prompted her to sympathize with the autocratic claims of Austria. Her interests naturally made her dislike the idea of a new and perfectly independent rule established among and unalterably fixed, viz., the right of asyor over a Slavonie race, and dread the example of a successful patriotic struggle on the southern frontier of Poland. Our position. This has long been her proud privi-tion was analogous but antagonistic. We lege; and she will retain it as long as she sympathized heartily with the Magyar cause, I remains a nation. England has always been

did not concern them. We should not even garian independence. The right and the have condescended to argue the question of motives to interfere were similar, if not propriety and right, but should have told equal, on both sides. If Russia, like ourour busy neighbours that they had nothing selves, had abstained from all participation in the contest, how widely different would the issue have been? Hungary would have been free and happy; Hesse would have comprehend to the bottom the rights of such | been saved; Prussia would not have dared to deal with truth and freedom as she has them, and their principles of judgment are done; it is more than doubtful whether seldom strictly applicable. Now, a liberty Austria could have conquered Lombardy; which we should never dream of allowing to and certainly she could not have extended others we must not exercise ourselves. In her chains, as she has now done, over nearly the whole of Italy. The entire future would have been altered.

Now, without going so far as to pronounce ed for them by foreign aid. And, without that we ought in this case to have departed pretending to deny that exceptional cases from our rule of non-intervention, and to have interposed on the one side because Russia interfered on the other, or that we ought to have forbidden her intervention under threat of war, it is clear that this rule, like the former one, cannot be made absolute without being made universal also. We must not proclaim,-" Whatever other powers may do in such cases, we will take no partdespots may interfere : we will not. crats may lend their strength to enable paralytic hands to rivet anew rusted and broken chains-free states will lend no countervailing help to awakened nations casting off their fetters, and bursting from their graveclothes." But we must devote all our exertions-all our "power, might, authority, and amity"-all the resources of our wealth, all the influence of our diplomacy, all the advantages of accident—to procure the re-cognition and adoption of the principle of NON-INTERFERENCE BETWEEN SOVEREIGNS AND subjects as an established maxim of the law of nations. When we have succeeded in this, our mission will have been fulfilled, and we shall feel no anxiety about future consequences. In the meantime, we must so far rigidly adhere to the principle which we are labouring to get recognised, as to interfere only to prevent interference :- the when, the where, the how, and the how far, we are to do even this, must remain, like other points, questions of discretion and degree.

> On one point of our international relations which has lately excited great attention, the policy of England is explicit, peremptory, lum to the unfortunate of every country, of every class, of every shade of political opin-

the sanctuary-sometimes the sole sanctua- in the guise and under the shelter of neutrary-of the world. Against crime onlysuch crime as is punishable by the laws and condemned by the moral sense of all eivilized nations-has she closed her doors. To misfortune, to failure, to heresy, to imprudence, to political iniquity even, she has always afforded, if not a welcome, at least a refuge. Huguenots flying from the fiery inflictions of bigotry; patriots escaping from the wreck of baffled, and perhaps indefensible, rebellion; monarchs flying from the vengeance, just or unjust, of their subjects; the victims of brutal tyranny, the victims of reactionary license-all alike have found in England a shelter and a home. The unfortunate of every country, of every rank, and of every cause, have been received indiscriminately, without hesitation and without inquiry. Prime ministers who have grown grey in despotism, sovereigns who have disgraced their thrones, regicides and revolutionists who have stained the holy cause and dishenoured the great name of freedom, have sometimes found themselves side by side, helpless and disarmed, petitioners alike for the protection of England's We sheltered the Bourbons whom the first French Revolution drove away; we sheltered the patriots who had upset them, when their more brutal colleagues turned upon them; we sheltered Charles X, after his wicked ordonnances; we sheltered Louis Philippe after his strange discomfiture; we sheltered Guizot, who had fallen with him; we sheltered Thiers, who had helped to overturn him; we sheltered even Ledru Rollin and Louis Blanc, when the defeat of their scandalous attempts at a bloody counter-revolution drove them to a hasty flight; we sheltered Mazzini the patriot of Italy, and Kossuth the patriot of Hungary; and we sheltered Metternich, the tyrant and enemy of both. We asked no questions : we received alike those with whom we most sympathized, and those whom we most detested : misfortune and danger were the sole qualifications needed.

If our principle of reception had been different; if we had been discriminating and one-sided in our hospitality; if we had afforded an asylum to those only who had been defeated in a good cause; if we had welcomed only the fugitives from monarchical oppression, and closed our doors against the fugitives from popular vengeance,-it is clear that we should have ceased to be protectors, and should have become partisans. In that case foreign nations might well have looked upon our partial sanctuary with an evil and a jealous eye; they might have felt with justice that we were a dangerous enemy!

lity; and have denounced us as a nuisance to the great commonwealth of nations. It would have been difficult, if not impossible, to defend such an inequitable course of conduet; and we could scarcely have complained of any injustices and annoyances that were inflieted in retaliation. But when the system on which we have steadily acted has been notoriously the reverse of this; when the Prime Minister of Austria, whose policy we detested, and who now dares to bully and complain, found a sure and ready refuge on our shores; and when Louis Napoleon, whose conduct we all condemn, and who has since threatened both Belgium and Switzerland, was hospitably sheltered both in Switzerland and here, and made both countries the starting-points for his criminal enterprises against France,-what an amount of strange assurance does it not show in these governments to remonstrate against the liberality of a system by which no one has profited more largely than themselves! But they may rest assured, that England values her privilege of affording shelter even to the guilty and ungrateful, far too highly to endure the smallest curtailment or infringement of it; and that when the course of events shall again compel the chiefs of Austria and France to seek the sanetuary, which they now desire to limit or to close, their misfortunes only will be remembered, and their want of courtesy and generosity forgotten.4

We have expressed ourselves the more strongly with respect to the universality and inviolability of the right of sanctuary which we claim for our country, because we have to combat an error in an opposite direction, sometimes maintained by the more ardent and inconsiderate lovers of freedom. There are some among us who contend not only for the right of England to shelter refugees from any cause, but also for the right of these refugees to make use of the safety from pursuit thus afforded to them, to plot and to prepare expeditions against the governments from which we are protecting them. The right to rebel, to conspire, to organize insurrection, they consider to be inalienable in patriots, whatever be their circumstances and position; and that the fact of their exile can in no way place that right in abeyance. We hold this doctrine to be both dangerous and indefensible; and we think it is very important at this con-

and their more reckless upholders, the principles which both justice and sound policy

proclaim.

In the first place, we think that sentiments of decorum and generosity should teach those whom we have received and sheltered in their misfortune, to do nothing which can subject their protectors to embarrassment or annoyance. To act otherwise is to return evil for good. There seems to us little courage, and less gratitude, in the inconsiderate and selfish zeal of those patriots who, having reached a place of safety, turn round on their pursuers, and from behind the broad cloak to the protection of which they had fled, discharge or prepare to discharge weapons which, while in the open field, they had been unable to wield, or which had broken in their hands. To embroil those who had saved them with those from whom they had been saved; to make the act of protection one of needless difficulty and danger; to make the sanctuary a basis for warlike operations,-seem to us proceedings from which honourable and noble-minded men would instinctively recoil. Twice, indeed, within twenty years, have these things been done, and both times by the same men. It was reserved for Louis Napoleon to repay the hospitality of Switzerland by the enterprise of Strasbourg, and that of England by the enterprise of Boulogne.

In the next place, it must be remembered that we, as a rule of national policy, acknowledge all governments de facto, however they originate, and whatever be the principle on which they are based. We are on terms of amity, and in alliance, with the rulers of every country with which we are not at war. We may harbour their enemies when defeated-as we harbour mariners when shipwrecked-but we may not assist them, nor allow them to make use of us to injure and assail our allies. When we see two men fighting in the street, the feelings of humanity induce us to open our doors to the one who is disarmed and overthrown, without any inquiry into the origin of the quarrel or the justice of his cause; but we do not allow him to fire from our windows upon his baffled and exposed antagonist :it is enough if we allow him to recover his breath, and to recruit his strength. If we do more than this, we cease to be merely the friends of mercy and humanity, and make ourselves participes criminis. We deseend from a proud eminence, and take up an indefensible position. If, indeed, we subjected all claimants for hospitality who fly to our shores to a rigid examination, and admitted none whose cause was not just istence can be procured.

juncture to place clearly before the refugees and whose conduct was not pure, it might be urged with some show of reason, that we should be doing no wrong in permitting them to continue their warfare from the vantage ground of our entrenchments and our walls :- but it is notorious that we do not do this; and if we did, we should become partisans and not protectors; we should be guilty of a breach of faith to our ostensible allies, and should make ourselves sharers in the war.

It may be pleaded that it is hard that patriots should be thus debarred from striving in the cause of their bleeding country,that they should be compelled to witness her sufferings and her wrongs, while forbidden to lift a hand or strike a blow on her behalf. It is hard: but it is the price at which they have purchased their safety; it is the condition of the asylum in which they have found refuge. If they violate the condition, they forfeit the protection of the sanctuary. They must remember that they would have had no greater freedom of action elsewhere. If they had fled to other countries, they might have been given up, and at all events would have been more watched and restrained than here. If they had remained in their own land, and been slain or thrown into prison, their power of patriotic action would have been equally destroyed. They must "bide their time" in patience and in peace; doubtless it will come, if their cause be just. But Great Britain can no more permit her shores to be made the arena for the plots of patriots against triumphant and established monarchs, than for those of exiled despots against free and popular governments. If she allowed either, she would soon become an unendurable annoyance, and an anomaly among nations.

Our laws on this head are clear and just. As we act with regard to our own subjects, so shall we act towards the foreign refugees who have sought shelter on our shores.* To neither do we allow actual conspiracies, or overt acts of preparations against allied governments, any more than we should against our own. We enter into no inquiry as to the purity and justice of the patriotic cause, or the villany of the ruler against whom the preparations are directed. We prohibit and shall punish them with equal peremptoriness, whether designed to act against constitutional governments or des-

^{*} Our Prime Minister, and our first legal authorities have announced that our common law takes cognirance of all plots against foreign governments con-cocted within this realm, and is quite competent to deal with them, if satisfactory evidence of their ex-

potic ones. Tros Tyriusve mihi nullo dis-| future, as they shall successively present crimine agetur. We are not judges of the themselves for solution. right-we are simply keepers of the peace on our own soil. And all who value the inviolability of our Island Sanctuary, and the impartiality with which its shelter is afforded to the unfortunate of every sect, -all who as Englishmen regard the dignity of their country, or as foreigners regard the sacred principle to which in the vicissitudes of fortune they may one day owe their safety,-should join in deprecating in the strongest manner the ungenerous ingratitude of those who abuse our hospitality, and who repay the benefit by compromising the benefactor.

One word in conclusion. It is impossible to believe that the existing territorial arrangements of Europe are destined to be permanent. One of the most marked political features of the present time is, as we have already noticed, the spirit of NATION-ALITY—the tendency of peoples to group themselves according to their natural affinities. Existing arrangements outrage and contradict this spirit in every quarter; and, inasmuch as they do so, bear their doom written on their face. The military occupation of Lombardy and Hungary by Austria, especially, exists in defiance, one might almost say, of the laws of nature. unions can be permanent in this age that are not based upon consanguinity of some sort. Now there are five or six principal races in Europe, on the due combination of whose scattered elements depend the sole condiscattered elements depend the sole condi-tions of a lasting and beneficial peace—the Sclavonic, the Teutonic, the Italian, the French, and the British. (To these perhaps we ought to add the Magyars. Of the minor ones—the Swedes, Danes, Dutch, Belgians, Norwegians, Swiss, and Spanish— we need not speak.) These, amid all their dialects, subdivisions and resistent vet redialects, subdivisions and varieties, yet retain their several peculiar and strongly marked features. Yet how they are now split up! Germany does not embrace all the Germans, and rules many who are not Germans. The rough and unharmonizing Teuton extends his barbaric sceptre over Selaves, Magyars, and Italians. Some of the Sclavonians are under Prussian, some under Austrian, some under Turkish rule. France again has Corsica, which is essentially Italian, and has not Savoy, which in characteristics is unquestionably French. These reflections all point to some to deal with the several problems of the special contributions to the advancement of

ART. III .- Hippolytus and his Age; or, the Doctrine and Practice of the Church of Rome under Commodus and Alexander Severus: and Ancient and Modern Christianity and Divinity compared, By CHRIS-TIAN CHARLES JOSIAS BUNSEN, D.C.L. 4 vols. London, 1852.

Volumes so significant, in all respects, as these of Dr. Bunsen, could not fail to attract wide attention, and provoke much discussion. Apart from the deep interest of their subject, they possess a peculiar interest, as addressed to the English public in their own language, by a foreigner, at once of much political eminence, and of varied and profound accomplishments-above all, of acknowledged learning, carnest convictions, and high dignity and purity of aim as a Christian scholar. They are the product not merely of the private researches of the author, but, in a very emphatic manner, of the remarkable combination of opportunities which he has possessed of investigating the present state of Christianity, and of the Church in this country, as well as in his own and other lands. This alone gives them a character of unusual importance. It is rarely that we hear a thoroughly well-informed, honest, and dignified voice, professing to represent the sentiments of one country, speak of the Christian character and relations of another. There has been so much exclusiveness in Theology as in other matters, -so much mutual misinterpretation of religious phenomena both of Doctrine and Life, that it is something quite welcome to listen to the thoughts of a man like Dr. Bunsen, on great Christian topics of paramount interest for the future welfare both of Germany and England. It were strange indeed, if such a man, -who to the deep carnestness and fresh ideality of the Teutonic mind, has striven to unite the concrete tastes, and homely practicality of the English,-should not have something to say on these subjects, worthy of a patient and attentive audience in both countries. For ourselves, we own we looked forward to Dr. Bunsen's book with a hopeful confidence, founded on such reflections; and it is, in a corresponding spirit, that we now proceed to not distant remodelling of the European examine what he has written. We feel commonwealth, and to the importance of bound to consider the work from a very deciding in time on what principles we are Catholic point of view, and to judge of its

Christian science, in somewhat of the same | jects* of the author's research which his plan large and liberal spirit that speak to us from

every page of these volumes. Nothing could be easier than to adopt a different mode of treatment, and from our special standing point, to dispose summarily of the contents of this work, here in a friendly, and there in a hostile spirit, as they bear upon our own position; but such a mode of criticism, while utterly uncongenial to ourselves, were a thankless and unprofitable task for our readers. We have at once, we hope, too much humility, and too much candour to act in this way; while our keen sense of the exigencies of Christian science at this time in our own country were sufficient, apart from any other consideration, to make us hail this work in a different spirit, and discuss it after a different fashion.

The contents of Dr. Bunsen's four volumes are of a very multifarious kind; and, on a first view, apt even to seem somewhat con-A closer intimacy with them, however, brings to light the thread of connexion which binds them all together, or, at least, the common and noble aim in which they We must be permitted, at the same time, to regret that the author has preferred giving us the fruit of his researches into early Christian history, and the age of Hippolytus in particular, in the present fragmentary and detached shape, to any attempt to exhibit a complete pieture of that age. To the latter task he professes his incompe-But, surely, if to any Christian scholar of the day we might look for such a work, it would be to the author of the present volumes, combining, as he does, in so remarkable a degree, depth of critical research and philosophical spirit, with the richest gifts as a writer-the most lofty yet chastened eloquence,-and a finely descriptive skill when he chooses to exert it-the comparatively rare endowments of his eritical and philosophical countrymen. What he seems to want, however, in this, as in his other works, (and what we fancy serves to explain their deficiencies in point of form,) is that quiet harmony of power-that sense of grace as well as of strength, which we are accustomed to regard as so peculiarly English, and which certainly seems to come much more naturally to the English mind, if it sometimes be at the cost of depth, and a far-reaching speculative insight.

While regretting that Dr. Bunsen has not seen meet to attempt in a more perfect literary form, the delineation upon which the whole contents of these volumes yet more or less bear, it is but right to add, that this defect is, to the scholar, perhaps more than balanced by the direct contact with the sub-

furnishes, and the living and penetrating process of criticism, to which he sees them submitted. There is a freshness and reality about this, that may have to him a greater charm, than any mere well compacted and skilfully limned pieture. And, at any rate, it is the best preparation for such a work, when any one hereafter may have the courage to undertake it.

The occasion of the book now before us is, no doubt, already familiar to many of our readers; and we shall therefore only dwell on it so far as is absolutely necessary to introduce us to the wider and more significant topics, which must chiefly engage us,

Among various other Greek manuscripts brought from Mount Athos to Paris in 1842, and deposited in the Great National Library. there was an anonymous one of the fourteenth century, written on eotton paper, and registered as a book "On all Heresies," It failed for some time to attract any special notice; but the attention of M. Emanuel Miller, a functionary of the institution, being at length directed to it, by some fragments of Pindar, and of an unknown lyric poet which it contained, he was led to examine it more closely, and to adopt the conclusion, that it was a lost treatise of Origen. this persuasion, he offered it for publication to the University of Oxford, from whose press, it appeared in 1851, under the editorship of M. Miller, and bearing the title "Origenis Philosophumena sive omnium haeresium refutatio." Shortly after, it was studied by Dr. Bunsen, and the conclusions at which he arrived regarding it, were the immediate oceasion of the present work. These were to the following effect, as he has himself expressed them :-

First, That the work before us is genuine. but not by Origen.

Secondly, That it is the work of Hippolytus, a person much celebrated, but very little known.

Thirdly, That the celebrated father and martyr, Hippolytus, was a Presbyter of the Church of Rome, and Bishop of the harbour of Rome Portus, but neither an Arab, nor an Arabian bishop, as a Frenchman imagined he might, and Cave said he must have been.

Fourthly, That this book is full of valuable authentic extracts from lost writers,

It is the object of the first of the present volumes, which consists of five letters addressed to Archdeacon Hare, and bears

^{*} It has been regretted, (and we think with justice,) considering the general character and extent of his work, that Dr. Bunsen has not embraced in it (in full and in the original) the recovered treatise attributed to Hippolytus.

the special title of "The Critical Enquiry," to establish these conclusions; and there can scarcely remain any doubt of the success with which this part of the work is accomplished.* In the second volume, Dr. Bunsen pursues his task, in the twofold form of a series of "Philosophical Aphorisms" and "Historical Fragments,"—the former having a very general reference, but possessing great significance in regard to the author's whole scheme of thought and method of historical research—the latter setting forth some special points of interest in relation to Hippolytus and his age. The third and fourth volumes carry out the subject into the wider field of the life and doctrines of the Ancient Church, and Hippolytus, save in "The Apology," which opens the fourth volume, appears somewhat in the background.

It seems to us that, in dealing with this mass of varied materials, we shall be best able to grasp something like their compass, and shall certainly best enter into their meaning and intention, by considering, in the first place, the critical method which is so characteristic of the work, and then some prominent results which it presents for our consideration. To treat amply the different subjects suggested in such a book is, of course, equally beyond our profession and our space. We are only anxious, meantime, to present a few of its more important aspects, especially in their bearing on some questions of great and present interest; an

application of the work, which, as it is never lost sight of throughout, is undoubtedly the view in which it principally claims our attention. Some of the investigations in the field of early Patristic literature which it suggests, may subsequently receive attention in the pages of this Journal.

It is impossible to overlook the very peculiar importance which Dr. Bunsen attaches to the critical and historical method, of which this book is so direct and distinguished a product, if from no other reason, than the very earnest and emphatic way in which he repeatedly forces it upon our notice. While writing in English, and anxious to win audience from those sincere and thoughtful minds among us, whose ear he alone solicits, he takes care to assure us that the inspiration of his book is German—a fact which at the same time is patent on almost every page of it.

"If I have not entirely failed," he writes in his preface to the first volume, (p. 16,) "in my efforts to elicit truth out of the records of thought, and out of the annals of history, which are now opened to us for the first time, I owe it to the resources of thought and learning which I have found in the standard works of modern German divinity and philology, and which I have endeavoured to apply to this subject. Deeply impressed as I am with my unworthiness to represent either, I still trust to have by this process, and by the very important contents of the newly discovered book, sufficiently shewn the real nature and the superiority of the German method of inquiry, and the satisfactory results already obtained. Now, if this be the case, I believe also that I have enabled every thinking reader to judge for himself, whether there is much wisdom in ignoring, and whether there be not great injustice and presumption in calumniating the Evangelical Churches of Germany, and in vilifying Germany and German divinity. I frankly own, that I have considered it my duty to avail myself of a subject entirely new and fresh, and belonging to the neutral do-main of ancient ecclesiastical history, and of a problem which is placed at the same time before all Christian nations, in order to test the real result and worth of what each of them has hitherto done in that field of thought and research."

We cannot mistake these and similar utterances, which abound in Dr. Bunsen's work. It is obvious that our author, with the whole school to which he belongs, believes that he wields an instrument of a more powerful and successful kind than has hitherto been employed in the field of historical investigation,—above all, in its relation to Christianity. And whatever men may think of the vagueness and uncertainty of German research applied to Christian subjects—however startling and monstrous may be the conclusions which in cerain

^{*} In expressing our conviction of the success with which Dr. Bunsen has executed the part of his work, relating to the authorship of the recovered treatise, we must not yet be supposed to concur in the validity of the whole course of criticism by which he has reached his conclusions. As will afterwards appear, we object to many portions of this criticism. we object to many portions of this criticism. That very portion of it, on which he places most reliance, as to the identity of the recovered work with that which Photius had before him, we think very doubtful; and, so far as we are capable of forming an independent judgment in the matter, we are clearly inclined to adopt the suggestion of Dr. Duncker, that the "little book" (βιβλιέθριον) spoken of by Photins was not the present larger treatise, which (even with the curtailments indicated by Dr. Bunsen) could scarcely have received this appellation, but thet shorter and earlier sketch on the same subject to which Hippolytus alludes in his preface. This suggestion has the merit of having satisfied Dr. Jacobi who, in a series of papers in the Deutsche Zeitschrift für Christliche Wissenschoft und Christliches Leben, (21st June to 19th July 1851) on the present work, had felt the difficulty of attributing it to Hippolytus, while thoroughly convinced of its not being the production of Origen, (Basilides Sententias, &c., illustravit J. L. Jacobi. Berolini: 1852.)—At the same time it seems impossible to resist the conclusive effect of Dr. Bunsen's labours, as a whole, in his first volume. He has established, beyond all reasonable doubt, the three heads with which he sets out-if he has yet, we think, in some cases pushed his critical confidence to an unwarrantable and untenable extent.

quarters this research has reached, it argues, ever is characteristic in this German method equal ignorance and presumption in any to of research, of which we have frequent suppose that we may safely disregard the recommendation and illustration in these labours of our neighbours as if they were volumes, and which we believe to be vitally mere intellectual jeux d'esprit; or that, from influential. a stern distance, we may denounce and abuse them, as the mere wantonness of unbridled and irreverent imaginations. It is not possible, we think, that those who are interested in the true progress of Christian science and literature in our country at this moment, could adopt a more mistaken course than this: and on this simple ground, that, let the special character of German theology be what it may,-and sad enough it surely is, in many aspects, to the Christian heart,-there is yet in almost every present phase of that theology, and certainly not least in the most revolutionary phase of all, a spirit of earnestness, united with a living idea or method, which, under whatever opposition and abuse, (and under these only much of the sympathy of the advancing culture of our age. This is indeed the secret of the constant inroads of Germanism among us, in spite of all warning and defensive strategy. It is because there is in it, controversy circulating in channels in which intelligence has ceased spontaneously to flow, a freshness and unworn strength, directed to reach a deeper and broader resting place for Christian thought. Pondering often on this matter, so closely connected with the prospects of Christian truth and the religious life among us, we remain firmly of this opinion,-while convinced at the same time how much mere vanity and spurious liberality also mingle in this German movement. But let the force of these corrupting elements be what it may, we cannot conceal from ourselves that, in the heart of the prevailing sympathies to which we refer, there is to be found something genuine, and suggestive of a real want in our own habits of Christian thought and research,something therefore which no Platonic irony, no clever reductiones ad absurdum, and still less any mere denunciation, are able to destroy. This genuine impulse after principles more profound and comprehensive, in the region of Christian thought, than our British past theology presents,-a phenomenon, which as it makes itself so unmistakeably evident on all sides, it were surely better to accept as a fact, and deal with as such,-German research meets and professes to satisfy; and hence undoubtedly lies the source of its favour with many minds, whose

It is difficult perhaps to define this method in so many words, as its character only comes out fully in all its bearings in contrast with the method of the last and preceding century, whose imperfections it so strongly reprobates.* But we shall not mistake, we believe, if we express its animating principle to be that of reaching Christian truth, as it presents itself in Scripture and in history, upart from all dogmatic preconceptions,-the simple product of a genuinely critical, historical, and philosophical induction. It aims to include in a high and pure form, imperfectly known to previous Protestantism, these three factors, whose appropriate union is alone held to constitute a scientific spirit in theological the more,) will continue to draw to itself investigation. Criticism does not merely imply learning, in the sense of a thorough acquaintance with the language of the ancient authors that may be the subject of treatment,-a merit freely conceded to the laborious Divines of the seventeenth cento the ardent and youthful mind, weary of tury,-but, moreover, profound insight into the whole linguistic mode of the writer, and his individuality as a thinker, which places the critic, as it were, more nearly on a level with him. Such a critical method already clearly embraces an historical and no less a speculative element,-it being impossible to deal freely and successfully with the language of an author without a quick perception of the spirit of his age, and the whole train and genius of his thought, as moulded by the speculative conceptions amid which he lived. Great and unceasing prominence, however, are given to both these special elements by the German school, and we cannot perhaps better shew this to our readers, than in the words in which our author speaks of Dorner's great work,—the "History of the Doctrine of the Person of Christ," itself so signal a specimen of the method in question. In reference to this work Dr. Bunsen observes :-

> "I think it right to say, that although it is his (Dorner's) individual merit to have rescued Hip-

^{*} In speaking of the old method the following are the words of our author—characterized by a vehemence which strikes upon us almost painfully, in different places of his work, and which is decidedly objectionable, if from no other cause than the onesidedness in the opposite direction to which it is apt to lead,—"The whole method is unworthy of our age, and ought to be buried in oblivion, with all the sincere desire is truth. It is well for us perversiles, hypocrisies, and falsifications of the then to have a clear apprehension of what seventeenth century."

polytus from the neglect into which his writings its chosen and peculiar labour) to the task had fallen, in consequence of the doubts spread of further compacting and confirming them. respecting his person, the method of his admirable work must be considered as merely a fair specimen of the German school. I mean first his historical method, that of interpreting every passage in connection with the whole range of these formulas that it approached the study the author's ideas, and every writer as a portion of the Bible, and not in that genuine spirit of his age, to be understood from the language and ideas of his time. The isolated discussion of single passages is equally inadequate to give the reader a certainty as to their sense, or a clear image of the writer and of the age in which he lived and wrote. Dorner's book must also be considered as a specimen of the German method, in the speculative spirit which distinguishes it from similar inquiries in the seventeenth and ruins of an equally unchristian and unscien-eighteenth centuries. Without being at home in tific Rationalism, which knew no truth and the region of speculation, and conversant with the method of speculative philosophy, nobody can understand the metaphysical controversies of that time, or do justice to the writers of the first three centuries. Nay, nobody can understand the first three verses of St. John's Gospel, without being at home in those regions of thought, to which the questions respecting the Logos belong. "-(Vol. i. pp. 262, 263.)

There is, undoubtedly, great force in this representation of the comparative worthiness and adequacy of this method of research. Inquiry in theology, as in everything else, to be fruitful and instructive, must be undogmatic, must strive, apart from hypotheses and all later super-positions, to ascend to the Truth, as it appears in its original sources, or in its successive forms throughout the history of the Church. To have recourse either to the Bible itself, ate expression, but in some favourite dogtranscends them all.

movement, underwent a speedy collapse and cal impotence upon these, and set itself (as tion gave birth.

The Bible was, indeed, its professed guide and rule in all, but still, it must be confessed, it was in a great degree in the spirit of of freedom which alone could have emancipated it from scholastic control.* how entirely the living mind of the last century was alienated from the vast scheme of theological doctrine, bequeathed by the preceding, and nowhere so signally or deplorably as in the home of its birth. On the cared for none, has arisen the German critical and historical school, of which Schleiermacher, and Neander, and Nitzch. and Dorner, and Muller, besides many others, with our author, are the illustrious representatives; and it became not only natural, but an historical necessity, so to speak, that these men should take up a different position from that of the early Protestantism, to which they yet sought to attach themselves in a true and living manner. It remained no more to build on the old dogmatic foundations. It is needless to regret this, even if we were disposed to do so. The task was not a possible one for these men, in their circumstances. A far more difficult, perplexing, and self-sacrificing one awaited them, namely, amid prevailing unbelief, to seek afresh, in Scripture and in or the writings of the fathers, in a different History, for the old and yet ever new Truth, spirit, and to seek in them, not simply for in the light of their own revived Christian the Truth in its corresponding and appropri. consciousness, and by the help of those critical and historical implements, at once more matic form of a subsequent age, is clearly potent and more delicate than those of a preat once an unhistorical and unphilosophical vious age, which God had given them. This process, in which much ingenuity may be is the great work to which the present school displayed, but by which truth can never be of scientific Theology in Germany has deelicited and advanced. It is tainted with voted itself. Looking back on the past, it the worst vice of the old method of physi- aims not to clothe itself in any of its worncal inquiry, from which Bacon initiated our out forms-to dress itself out in the faded deliverance,-making, as it does, the limited garments of forgotten speculation, however ideas and idol formulas of some one age, venerable in its day; but rather, through a the measure of that objective truth, which living communion with the spirit of the past, Nor can it, we con- in all its varied forms, and with the Spirit ceive, be denied that this dogmatic method of God in the lives of his saints of all times, was, to a large extent, characteristic of the and, above all, with the Life of his own Son, Protestantism of the seventeenth century, to reach, afresh for itself, the living and un-The truth is, as is more than once hinted veiled aspect of the Truth. Giving honour by Dr. Bunsen in these volumes, that the to the doctrinal expressions of the Church in free spirit of Protestantism, in its first all ages-the defensive monuments against

* We speak, of course, obviously not of the spirit reversion. It not only failed to ascend be of the Reformation, itself, which was, in many reyond the scholastic formulas of the third and fourth centuries, but, as if timid at its the depths of the popular consciousness quickened flight so far, it settled in a sort of theological objects of the sort of theological properties and the settled flar the settled for the settled fo heresy which it has raised all along its rebuild its house on better foundations," Already Dr. Bunsen believes,-

"It has not found in Christianity less truth than its predecessors, but more; and it must and will finish, not in weakening, but in strengthening Christianity. In judging its developments and errings, it must not be forgotten," he adds, " that the critical school of Germany found Christianity almost given up in the conscience of mankind, beyond some good moral truths or some solemn rites. It is a historical fact, that it has kindled a light both in the history and in the philosophy of Christianity, and shown a power of life in Scripture, of which the former irrational method had no idea, no more than the magician has of spirituality, or the fatalist of history. What would have been done, if the subject had been taken up by the whole of Christian Europe?" -Vol. ii. pp. 111, 112.

It holds the key, we think, if it may not yet in dealing with the sacred text. have very successfully applied it, to a higher distorted image of it.

the old dogmatic system. We shall imme-on the mind, and which, we presume to distely explain what we mean, in relation to think, is very far from the spirit of that geone of the most notable sections of the present work.

The danger which everywhere attends the course-it is not yet content to linger with method itself arises from its very freedom. any of these, as the sum of its belief, but The higher criticism which it involves is a asserts its right to revise them all, and "to two-edged sword, which, wielded by too venturous or inexperienced hands, may only make havoc, where it intends to restore. The subjectivity of the critic, brought into such intense play in dealing with the text and meaning of ancient authors, is ever apt to overrun itself, and become arbitrary, in mere wantonness of power. Invested with a divining skill, and exercising with such freedom a rehabilitating function, it is obvious what a dangerous eminence he occupies, and what genuine reverence and judicial sobriety, as well as mere erudite discernment, are needed to save him from abusing his position. And it is here, consequently, as in the very nature of the case it could not fail to be, that the German critical school has fallen most into error, and that even some of its most illustrious representatives However we may be disposed to moderate have exposed themselves fatally to assault. the somewhat vehement strength of Dr. In the actual process of criticism, they are Bunsen's language, here, as elsewhere, we apt to substitute mere feeling-mere subconcur, upon the whole, in his value for the jective arbitrariness; for sober and wellmethod which he so zealously proclaims. It founded inductions. Even Neander, as a has given undoubtedly a new life to theolo- whole the most deeply and devoutly reverent gical inquiry. It has begun, we earnestly of them all, has often transgressed here. believe, a reconstructive process, which, if The hushed and awed humility, with which feeble and inadequate, is yet pregnant with his great yet child-like spirit commonly a principle of Christian animation, which dwells within the sanctuary, is not unfrewill not fail to work itself into more perfect quently laid aside or forgotten in the intense harmony with the circle of Christian Truth. exaltation of his own personal consciousness

In the volumes before us there are abundconciliation of some of those problems which ant traces of this same undue critical subhave been the burden of Christian thought jectivity. Relating merely to uninspired in every age. It has, for its noble aim at documents, it does not, indeed, ever appear least, to discover the Truth for its own sake, so painfully as when applied to the Sacred to search unweariedly for all its hidden har- Scriptures; but it assumes sometimes a con-mony and comprehensive beauty, and not fidence and authoritative vehemence which to bow down before any self-created and are very far from pleasing. The whole examination of the statement of Photius regard-But while this method of the critical and ing that Treatise on Heresies by Hippolyhistorical school of Germany possesses, in tus with which he was acquainted, in the its conception, such undoubted excellence, it second letter of the first volume, may furis yet, we must observe, fraught with dan- nish an illustration of this. It is marked ger which is ever apt to run into the most throughout with a tone of very arbitrary hazardous extreme, and which some of its self-assertion, not to speak of the strange zealous supporters seem to us by no means license of some of its particular statements, sufficiently to estimate. Our author, cer- which have been elsewhere* so minutely and tainly, is far from doing this; and, not only so, but he has laid down favourite views and a curt and disrespectful summariness in the principles, which, with all deference, we are mode with which the testimony, both of St. inclined to think are so far from being in its Jerome and the Constantinopolitan Patrigenuine spirit, that they open a door just to arch, to a special point, is dealt with, which return by another way to the worst evils of leaves by no means a satisfactory impression

^{*} Christian Remembrancer, January, 1853.

nuine Criticism which our author has else-| something on which to rest so considerable where so well described.*

fragment, hitherto given in the editions of into the strong sense of propriety in the Justin Martyr's works, as the end of that connexion felt by the author, which, what-"Epistle to Diognetus"-to the recovered case, and in reference to a mind so deeply treatise of Hippolytus, as its proper conclu- imbued with early Christian culture as Dr. sion, is, perhaps, even a more remarkable Bunsen's, is, we need scarcely say, for all example of what we mean, in this matter, or better calculated to show our author is summed up in these words: the reckless character which this mode of We should be criticism is apt to assume. disposed, first of all, to take exception to the point from which he starts, and which forms the basis of his conjectural restoration. The case he puts is, to a certain extent, purely hypothetical. Having presented the present conclusion of the Treatise on Heresies. which contains Hippolytus's Confession of Faith, and which obviously terminates abruptly in the middle of a sentence, he proceeds to say, "Certainly the book did not end here, nor with this period. So solemn an address could never come to a close with- to the community of the faithful disciples of the out the doxology, which terminates the apostles; so does Hippolytus. The working of Treatise on the Universe, — (Opp. 1, 222.) that spirit, infused into the community of Chris-How, then, can a book of such length and land, then can a book of such length and land, the work of his life have ended with. In gath, worship, times of festivals. All this is labour, the work of his life, have ended without it? But, moreover, must it not have had a solemn conclusion, worthy of what will also afford us ample opportunity of shewing precedes? The whole winding up, the real in detail the unity, not of doctrine only, but also conclusion is wanting. We have, at the ut-of style and language, between our book and the most, come to the closing sentence of what fragment."—Vol. i. p. 193. I have called the third article of the author's 'Confession of Faith:' no further, if so far." -Vol. i. p. 186.

Now, while there cannot, of course, exist any doubt that the Treatise of Hippolytus did not terminate in the manner it does in the recovered MS., and while there is reasonable ground to believe that it would terminate in a worthy manner, it must at the same time be obvious what an extremely uncertain basis of inquiry we here have, as to what may really have been the special character of that conclusion. Nay, what an unsupported supposition is already ventured readily disputed by others, and has already upon, in the assertion as to the necessity of been confidently denied. the doxology terminating the treatise On all Heresies, in like manner as it does that On the Universe. And the process by which, from this slender basis, our author passes to the inference, that the missing conclusion, with the appropriate doxology, is to be found in the fragment already referred to, is one criticism, we have yet noted various other instances

an inference, cannot be said to be exhibited The attempt which he makes to attach the between them. The whole resolves itself fine relic of early patristic literature—the ever weight it may deserve in the present Nothing, it general purposes, a very hazardous, as it will seems to us, can well be more arbitrary than be ever apt to prove itself a very mischievthe grounds on which he founds his judgment ous, canon of criticism. The argument of

> "We want an end for our great work in ten books, a winding-up worthy of the grand subject, of the author's high standing and pretensions, and with the solemnity of a concluding address. might very well be the close of our work.

"The author of the fragment takes the same ground as ours. He calls himself a disciple of the Logos, and a teacher of the Gentiles; so does Hippolytus. He preaches the Logos as the all-inspiring principle; so does Hippolytus. He attributes this spirit to the Church, that is to say, just what Hippolytus lived and wrote for, as our next letter will prove still more closely; which

Now, in this statement, there is really nothing of the nature of proof, as, of course, granting that the fragment was the production of an early orthodox writer, there is nothing to be made out of the mere identity of doctrine between it and the treatise of Hippolytus; and the whole question, therefore, resolves itself into one of similarity of style and language,-a similarity, indeed, of which Dr. Bunsen has no doubt, but which, depending so much upon literary apprehension of a very refined character, may be

We have been thus detailed in reference to this feature of the critical method under discussion, because it is the only way of bringing out clearly the danger involved in it.*

^{*} While confining ourselves in the text to one ilwhich could commend itself to no inductive of it equally deserving of remark; for example, his mind. A tangible thread of connexion.

* Vol. i. p. 323.

* Vol. i. p. 323.

His being, by this spontaneous act, the distinction |

"But that divine act implies, at the same time, the consciousness of the ever-continuing

"In its finite realisation, this divine threeout at first acknowledging in himself the difference of the subject (he who thinks) and of the of the unity of his being. . prove that this psychological fact has an onto-logical reality, and is the substance of the divine metaphysical chain of reasoning. There is, however, another method of establishing such a There is, proof, by shewing that all we know of the finite realisation of mind, viz., man and humanity, bears such a witness of this truth, as to oblige previous examination of the ideas of Creation, of Man, and of Mankind."-Vol. ii. pp. 32-34.

ideas of Creation, Man, and Humanity,man is."-P. 40.

ment :-

"Man is in the finite, that is to say, in the of subject and object; the subject being reason, visible universe, what the thought (or Logos) the object existence, as such, as distinct from is in the infinite divine mind; and Humanity is to the individual what the consciousness of the unity of Existence and Thought is to God-the complete form of the divine manifestation. For unity of subject and object, of existence and reason.

"Thus there is implied in the one thought of individuals, for it has a principle of evolution God a threefoldness, centring in a divine unity." only be explained by its organic reference both foldness of the mind reflects itself both in the to man and to God; to Man, so far as he is the psychological process, by which a perception or apparent reality of Humanity; to God, as the notion is formed in the human mind, and in the jeternal cause of all. The development of hulogical process, or in the formation of a logical manity has therefore its real centre in the eternal proposition. Man cannot think himself, with- Self-manifestation of the divine mind. In the. divine mind, the complete consciousness of unity presupposes the existence having been made object (he who is the object of that thought,) objective by Thought (the objectivation). Thus, and at the same time without being conscious in the demiurgic process of the divine mind, In order to Humanity presupposes man."-Pp. 44-45.

It is not, it will be observed, with the mind, Schelling and Hegel have employed a object of discussing their validity, in a speculative point of view, that we have drawn attention to these "Aphorisms" of Dr. Bunsen. This is far from our present purpose. Our sole object is to examine the validity of the application which he makes us to suppose that a unity in threefoldness validity of the application which he makes exists in the divine mind. But this requires a of them. Whatever be the merits or the vice of the speculative principles here expressed, we equally object to them in rela-Accordingly, he proceeds to consider these tion to the end for which Dr. Bunsen introduces them in these volumes, and for the result of his examination being, that which he considers them to be especially Creation, in its finite aspect, is the ever- note-worthy, viz., as constituting a theoretic continuing evolution of the Divine Being basis of historical Development. A Philoand Thought, through immediate finite sophy of Religion is, no doubt, a fair effort agency-this realization of God in the finite, of speculative thought; but we altogether however, supposing "the infinite process of demur to the necessity, so strongly expressed Creation by the antithesis of Will and by Dr. Bunsen, of taking our start, in Reason in the Divine Being; or, to speak Christian history, from any such accomtheologically, the eternal generation of the plished effort of speculation, transacted in Word, which is the Son in the highest; the brain of any philosopher, however that is to say, in the infinite or ideal sense;" exalted. We cannot see in this, when fully Man, again, being the highest expression of examined, anything else than an attempt to this divine evolution in the finite, and bring back, in even a more vicious and Humanity its ever-progressive realization, inveterate form, the dogmatic principle "Humanity is as much a reality, and conse- which we would so earnestly discard, as the quently as much a realization of divine bane of all genuine historical inquiry. We Being and Thought in time, as the individual perceive in it (as has, in fact, already been so fully shewn in Germany) only the open-We have thus, according to our appre-ling of the door anew for a perversion of the hension of Dr. Bunsen,—as the problem of whole truth of history. For, if we grant philosophical history, the Triad of God, Dr. Bunsen his philosophy of religion as the Man, Humanity, which he denominates basis of his critical and historical researches, "the Triad of the Infinite in the process of how shall we deny to Hegel (without an realization in time," and which he considers elaborate and systematic refutation) his to be demonstrably only the reflex of the philosophy of religion? It is well known process of infinite self-manifestation, repre- how completely Hegel and his school have sented by the ontological Triad we have made history do the most servile drudgery already given in his own language. His to their philosophic dogma,-making it the conception will perhaps appear more lumi-servant of a lie. They, too, set out from a nously to the reader in the following state. Trinity, — from a theoretic logical basis expressed in a Trinitarian form, which they

consider, with our author, to be the final Trinitarian-we would grant them, as aband absolute expression of all speculation, stract speculations, whatever consideration Bauer, too, with special reference to Nean-they may merit, but must, in the strongest der, expressly claims the merit of having manner, vindicate history against their dograised Christian history from a mere empiri- matic application. There is no formulized cal to a speculative point of view, and of dogma, however exalted, that can have right having shown it, in all its manifestations, to to stand at the portals of history, and introbe nothing more than the ever-striving duce us to all its magnificently rich and realization of that speculative conception varied entertainment. It is, we think, a which, to him, is the first and last of all radically vicious attempt, to measure the truths-the only indubitable truth. And great course of Thought and Life, as it what is this speculative conception? What appears in history, by any preconceived is, with him and the school to which he philosophy whatever,—raising history, as it belongs, the all-absorbing Triad, of which does, from its only proper and solid basis of history is only the ever-recurring wheel of fact into a region of speculation, which, manifestation? Not personal living sub- whatever certainty may be yet attainable stances or realities at all, but mere dialectic in it, remains, as hitherto, full of debate and phantoms, mere blank categories of the uncertainty. We earnestly believe, indeed, understanding. It is true that, in contrast that with Christian truth, in its highest to this, our author's speculative principle is philosophic expression, the whole course of Christian in its character. It is true, more human development will be found finally over, that our author has, (immediately parallel and coincident; and moreover, that following the statement of his own views there is latent in it an all-comprehensive which we have quoted above,) in a few well and harmonious philosophy of religion; but chosen words, happily exposed the funda- to start and determine history from an mental errors of the Hegelian hypothesis, already elaborated scheme of speculative He observes (p. 34)-

"To make the logical process not a finite type, and a purely phenomenological reflex of history turned from its appropriate and noble Existence and Thought, and not from an infinite hurtful that it may be more cold and digniconscious Will, a conscious Being who wills, is fied than the ecclesiastical or political parthe first,"

This is very true. Hegelianism is, unobject. Let them be what they may--Hegelian, Comtean, or even Christianly

doctrine, whatever that may be, is to be utterly repudiated by all who would not see the infinite, but the real essence and only reality function, of a free interpretation of actual of the consciousness of God, is the second error human Thought and Life, and made the of Hegel: to start from the abstract notions of mere servant of a sectarianism, not the less tisanship of the last and preceding century.

Nor let it be thought for a moment that doubtedly, the mere apotheosis of human we thus make history altogether empirical, intellect, and altogether inconsistent with and degrade it from a scientific position. the facts of Existence; and, in trying to On the contrary, it will then only be enabled reduce history to the mere expression of its to assert its true position as a science when reduce history to the mere expression of its to assert its true position as a scenee when own abstract formula, it has written, with its own hands, its utter condemnation. It has broken and shattered itself against the great which it records. We believe, as we have world of reality, which it would make the already said, that a truly divine science lies mere mimicry of its own proud dream. But imbedded in history, and may be drawn out while there is much that is really, after a of it. We cannot doubt that all history that the truly divines that the state of t Christian manner, well founded, and sug-gestive of the true idea of human progress, "there is an eternal order in the government in Dr. Bunsen's own formula, we are not of the world, to which all might and power yet any more disposed to accept it as a are to become, and do become, subservient; complete expression of Christian truth, or as that truth, justice, wisdom, and moderation having any title to stand at the threshold of are sure to triumph; and that where, in the history. Nay, we believe that, in his actual history of individual life, the contrary apexhibition of the doctrine of the early pears to be the case, the fault lies in our Church, (as will afterwards appear,) we can inistaking the middle for the end."* We distinctly trace the vitiating influence of the believe, even,-although not, perhaps, extheoretic views which he has so confidently actly in the same sense as our author, that laid down. Apart, however, from the cha- "there must be a solution for every compliracter of such views themselves, it is to cation, as certainly as a dissonance cannot their application to history that we now form the conclusion of a musical composi-

^{*} Vol. ii. p. 5.

Nay, there being, as Neandert has magnitude, -a circumstance which may also possession of these fundamental principles; for, in fact, the absence of them were alarbitrary and one-sided speculative system, But this is certainly something quite differ. Father and his writings. ent from approaching history with a precondogmatism.

There are many of the remaining portions of these "Aphorisms" on which we should like to have dwelt, pregnant as they are with a deep and fruitful meaning, yet too frequently running into extravagance. Unfamiliar, however, as they are, from the technological cast both of their thought and style, to our current modes of apprehension, they could only be treated, with any satisfactory result, at great length, far exceeding our present limits.

Hippolytis, to collect around it a great store of inquiries into primitive Christian Ms., there can scarcely be any doubt that the allustory—inquiries, in some cases, as he tells us, extending over a long series of years, The fact of a state, now in the Vatican library, havcombined form in these volumes. His ancient cemetery near Rome, described by Prodentius, work, which was probably intended at first place of the marter Historian Bit, as the burial work, which was probably intended at first place of the martyr Hippolytus, Bishop of Portus, to be of a more special kind, seems to have near Ostia, would seem, morever, to have pretty grown upon him as he proceeded, till it sufficiently established his relation to the vicinity of

so well shewn, preconceptions-of which serve largely to explain its want of that litthat of Divine Providence is undoubtedly erary proportion and finish, which we have one—which underlie and constitute the very life of Humanity, (so that, in their negation, interest for the common reader. Hippolyits total and comprehensive conception is already negatived,) it is, therefore, not only allowable, but demanded, that we approach other of his works, associated with almost history, as well as every other study, in every part of it, yet occupies a very unequal prominence throughout. It is necessary, however, before proceeding to some ready evidence that we had vielded to some more general questions, to give our readers a brief view of this resuscitated Christian

Previous to the recovery of the present ceived philosophic system, such as we have treatise, Hippolytus can be said to have had spoken of, and such as Dr. Bunsen obviously little more than a mythical existence. His means, excogitated a priori, and constituted name was indeed a celebrated one in early a priori the determining principle of histori- Christian history. He was known to have cal manifestation. For our own part, just been a bishop; but so little else was posias we value history, and, above all, the great tively known of him, that it remained a and conciliatory lessons which, we hope, matter of uncertainty whether the seat of Christian history is yet destined to teach, his labours was in the East or the West. we feel bound, with Neander, to claim for Neander* considered the evidence on each it a scientific character, apart from all theo. side to be pretty equally balanced .- Yet it retie speculation, and humbly to rank our- appears to us, on the whole, that the eviselves with his great and ever-venerable dence clearly inclined in favour of the latname, as the earnest advocates of that ter, even before the recent discovery. The method, which he so firmly upheld as the conjecture of Le Moyne, that the Portus juste milieu between all arbitrariness, alike Romanus associated with the name of Hipon the side of empiricism or of speculative polytus was Aden in Arabia-a conjecture which Cave so authoritatively carried out-

* Neander, C. H., vol. ii. p. 471.

† The two best known references in early Christian literature to Hippolytus, are those of Eusebius (vi. 22, 22.) and Jerome (De viris illustr. c. 61,) who both give lists of his works containing the treaties against all the heresies, but differing in some other respects. Neither, however, mention the place of his bishopric. Jerome, indeed, says, he "could not learn" its name. It is the uncertainty associated with the mention of his name by these two authorities, which has contibuted to bring the identity of Hip-polytus into so much dispute. The reference of Pepresent limits.

We now pass to notice some of the more important results of the works before us, in their bearing especially upon the present state of Christianity and the Church. As we have already indicated, Dr. Bunsen has availed himself of the recovered treatise of the statement regarding the Quartodecimal squared thimself of the recovered treatise of the statement regarding the Quartodeciman as quote the statement regarding the Quartodeciman as quote the statement regarding the Quartodeciman as quote the property of the statement regarding the Quartodeciman as quote the statement regarding the Quartodeciman as quote the statement regarding the Quartodeciman as quote the property of the statement regarding the Quartodeciman as quote the property of the statement regarding the Quartodeciman as quote the property of the statement regarding the Quartodeciman as quote the property of the property although, for the first time, presented in a ing been dug up in the year 1551, on the site of the swelled to its present consideration and Rome, especially as the side of the chair on which the figure sits, is inscribed with many of the same titles of works that we have in Eusebius and Je-

^{*} Ibid. † Introduction to his Leben Jesu, § i. 9. rome.

Dr. Bunsen has plainly shown to have rested ian banker in Victor's time, who was dead on no better foundation than a misinterpre- when young Origen came to Rome, lived in tation of one of the passages in Ensebins, in the quarter called Piscina Publica? How which Hippolytus is mentioned.* At any could be know what Alcibiades the Syrian rate, there can now remain no doubt, after talked at Rome under Callistus about the the researches of Dr. Bunsen, that the au- Elchasaite impostures? or so many other thor of the treatise " Against all the Here- things and facts with which his genuine sies"—the Hippolytus of Eusebius and Je- writings shew no acquaintance ?"-Vol. i. rome-was Bishop of Portus, the new har- pp. 199, 200. bour of Rome, on the northern bank of the Tiber, lying opposite to the more ancient Dr. Bunsen, he is, undoubtedly, in all re-Ostia, which at this time, had become a place spects, a distinguished Father of the Anteof considerable population and importance; Nicene Church. Of unwavering moral in-in short, a bustling harbour of all nations. trepidity, genuine honesty of character, and Here Hippolytus lived, and laboured. His sense and talents inferior to none of his con-Greek education under Irenœus had peculi- temporaries, he was, at the same time, the arly fitted him to act as a sort of missionary predecessor of Origen, in speculative power bishop among the representatives of the value of the valu While occupying a perfectly independent and knowledge than his illustrious teacher, position in his own episcopal sphere of latthe philosophical enlightenment which Irencebour, he was at the same time a Presbyter us had kindled in the west. His familiarity of the Roman Chirch, and shared in the de-liberations of the Presbyterial Council which met in that city, in which circumstance there—the origin of the various heresies to whose is nothing really surprising, as will after- refutation he devoted himself. He was the wards appear.

which treats of the hereses prevalent at of the Gospel, which was all that prevalled Rome in Hippolynus's own time, and espein the shape of a sermon in that Church becially of that of Noctus, patronized by two forc his time, into the set homiletic address, Roman bishops, Zephyrinus and Callistus, characterized by science and eloquence, Roman deposed by Hippolynus, we which, Dr. Bunsen says, "was his favourite have a very lively and graphic picture of the mode of treating exegetical and polemical ecclesiastical state of Rome, in the beginning of the third century, upon which we commentaries enumerated by Dr. Bunsen, willingly would have a welt, but our space (vol. in pp. 281, 282) and which survive willingly would have dwelt; but our space (vol. i. pp. 281, 288,) and which survive forbids. We refer our readers to Dr. Bun-merely in fragments, show him in the least sen's reproduction of it, in the third letter of favourable light, thoroughly tainted, as they his first volume. It alone seems to show appear to have been, by the usual patristic that the author of the recovered treatise vice of allegorical fancifulness.*
The discovery of the lost wor iar with all the details of Church controver-sy; and, alas! we must also say, of Church ant, could not fail to throw much light on scandal in Rome at that time; and that none the early state of Christianity and the is so likely to have been the author as Hip- Church. It would not readily, however, in polytus. It seems, at least, clearly to dis-prove the supposed authorship of Origen, a flood of interest and meaning, as in those who merely visited Rome for a short time of Dr. Bunsen. It may indeed, be a ques-during the episcopacy of Zephyrinus; for, "how could he," as Dr. Bunsen has well ed, whether he has not made too much of it. put it, "in his literary seclusion have known There is, assuredly, great diversity in the all that passed many years later in the bos-om of the College of Cardinals, or the Ro-to establish in the course of his volumes. man Presbytery, as it was then called? all We consider him most successful, where he the ecclesiastical coteries and chit-chat of has confined himself to strictly historical Rome? How should he know, or what criticism, as in the "Historical Fragments" would be care, that such and such a Christ-

As Hippolytus re-appears in the work of first preacher of note in the Roman Church; In the Ninth Book of the recovered work, having elevated the mere popular exposition which treats of the heresies prevalent at of the Gospel, which was all that prevailed

The discovery of the lost work of so illus-

based his conjecture—a very absurd one surely!

^{*}Euseb. vi. 20, where the name of Hippolytus by Dr. Bunsen, p. 287, which are certainly very immediately follows that of Beryllas of Bostra, on childish, and, indeed, not very reverent; but our au-which simple connexion Le Moyne seems to have the procedure of the whole that these fragments furnish the procedure of the whole that these fragments furnish the procedure of the whole that these fragments furnish the procedure of the whole that the procedure of the whole the a fair specimen of the whole.

in the second volume, and in some parts of man language. Nay, it appears to us to be Church, where his own deeply-seated specthink he has least triumphed, authoritative and earnest as are his own convictions on the subject.

It is impossible for us, in such a general of the Doctrine of the Trinity, as he conceives it to have existed in the "general consciousness of the ancient Church." We own, indeed, to considerable hesitation in dealing with his views on this subject, lest we should be found, after a somewhat patient study of them, to have, in some regarded from another point of view (which would tient study of them, to have, in some respects, misapprehended them. We certainly spects, misapprehended them. We certainly seem to be that of the author himself) is allogether desiderate clearness, and above all, order and consecutiveness in his treatment of its contained in the last book of the recovered and consecutiveness in his treatment of it. He takes it up, in so detached a manner, in so many different places, and has expressed hinself regarding it (especially in the Anglory at the results of the second of th Apology, by the mouth of Hippolytus,) that many of my readers, divines themselves, will in a phraseology so indistinct, or, at least, so esoteric, that we cannot say we have a very definite impression of what he would have us to understand, as the doctrinal system of Hippolytus and the early Church. He is so far from denying the doctrine of Father, Son, and Spirit, substantially united-of a Divine Trinity in Unity —that he tells us, this alone was "the doctrinal test of the Apostolic age," But, rich hen, he is strongly opposed to the common orthodox expression of this doctrine, as pretruth, but does not make truth—that truth must be served in the Nicene and Athanasian symbols. He has the greatest contempt for the common teaching of our British orthodoxy on this head; which seems to him to savour of materialism,-to represent "Creation as a process of manufacture, and the Father, Son, and Spirit, as three historical person- is anything undeniable, we think it is this. ages." Now it appears to us, with all deference, that Dr. Bunsen has here, as in cerference, that Dr. Bunsen has here, as in certain other parts of his work, allowed his wear anowed of moderstand metrigode assumpty vehemence to outrun his sense of justice, firmly as Dr. Bunsen, that the doctrine of the Trinity and a genuine philosophy. It will not be is "intelligible," (although we should not apply to tain other parts of his work, allowed his denied, that under the treatment of ordinary it this epithet); and we are not aware of any orthominds, or even of minds hardy and clear enough, yet untrained by speculative discipline, the transcendent doctrine of the Trinity must suffer degradation in its exposition. But Dr. Bunsen forgets, (what it is altogether impossible for us to doubt,) that it is only an approximating expression that this doctrine can receive, at the best, from hu-

his interpretation of the restored "Apostoli- simply inattention to, or rather, (strange as cal Constitutions" given in the third. In his it may seem) disbelief of this fact, which is exhibition of the doctrine of the Ante-Nicene the secret of the confusion which characterizes this part of his labours, and which has ulative views come powerfully into play, we led him to set up, so authoritatively, his own conceptions of the primitive teaching of the Church on the subject of the Trinity, against the later formularies, in which it has expressed itself on this mysterious subject. review of his work, as we have sketched As Dr. Bunsen himself evidently believes out for ourselves, to enter minutely into that this divine Verity is one which the huthe examination of Dr. Bunsen's statement man mind can render intelligibly to itself and indeed speaks very scornfully of those who believe otherwise -- so he seems deter-

> * We feel bound to enter an earnest protest against treatise, and regarding it for what it may very well rather think, I ought to say, that the commentary is no less unintelligible than the text. These persons ought to be aware, that in saying (or thinking) so, they place themselves on the side of the infidels; for what is not intelligible is either untrue or useless; and no infidel ever said more against Christianity." "It appears to me that divines, who profess a faith in something not intelligible, must have still less respect for the sacred records than the dissentients whose doctrines they most abhor." . " Those orthonot through any outward authority, revealed truth must be intelligible to reason." Now, if Dr. Bunsen means here by "intelligible," (what he seems to mean, fully comprehensible by human reason, we must rank ourselves with those "divines" whom he reprobates. We certainly believe the doctrine of the Trinity to be unintelligible in this sense—that is to say, to transcend our intellectual conception. If there we are allowed to understand "intelligible" as simply or this epithet; and we are not aware of any ortho-dox British divines who deny its intelligibility in this sense. As the last results of speculation every where prove, there is in the intuitions of the human reason much that answers to, and seems to bespeak this great truth in Christian theology. The distinction is surely one easily enough recognised, as it is one very common in our British philosophy, between a truth intelligible in the ordinary sense, that is to say, com-passable in all its bearings by our reason—and a truth conformable to the fundamental laws of that reason, (violating none of them, but rather answering to them), and yet transcending its clear grasp, out-reaching in its divine fulness its power of scientific

^{*} Vol. ii. p. 46.

there more definite, evidence simply of the struggling consciousness of the Church to apprehend in its full intellectual relations the Truth committed to it-to interpret those fluctuations of language, which speak so evidently of a struggle of this kind, all on one side,-forgetful of those expressions which show that the full Nicene Faith was not unknown to the consciousness of the ancient Church, if it had not as yet come into clear vision, and received definite intellectual expression.

The main difference of Dr. Bunsen's representation of the doctrine of the Trinity, as he believes it to have been held by Hippolytus and Tertullian (whose essential agreement on this subject he expressly declares, vol. i. p. 259), and the Church of their time generally, so far as we apprehend him, consists in a virtual denial of any distinet personality to the Holy Spirit; while his language sometimes, too, would seem to imply doubts of the proper personality of the Word before his incarnation. Now, let it be admitted that there are expressions in both these Fathers which favour the representation of Dr. Bunsen, and clearly enough show that the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, as expressed in the later formularies of the Church, would have been in its decisiveness foreign to their modes of apprehension, it is yet, we think, on a comprehensive view of

construction. As to the view of Mr. Maurice alluded to, however much it may sometimes have been lost sight of in popular exposition of Christian doctrine, there are no divines, we fancy, who dispute it. But then it does not follow that the truth "which is true in itself," and perfectly harmonious to the Divine Mind, must be in all respects clearly intelligible, harmoniously consistent to ours.

* He ridicules, in fact, (vol. i. p. 303,) this mode of regarding the language of the old Fathers—the prietate constituent. idea that they "minus caute locuti sunt,"—and yet Even in such class can anything really be more certain than this !

mined to find, in the frequently confused and all they have written on the subject, wholly even conflicting expressions of the early Fa- impossible to doubt the substantial orthothers on this subject, a consistent and clearly doxy of either. For the proof of this we intelligible doctrine, which, while answering need only refer, on the one hand, to the pasto his own speculative convictions, is consi- sages from the treatise of Hippolytus against derably at variance with the later and more Noetus, quoted by Dr. Burton in his Testidefinite Faith of the Church. We do not monies of the Ante-Nicene Fathers to the mean that he imposes his own views on doctrine of the Trinity, and whose very these Fathers-which were so complete a marked orthodoxy led Dr. Routh to select subversion of his own critical method-but, it, with others, for publication in his Scripsimply, that believing their writings to con- torum Ecclesiasticorum Opuscula as repretain a clear conception of the doctrine of the sentative of the truly Catholic Faith-ren-Trinity,—at unity with itself, he dwells unduly on modes of language which certainly favour his views; overlooking, or at least not bringing into prominence others which tullian, and especially to the whole tenor of are, we think, with equal certainty opposed that Father's treatise against Praxeas-exto them. He seems to us, in short, -instead pressly devoted, like that of Hippolytus of recognising in the language of the early against Noetus, to the defence of the Church Fathers,—here more vague and uncertain,* doctrine of the Trinity against Patripassian-

> * Dr. Routh's Address to the Reader. Vol. i. † We subjoin the most decisive classici lori from Hippolytus's treatise against Noetus; as also some sentences of Tertullian from the treatise against Praxeas, referring our learned readers in both cases to the

> original sources for their satisfaction.
>
> "It is thus that we contemplate the incarnate Word; through him we form a conception of the Father; we believe in the Son; are worship the Holy Spirit."—Obsore woapen Aoyon Bunponur. Harque it abrou woopen, who it ricrevoper, Herwari ayun reposervooper. Again, in defence of binnelf from the Noctian accusation of his being a Ditheist, Hippolytus says, "I never speak of two Gods, but one; yet I speak of two persons, and a third dispensation, the grace of the Holy Ghost. For the Father is one; but there are two persons; because there is also the Son; and the third is the Holy Ghost."— $\Delta_{\rm PO}$ $\mu \epsilon \nu$ ove τρο Grees αλλ' η τες προσωπε δε όνο, οικουργιαν δε τρεπτη, την χαριν του αγιου Πνευματος. Παταρ μεν γαρ εις, προσωπα δε όνο, στι και ο τιος, το δε τριτον το αγιου Πενεμα— (Testimonies, &c., pp. 85, 86). It is true that Dr. Bunsen considers these last words an interpolation, and translates esseropea in the previous clause differently from Dr. Burton. But we cannot allow the justice either of his criticism or of his version. Certainly his version of occomputar de rai-np-"and as the third the incarnation" is not tenable on mere philological grounds; while it cannot be doubted that the term occoropia was used both by Hippolyed that the term oicompia was used ooin by rijpour-tus and Tertillian in an expressly technical sense to signify the relation of the Trinity. In the following passage of Tertillian (Adv. Fraxean, c. 13) it has this meaning, as distinctly pointed out by Neander, (Antignosticus, p. 511).—Duos quidem definimus, Patrem et Filium, et jam tres cum Spiritu Suncto, secundum rationem economie.-It is needless to multiply passages from the treatise against Praxeas, which is throughout of so clearly Trinitarian an import. We give one other—His itaque paucis tamen manifeste distinctio Trinitatis exponitur. Est enim ipse qui pronuntiat Spiritus; et Pater, ad quem pronuntiat; et Filius, de quo pronuntiat. Sic caetera, quæ nunc ad Patrem de Filio vel ad Filium, nunc ad Filium de Patre vel ad Patrem, nunc ad Spiritum pronuntiantur, unumquamque personam in sua pro-

Even in such classical passages on the doctrine of the Trinity-satisfactory as they must be admitted

tial agreement of Tertullian and Hippolytus, as to the doctrine of the Trinity, is of itself quite fatal to the distinctive view which he advocates. For it is impossible, we think, for any to peruse the expressions of Tertullian, so well presented in Neander's monograph of that Father, without feeling that he is really, under whatever occasional diversity of expression, substantially orthodox on the doctrine of the Trinity. Here, indeed, as in many other things, Neander has expressed, in our opinion, the whole truth of the case (holding ever that just mean so dear to him); and especially in the few paragraphs which he has devoted to the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, as held by the Ante-Nicene Church, in his general Church History. The "notional expression of the doctrine," he says, " was by no means adequate to its import as contained in the Christian consciousness. the first youthful age of the Church, when the power of the Holy Spirit yet made itself to be so mightily felt in the life as a newcreative and transforming principle." which lay as yet unexpressed, in its full intellectual bearings, in the consciousness of the early Church. "If we except," he says, as a personal being. The conception of his to a somewhat bold conjecture which he proreality and objective essentiality, coincided in the Christian thought with the conception of his personal self-subsistent existence."-(C. H., vol. ii. p. 371, Torry's trans.)

As to the theological views of Hippolytus, apart from the great central doctrine of the Trinity,-which, if not exclusively, yet in so very predominant a manner moved the consciousness of the early Church, Dr. Bunsen has expressed himself in the following terms, in the first of the historical fragments in his be said to have settled the question by any second volume. There can be little doubt of the general accuracy of his representations.

"Vossius has interrogated Hippolytus whether he taught the orthodox doctrine of original sin; and he extorts an affirmative answer from his treatise against Noetus, by an interpretation which he would never himself have allowed in classical But this does not prove that Hippophilology.

to be as a whole-the reader, we think, will not fail to detect, at least in the expressions of Hippolytus, some trace of that confusion, or as yet imperfect con-ception of the doctrine which we have spoken of as characteristic of the early Fathers, and which in such writers as Athenagoras and Clemens Alexandrinus is seen in a much more marked and striking manner. sage on this point quoted by Dr. Bunsen

that Dr. Bunsen's admission of the substan-lytus would have been a Pelagian. He would have raised many a previous question both against St. Augustine and Pelagius; and finally have entrenched himself in his strong position,-the doctrine of the free agency of the human will. would have thought Luther's theory a quaint expression of a truth which he fully acknowledged; but as to Calvin's Predestination, he would have abhorred it, without thinking less highly of God's inscrutable counsels. There is nothing in his works which would contradict the general principles, and the polemic or negative portions of Evangelical doctrine. But as to the positive expressions, he would not understand much of them. He would not be able to see the necessity of opposing so absolutely the doctrine of Justification to that of Sanctification, except temporarily, for disciplinary reasons, as an antidote against the conventional dectrine and pernicious practice of meritorious works. 'To be inspired by the contemplation of the eternal love of God, and the divine beauty of his holiness, to lead a god-like holy life, in perpetual thankfulness, and perfect humility, this is the last word of the The intellectual conception of the relation of solemn exhortation at the end of this great work. the Holy Spirit to the Divine Essence was But supposing the point at issue had been ex-far from being thoroughly apprehended in plained to him, he would certainly said with the doctrine of saving faith in the Pauline sense, against that of meritorious works."-Vol. ii. pp. 128, 129.

In examining Hippolytus regarding the he expresses no doubt of the soundness of the canon of the New Testament in his time, Dr. view, (according to the Catholic standard,) Bunsen finds it to have been the same with that which we have in the "Muratorian fragment," if we suppose the obvious chasm, which he believes to exist in our barbarous "the Monarchians and Lactantians, men translation of that fragment, to be filled up were agreed in conceiving of the Holy Spirit by the Epistle to the Hebrews, according poses. This canon corresponds with that presently acknowledged by the Church, with the exception of the Second Epistle of St. Peter; the Epistle to the Hebrews being held to be not the work of St. Paul, but of some friend of St. Paul, probably Apollos. On this latter point, as constituting the belief of the early Church, Dr. Bunsen is very positive in his assertions in different places throughout the present work; but he cannot additional array of evidence. He is equally strong as to the early (ante-Domitianic) date of the Apocalypse, in opposition to almost all its commentators. The internal evidence, on which he bases so confidently this conclusion, can scarcely be reckened so unequivocal as to set aside the prevailing external evidence in behalf of the later and commonly received origin.

In reference to the great Protestant watchword-the paramount authority of Scripture in all matters of Faith and Doctrine, Hippolytus is as clear and decisive as could be wished. The following is the classical pasfrom the ninth chapter of his treatise against, forms of Guostic speculation.

"There is one God, my brethren, and Him we know only by the Holy Scriptures. For in a like manner as he who wishes to learn the wisdom of this world cannot accomplish it without studying the doctrines of the philosophers, thus all those who wish to practise divine wisdom will not learn it from any other source than from the word of God. Let us therefore see what the Holy Scriptures pronounce, let us understand what they teach, and let us believe what the Father wishes to be believed, and praise the Son as He wishes to be praised, and accept the Holy Spirit as He wishes to be given. Not according to our own will, nor according to our own reason, nor forcing what God has given, but let us see all this as He has willed to shew it by the Holy Scriptures."-Vol. ii. p. 144.

By Holy Scriptures Hyppolitus understood the Old and New Testaments, using for the first the canon and text of the Septuagint. These Scriptures he held to be inspired in a genuine sense—that is, to be the production of men who wrote as they were moved by the Holy Spirit. The Theopneusty, or theory of Inspiration, of Gaussen, would have appeared to Hippolytus as a dangerous Jew-ish superstition.* We are, of course, merely stating, in brief form, the conclusions of Dr. Bunsen, without professing to discuss their validity, which would lead us into a region quite away from our present purpose.

There is an important point in connexion been so clearly vindicated in these volumes, against the attacks of the modern school of Tubingen critics, that we must not overlook it; we mean the great question as to the origin of the fourth gospel. According to the favourite speculation of this school, the Jo hannear type of Christianity, and its record, the gospel of St. John, are to be regarded as the mystical produce of the middle of the second century. Originally, in what they consider its Petrine and Pauline form, a mere species of improved Judaism or Ebionitism, it was only in the course of the second century (about 165 or 170), that Christianity assumed the higher and more speculative form, the expression of which we have in the fourth gospel,-being a mere efflux of Gnosticism, in the transformation which it thus underwent. Such is the extraordinary hypothesis of Strauss and Bauer, and their followers. It is now clearly evident, however, in Hippolytus's arrangement and discussion of the heresies which he refutes, in the gospel of St. John, so far from being, in any sense, the produce of Gnosticism, is already pre-supposed in some of the earliest

In extracts given in the seventh book of the Treatise on Heresies, from Basilides, who taught about the year 120, he already quotes St. John's Gospel; and it is also evident that "his whole metaphysical development, is an attempt to connect a cosmogonic system with St. John's prologue, and with the person of Christ," Many collateral points of evidence to the same effect are scattered throughout Dr. Bunsen's critical discussion in the first volume; and in case it should be thought that, within so short an interval, (which is yet really inconceivable), there was any room for such a mythical development as the Tubingen school allege, he carries the proof higher up. He presents evidence that even before the close of the first century the Christian doctrine of the Logos was already made the subject of heretical perversion. The Ophites, (whom our author would identify with the Heretics, meutioned in the 4th chapter of the First Epistle to Timothy, and who indisputably belong to this very early period), "all know the Logos, and all worship the serpent as his symbol, or that of the Demining opposed to him; for on that point there seems to have been a difference among them. They refer, however, not to the Logos of Philo, but to the Logos per-sonified in man, and identified with Jesus of Nazareth, the son of Mary." | The idea of Dr. Bunsen clearly is, that the prologue of with the authority of Scripture, which has St. John does refer to heretical perversions of the doctrine of the Logos, and not to later systems of the second century (which, as in the case of Basilides, and Valentinus, are found expressly to look back to it, as already the recognised statement of the Catholic doctrine), but to early theories of Gnosticism and Ebionitism.

"Doubtless," he says, t " the gospel does refer to theories and speculations respecting the person of Jesus of Nazareth, but to those which sprang up immediately after the destruction of Jerusalem. That event, the shock of which had an echo through the inhabited globe, roused the infant Christian world from slumbering dreams about future destinies in an unknown state, to the consciousness of a world-conquering Divine vocation upon this earth, and to prophetic visions of new kingdoms and new nations, directed by Christ's spirit. It brought on a crystallization of the floating elements of Christian worship, and of corporative organization; and it roused all the depths of the human intellect to solve the great enigmas of the connexion between the historical person of Jesus of Nazthat the doctrine of the Logos, as contained areth, and the origin and nature of the human race, of the relation between history and the Divine idea, between inward and outward

^{*} Vol. ii. p. 147.

^{*} Vol. i. pp. 87, 88. † Vol. i. pp. 84, 85. † Vol. i. p. 41.

revelation and inspiration. How can any one! wonder that those theories sprang up as early as we are told? We know now more than ever authentically that they did; and we can understand this phenomenon if we consider those circumstances, and the great fermentation into which the decay of Judaism and of Paganism had, for a century or two, thrown the human race."—Vol. i. pp. 84, 85.

Among the clearest and most unequivocal results of Dr. Bunsen's investigations are those which bear directly against the later pretensions and abuses of the Church of Rome. The ninth book of the recovered work of Hippolytus introduces us, as we have already hinted, into the very heart of the Roman Church in the beginning of the book to be perused by all reading Christhird century; and the picture we behold, tians." certainly, in some respects, not a very flatgovern Christendom as an autocrat, whether it be by his own decisions, or by his privilege of confirming or annulling, interpreting, Church distinctly in opposition to "the Catholic Church," in his great work, where he speaks of the teaching of Callistus, and of immense influence of that Church; but as a years after Hippolytus. If, therefore, Greek man who had studied under Irenaeus, the uncompromising opposer of Victor's pretensions, and as the historian of doctrinal Christianity, he also knew that this influence was a moral and not a legal one, and that it was controlled and resisted. The gradually growing moral supremacy in the West originated in the political position of Rome as the centre of the world, and in the instinctive talent of government, which has never ceased to distinguish the Romans. But that supremacy was not recognised as legal, even at Milan, much less at Alexandria and Antioch, nor later by Byzance. Even in the West it was controlled by the free agency and self-responsibility of the influential churches of Christendom. polytus himself, as bishop of Portus, was one of the moons in the planetary system of Rome, and a member of her Presbytery; but in his own town he would not have allowed the agents of Callistus to teach, or even him to preach."*

Dr. Bunsen has shown with equal clearness that Hippolytus knew nothing of a sacred language used by the Church in preference to the vernacular. While he himself, a Roman Presbyter, wrote in Greek, and, it is to be presumed, also preached, at least sometimes, in that language, (as all his homilies which have been preserved are in that language), this arose simply from the fact that Greek was then at Rome "the living organ of international intercourse, and the common language of the Hellenistic Jews." It was, therefore, "the natural organ of Christian communication, and the most appropriate language for writing a

"The Christian congregation at Rome from tering one, is yet unmistakable in its indi-cations of the true position and usages of that Church in that age. Hippolytus "has nothing to tell of the divine right of the bishop of Rome to decide all doctrinal now generally speak German. These elements questions of the Universal Church, and to were united by sacred records written in Greek, and were governed mostly by members of Greek descent. The very names of the bishops before Urbanus (the successor of Callistus) are Greek, with the two exceptions of Clement and of Victor, and executing the decrees of Councils. The And even of these two Clement wrote Greek in Roman Church, in which Hippolytus lived the name of the Romans, as St. Paul wrote and acted so conspicuous a part, was to him the Church of Rome. He even places that Victor wrote, as did Cornelius a whole century later. The real Latin Church was the African, consisting of colonized Romans, using a Latin version of the New Testament, The noble families of Rome remained unconverted even the school he had set up and patronized at under Theodosius the Great, as the complaints Rome. Hippolytus as a Roman knew the of Prudentius show, who wrote more than 150 was at that time the ecclesiastical, and, perhaps, the liturgical language of the Church of Rome, it was not because Greek was a sacred tongue, unknown to the people, but because the majority understood it better, or as well as that of Latium."*—Vol. ii. pp. 24, 25.

> In reference to the marriage of the clergy the evangelical liberty so clearly laid down by the Apostle was, in the time of Hippolytus, to some extent infringed; but there was still no trace of the later corruptions which arose, and were so speedily and universally propagated in the Church. A presbyter, unmarried at his appointment, was not expected to marry during his office, and a presbyter who lost his wife was not permitted to marry again; and of these restrictions Hippolytus constituted himself the champion, to (in this matter) the more Christian proceeding of Callistus. In reference to this Dr. Bunsen has observed (vol. i. p. 313)-

"In the time of Hippolytus the ecclesiastical

^{* 1} Tim. iii. 2; Titus i. 7. † Apost. Com. vol. iii. p. 58.

office was so far from giving an indelible charactapostolicity of the so-called "Apostolic ter that neither a presbyter nor a bishop would Constitutions." The fiction of their name, have been prevented from quitting his office, and marrying like any other Christian. The whole theory of the canonical is of a later date. The learned Christian kept his pallium, the in the Church, which might be that of episcopos as well as of a presbyter. He kept the old pallium when he retired from the office.

If, from these mere accidental aspects of the relation of the Church of Rome in Hippolytus's day to that vast system of error which it became, and continues, we pass to those essential ideas of Church, and Priesthood, and Sacrifice, which (not merely in reference to the Church of Rome) are of such vital interest in our present ecclesiastical discussions, we find in these volumes a wide and richly fruitful field, from which we can only glean a few of the more important particulars. Of a Church, in the mere priestsense, as constituting the clergy-upon whom a special spirit of sanctity and ghostly privilege is supposed to rest-Hippolytus knew nothing. "He must have abhorred the very idea of this as much as Irenaeus, his teacher, and all his contemporaries did. The church was to them the Christian people, the Ecclesia in the Greek sense."* The evidence which Dr. Bunsen has furnished of this is of the clearest character, everywhere scattered through the pages of his four volumes. It may be said, however, to rest especially on those "contributions towards the restoration of an authentic picture of the Churches looked up for advice in doubtful the age of Hippolytus," with which he has furnished us in the third and fourth volumes. The foundations of this picture of the community-life of the Ante-Nicene Church, are the restored texts of the "Church and House-Book of the early Christians," and of the "Law-Book of the Ante-Nicene Church." The peculiar relation of Hippolytus to these books, Dr. Bunsen believes himself to have found in the introduction to the eighth book of the common Greek text of the "Apostolic Constitutions," which he regards as substantially representing part of the last work of Hippolytus on The Apostolic Tradition respecting the Gifts (Charismata) of the Holy Spirit.

Dr. Bunsen believes that he has proved the very early origin, and even substantial

* Vol. ii. p. 125.

and of their form of composition, is, indeed, obvious enough; but, so far fictitious, he regards them, in the restored form in which philosopher's cloak, when he accepted an office he has been enabled to present them, (basing his restoration not on any mere sifting or analysis of the corrupted Greek text, but especially on three other texts-the Coptic, Abyssinian, and Syrian, which he believes to be respectively original, and of superior authenticity), to be, in a genuine sense, the very rules, customs and traditions which had descended from the Apostles. sense of the whole fiction he believes to be, "that whatever in those ordinances is not directly the work of the Apostles must be considered as apostolic, as coming from their disciples, who with their followers, in the next generation, had continued their work in the same spirit, Clement of Rome being the first and most prominent among them ;* and who naturally came, therefore, to be represented in the fiction as the author or compiler of them. This book of the "Doctrine," or "Ordinances," or "Constitutions of the Apostles," (for it was known under all these several names), Dr. Bunsen believes to have been very highly prized, and of paramount authority in the early Church,

> "It was a book," he says, + " more read than any one of the writings of the fathers, and in church matters of greater weight than any other; the book before the authority of which the bishops themselves bowed, and to which cases."

> The writings of the early fathers everywhere presuppose its circulation and knowledge among the Christian brethren, and this explains why they give us so few direct glimpses of the universal Christian life, so little intimation "of what was required for a Christian man or woman to know, or to eonfess, to pray, to do, to practise, or to avoid, and what was in general the custom and order, as well of domestic and private. as of common Christian life, both in worship, and in government and discipline."1

> Dr. Bunsen's labours in the restoration of this "Church and House Book of the Early Christians," as well as of the early eeelesiastical canons, and his farther labours in the restoration of the ancient liturgies of the Church, the fruits of which are contained in the second part of his concluding volume, (and with such a passing allusion to which we must at present content ourselves,) are, undoubtedly, to be regarded among the most valuable results of his present work, and as

t "The Greek text contains three distinct collections; the first six books, the seventh, and the eighth. "The vulgar text of the eighth book of the eighth. "The vulgar text of the eighth book of the Greek Constitutions is a corrupt and interpolated recension of the text exhibited in the Vienna and Oxford manuscripts; exactly as Grabe had maintained."—Vol. ii. p. 252. It is the introduction to this book which, in Dr. Bunsen's opinion, especially connects Hippolytus with the Apostolic Constitutions.

[#] Vol. ii. p. 226. † Vol. ii. p. 220. t Vol. ii. p. 221-2.

constituting among his highest claims to | both spiritually and bodily, of the orphans, the eminence as a critical investigator of primitive Christian history. It is impossible for any to appreciate fully what he has thus achieved, without a very minute study of the subjects, and a knowledge of the previous chaos into which he has cast historical light and life. The fruitfulness of his researches in this important field makes us doubly regret the undue exaltation which he is disposed to give to his mere speculative views, in reference to any part of that restorative critical process in which he is so highly skilled .- and for the obvious reason, that his critical restorations in the one case are apt to suffer from any suspicion that may attach to them in the other. It is worthy of observation, indeed, how his speculative views on the Trinity have been, in certain quarters, seized and exclusively dwelt upon, in order, as it were, to cover the hopelessly damaging effect of his researches into the primitive character and constitution of the Church, in relation to certain proud and fond fancies of Anglicanism.

It is not, indeed, any more the fresh and purely apostolic picture of the Church that we behold in Dr. Bunsen's "Church and House Book of the Early Christians." is not the picture we have in St. Paul's Pastoral Letters, in which we see only two orders of office-bearers, presbyters (called also bishops) and deacons, and in which the congregation, the body of faithful people, is the "highest organ of the spirit as well as the power of the Church." In the representation of these "apostolic ordinances," we find the popular congregational element already considerably weakened, and the system of three orders,-bishops, presbyters, and deacons,-fully established. A hierarchy is already seen developing itself, but it is still only of a very modified character, borne upon all sides by the yet living popular element. The power of the congregation, if practically diminished, yet receives the clearest theoretical recognition. element of mere Clericism, shooting up rapidly into strength along with the decay of the genuine church life, yet nowhere ob-trudes its pretensions in an authoritative In the words of Dr. Bunsen :-

"The congregation elects its Bishop, and invites the bishops of the neighbouring localities to institute him into his office with prayer and the imposition of hands. If the congregation is still to be formed, the Bishop names the Elders, three at least, and inducts them with prayer and a benediction. They form with him the Congregational Council. The bishop elects at least one Deacon as his assistant, and appoints widows and young women to take care,

sick, and the poor. If the bishopric of a con-gregation, already formed, become vacant, the form of episcopal election remains the same; the clergy elect with the people; there is no form of election prescribed, consequently none is excluded. If the office of Presbyter is vacant, sometimes the bishop and clergy, sometimes the whole congregation, fill it up. The bishop consecrates the presbyters, as he is himself conse-crated by his brother bishops. Their ordination (dedication to God by prayer, with imposition of hands) is the same : only that the elders have no throne, or raised chair, in the apse at the end of the church, but sit upon benches on both sides. Between the clergy and the congregation stands the communion-table, their unity and connecting link."-Vol. iii. pp. 220, 221.

The episcopate, which we thus see so clearly recognised in the Church of the second and third centuries, Dr. Bunsen believes to have been introduced by St. John in Proconsular Asia (Ionia) towards the close of the first century. Its original character, as he himself has described it, was simply "the independent position of a city clergyman, presiding over the congregation, with the neighbouring villages, having a body of elders attached to him."* This constituted, in the primitive sense, a complete church-a bishopric. The country clergymen, whose immediate field of duty lay in the villages, were " most probably members of the ecclesiastical council," or Presbytery of the city church. In the case of the metropolitan dioceses, which, from a very early period, had incorporated with them a considerable portion of the adjoining province, the bishops of the suburban towns also formed members of the ecclesiastical council, over which the bishop of the metropolis presided. This is what we find to have been the relation of Hippolytus to Rome. He was at once bishop and presbyter, occupying an independent sphere of pastoral labour at Portus, and forming a member of the Presbytery of Rome, over which Callistus presided. There is nothing at all surprising in this fact, as Dr. Bunsen has well shewn, save for the unhistorical confusion in which the subject has been involved. It is only what we might expect at this particular stage of the development of the Church constitution, that a Roman clergyman should be called a presbyter, as a member of the clergy of the city of Rome, and should, at the same time, have the charge of the church at Portus, for which there was no other title than the old one of bishop-

"For such was the title of every man who * Vol. iii. p. 246.

'presided over the congregation' in any city,— events, is deeply Christian and strictly Aposto-at Ostia, at Tusculum, in the other suburban lical (1 Pet. iii 7), namely, that, in the Chriscities. And what is rather curious, they have tian community, woman's weaker nature, when bishops now, as members of the presbytery of strengthened and elevated by the respect and the city of Rome, with the body of certain bonour of the man, develops a new and peculiar presbyters and deacons of which they form the governing clerical board of the Church of Rome. The relation of those suburban bishops to the bishop of Rome must, in a certain degree, have been analogous to that which, in later times, existed between the suffragan bishops and the metropolitan; but we know nothing whatever of the particulars. That a town like Portus must have had its own bishop, cannot, of course, be doubted, as even much smaller towns had their bishop; their city was called their diocese, or their paracia, and the members of their congregation or church their plebs."-Vol. i. p. 207.

In this associated relation between the metropolitan and suburban bishops, there is undoubtedly to be recognised the commencement of that later and more fully developed hierarchy which received the appropriate name of metropolitanism, merging finally in the rival pontificates of the East and West. So soon as the interests of the Church came to be determined by merely clerical assemblies, the aristocratic and priestly element grew rapidly into importance. From being the representative organ of the believing people, the bishop speedily began to assume a sacerdotal and autocratic authority,wielded not for the people, but over them, as the direct gift of heaven. Amid the advancing decay of the congregational life of the apostolic Church, in which the fundamental notions about Christian offices underwent that gradual metastasis, or change of centre, which Dr. Bunsen has so clearly described in relation to the whole circle of Christian ideas, the Church yet retained the most valuable portion of the action of the congregation, namely, that of the services of charity. It is thus happily described by Dr. Bunsen :--

"The office of Deacon, or helper, implies, in the full sense of the word, the attendance on the poor and the sick. To offer spiritual as well as bodily aid, and, indeed, to supply all common wants, was the individual duty of every Christian; and this divine idea of services of charity had so deeply pervaded the mind of the Church, that the office of deacon and deaconess grew out of it. The latter were ordinarily widows, and the sisterhood of Widows is nothing more than that of Deaconesses. The recently recovered Coptic collection of Apostolical Church Ordinances furnishes most precious and original information upon this point also. The deacons had the charge of the poor, the deaconesses of the sick, and they attended indiscriminately upon those who stood in need of consolation and assistance. A significant Egyptian legend attributes to Christ a speech addressed by Him to Mary and Martha, in a sense which, at all cers of the Christian Church—"teaching and VOL. XIX.

power, namely, that of serving and suffering

"The opulent provided for their poor; to which purpose the gifts offered at the common table, which became an altar, as the symbol of a vow of self-dedication, were especially applied. It was a part of the system of community of goods among the early Christians, which had remained as a sacred custom. The first-fruits of corn and wine, and whatever was titheable of the produce of the earth, served for the maintenance of the clergy. In all our collections, the validity of the apostolic injunction on that head is recognised, and especially the one, 'Thou shalt not muzzle the ox which treadeth out the corn.' In the re-written text of the first Greek Collection, also, this precept is applied as signifying that, as the oxen by that means do not eat up all the corn on the threshing-floor, so the clergy should only appropriate to themselves a very small portion of the gifts of the congregation, or church property."—Vol. iii. pp. 230-232.

The picture which Dr. Bunsen has drawn of the constitution of the Aute-Nicene Church is faithfully filled in from the outlines given in the "Apostolical Ordinances;" and cannot well be disputed in any of its essenrial features. The only point which he seems to us to have left in obscurity, (if indeed his own conviction is perfectly formed on the subject,) is the apostolic authority which he ascribes to Episcopaey. That the Episcopate was already, in the early part of the second century, widely established, admits of no doubt; but we desiderate any elear historical proof of its introduction by That it certainly did St. John, as he asserts. not exist in the first and purely apostolie age of the Church, he plainly holds, as indeed it is impossible to maintain the opposite, save by the worst species of that uncritical and dogmatic interpretation which has been the bane of Christianity and Christian history. The Presbyterian notion of the bishop, as the first among his peers, (primus inter pares) may be, as Dr. Bunsen considers it, unhistorical-an induction resting on a deficient basis of historical facts; but he cannot be We are glad to said to have proved this. see that he recognises the clearly apostolic character of the Presbyterian idea of elders (presbyters) as both an officiating and a ruling body. The original idea of the Church was indeed, as he has pointed out, that of a self-governing community, of which the Presbyters were magistrates. So far from teaching

praying were," in the words of our author, [God; Christian virtue, its expression in "open to every one in the Church of the relation to God, through our Christian Apostles; every man acting as a priest and brethren or the world. It is the fundamental anointed of the Lord. According to our orsaid) have the Spirit of the Lord."*

Christian scholar, it is his repeated noble continually to God. vindication of this idea of sacrifice, as in what we more especially call worshipthe order of divine service, or in that which is not less really worship-the order of the daily Christian life. Praise and prayer are just its expressions in immediate relation to

* Vol. iii. p. 222-"He that teacheth, although he be one of the laity, yet if he be skilful in the Word, or one or the marty, yet II no be skilled in the Word, and grave in his manners, tet him teach; for they shall be all taught of God."—(Greek Const. book viii.)—Vol. iii. p. 8. "When the teacher, after the prayer, shall lay his hands upon the Catechumens, let him pray, dismissing them; whether he be an ecclesiastic or a layman who delivereth it, let him do so."—(Cost Cor. up. 11.42 44.3—Vd.) iii.

(Copt. Can. pp. 11, 43, 44) — Vol. iii. p. 15.
† The correctness of the picture of ancient baptism given by Dr. Bunsen in the third volume of the present work, (which is indeed, with more careful minuteness, just that given by Neander,) will not, we apprehend, be disputed by any one who is content to accept the mere facts of the case. That the recogmised baptism of the ancient Church was that of adults—of those whom the Church only received into her fold, after a long course of systematic cate-chetical instruction—cannot indeed admit of any doubt. The admission of this, however, does not necessarily bear with it the summary denial of the existence of infant baptism in the early Church. Dr. Bunsen indeed asserts confidently that it was quite unknown; but we cannot hold this to be wholly determined by mything he has advanced on the sub-ject. To those who really know anything of the matter we need not, of course, say, that the question of the validity of infant baptism is one separated from that of its direct apostolic authority.

dinances, the laity may still teach the Cate-chumens and dismiss them even with a bless-ing after the public service; for all (it is thus a living and ever thankful sacrifice, springing from and resting on the great fact The picture presented in these volumes of of Christ's propitiatory sacrifice. It is this the worship of the early Church, in its yet latter fact which alone renders the other fresh and vigorous life and its characteristic possible, and which gives it all its meaning, forms, is one of the most deeply interesting Man, cursed by the taint of sin, and of of the whole. On the representation given consequent estrangement from God, could by our author of primitive Baptism we could never have offered up a sacrifice of grateful have wished especially to dwell. It is now piety, save through an initiatory sacrifice of impossible for us, however, even in the most propitiation. But this sacrifice of atonement cursory way, to do this. We can only point (beyond man's own power, from the very the attention of our readers to what Dr. helplessness of guilt which rendered it Bunsen has, with so much force and clearness, necessary) having been accomplished in his shewn to have been the animating principle behalf, his whole life, rising from the happy of the early Christian worship in all its centre of reconciliation with God, and united forms, the idea, namely, of sacrifice, or the in a true sense with the Life of Christ, just thankful offering of the self-will to God. If constitutes such a sacrifice. In and through there is any service, indeed, more peculiar Christ, as their ever faithful High Priest, than another which our author can be said to and whose they are as His mystical body, have rendered to the cause of truth, as a the Church or faithful people are offered up

Dr. Bunsen has traced very felicitously constituting the essence of the Christian life the perversion, or complete change of centre, and of all Christian worship. It is the which this great idea of Christian sacrifice divine root from which sprang the whole underwent in the history of the Church; so divine activity of the Church; the central that what constituted originally the spiritual idea which pervades it all, whether expressed offering of the believing people in thankfulness, and love, and active self-denial, came to be supposed the mere magical act of the priest transacted in behalf of the people. In the Romish doctrine of the mass, we see this perversion in its highest development. There the most living consciousness of the Christian Church is actually inverted, and its perpetual sacrifice declared to be one, not of praise and of spiritual self-offering, but of ever-renewed mimic propitiation:-

> "No change," says Dr. Bunsen, "ever was greater, no perversion had ever more pernicious results for the whole history of Christ's Church, and still none was easier, was more natural, and, as it were, necessary, so soon as the funda-mental ideas of Church, Priesthood and Survifice were perverted from their highest spiritual sense to the outward and heathenish one, according to which the Church is the governing body of Christ's faithful people. Priests are the ministers of the Church, and therefore sacrifice is the sacred work or action which these priests perform as such. As soon as the promises made to the real Church of God (which is contained in the external Church, as the believers were in the ark) are applied in all their extent to this external Church, and even its governors, and as soon as the right and duty of spiritual priest-hood exercised by every Christian under the one great High Priest are superseded by the acts and privileges of the officiating ministers of

that Church, the communion becomes an acces- to enter on the new career which seems sory only to the consecration, that is to say, to opening before it. the formal act of the priest; and the perpetulently separate themselves from the past ity of sacrifice, taught by Malachi and by the whole Scripture, as well as by the Fathers, instead of being found in the ever new act of self-offering of regenerated souls in the holy fellowship of Christ's Church, must be looked for in the never ceasing repetition of that act of consecration, as being a repetition of the one great act of atonement made on the cross."—Vol. ii. pp. 212, 213.

The true relation of the Communion to the pervading idea of sacrifice is equally well shewn by Dr. Bunsen. It was only natural and appropriate that the Church should associate the thankful offering of herself with the remembrance of Christ's death, on which alone it rested. And even so, it was very natural that some of the Fathers should have used very strong language, in speaking of this eucharistic offering made to God through Christ, in the very act of the commemoration of His willing death of love. Thus they may have even spoken of the real presence of Christ in the eelebration of the sacrament; "but how else than in the mind of the faithful, united into one by the Holy Spirit, and offering their prayer and vow of thankful self sacrifice." Fixed as the view of the early Church so entirely was on the great spiritual reality, it might well speak of it in lofty language, ignorant that "later dark ages should so entirely lose sight of the centre of Christian consciousness, as to mistake matter subject to corruption, destined for food, for the only objective reality in religion, the incorruptible God."*

Dr. Bunsen believes, with a hopeful earnestness, that the outlines of Early Christian life, which he has sketched in these volumes, will be among our best guides in that new transforming process which the Church seems destined everywhere to undergo. The "Church of the Future," while claiming in its development that freedom, which is so essentially Christian, will yet start into healthiest vigour, from the vital appropriation of all that is best in the Past, and especially of all that looks out upon us with fresh and pure lustre from the mirror of its youthful age. We sympathize in his confidence, and join in his hope. It is undoubtedly, by being at once progressive and conservative, that the Modern Church will yet accomplish its high mission and triumph over all oppo-sition. It is at once by looking boldly for-life, that the names of God and Christ have sition. It is at once by looking boldly forward with a clear faith in God as of old, and by looking reverently backward, with a healthy condition in which material and selfish genuine love for all that is holy and true in interests in individuals, as well as in the masse

They who would viodevelopment of the Divine Life in Humanity, and they who eling superstitiously to the expiring forms of that development, are equally wrong. Genuine progress is never destructive; and in vain shall we look for life among the mere earthly memorials of a forgotten activity. If there is any lesson more impressive than another taught by these volumes it is, that there can be no life without free development. It is not possible simply to adhere to the past as the sum of all Truth. We cannot put new wine into old bottles. And, while the world lasts, we shall still have, with every new age, the new wine of intellect and feeling pouring afresh its living stream into all channels of religious and literary activity; and moulding into more harmonious forms the problems of the world's thought. That we are at the commencement of such a new era at the present time can scarcely be doubted. One thing is sure, that we are at the termination of an old and perishing one, -that there are spreading all around us the symptoms of decay and extinction. God forbid that we should speak in the language of exaggeration, or that we should not feel deeply sorrowful that the old landmarks of our Fathers' faith should no longer receive the reverence of their children's children. Yet we cannot shut our eyes to the fact before us. We cannot say, peace, peace, where there is no peace. Our author has perhaps represented the matter in a strong light; but earnest and vehement as is his language, we feel we cannot here make any valid exception to it:-

"Is it not time," he says, "in truth, to withdraw the veil from our misery? to point to the clouds which rise from all quarters, to the noxious vapours which have already well-nigh suffocated us? to tear off the mask from hypocrisy, and destroy that sham which is undermining all real ground beneath our feet ? to point out the dangers which surmount, nay, threaten already to engulf us? Is the state of things satisfactory in a Christian sense, where so much that is un-Christian predominates, and where Christianity has scarcely begun here and there to penetrate the surface of the common life? Shall we be satisfied with the increased become the fashion, and are used as a party badge? Can a society be said to be in a * Vol. iv. pp. 90, 91. gain every day more and more the upper hand si which so many thinking and educated men are attached to Christianity only by outward

forms, maintained either by despotic power, or tradition and revelation are secured as are empty and satisfy but few, or display more and more outward ceremonials and vicarious rites? When a godless schism has sprung up rites! When a godiess senish has sprung on between spirit and form, or has even been preached up as a means of rescue! When the gross ignorance or confused knowledge, cold indifference or the financiasm of superstition, and darkness. On that side are indifference, prevails as to the understanding of Holy Scripture, as to the history, nay, the fundamental ideas of Christianity? When force invokes religion in order to command, and demagogues appeal to the religious element in order to destroy? When, after all these severe chastisements and bloody lessons, most statesmen base their wisdom only on the contempt of mankind; and when the prophets of the people preach a liberty, the basis of which is selfishness, the object libertinism, and the wages are vice? And this is an age the events of which shew more and more fatal symptoms, and in which a cry of ardent longing pervades the people, re-echoed by a thousand voices!"—Preface, vol. iii. p. xvii.

What is the remedy for such a state of things? Either a course of blind obstructiveness, or of violent revolutionism? in the divine ever-recreating power of Chris- freedom, and of all earthly happiness." tianity. It is just in such crises of human opinion, that the Gospel, pre-eminently approving itself to be the power of God, and the wisdom of God, for the world's salvation, takes up the entangled thread of human History, and bears it on with a nobler force ART. IV .- 1. Herman and Dorothea, transthan heretofore. It is just when old forms are perishing, and a new creation is yet slumbering in embryotic darkness, that the Divine light is seen breaking in more levely and perfect radiance over a benighted world. Then, when the conflicting elements of society, heaving to its centre from new and uncontrolled impulses, seem threatening the 4. English Hexameters. Translations from existence of all religion, is the Heavenly Wisdom, which shines forth in Christianity, destined to manifest its rarest strength, and 5. Evangeline; a Tale of Acadie. By H. achieve its brightest triumphs. It is of the very secret of its power to seize upon such 6. The Bothie of Toper-na-Fuosich. opposing principles, and, touching them with a living and ennobling harmony, thereby to carry forward the world's progress. It will There has no more wonderful revolution light of an onward civilisation that shall never fication of ancient Greece and Rome.

by a not less despotic half superstitious, half things external to man, is like seeking in hypocritical custom? When so many Churches the wilderness for Christ, who is near you and in you. Such a return is neither desirable nor possible. You have not to scepticism, servitude, and all the other attending night-mares of humanity; on this side self-responsibility, faithful inquiry, liberty, all the attending genii of light. "The first natural day of reformed theo-

logy and Protestant Church government is gone. Children of light! sit not in darkness, and sleep not the sleep of death. Light your torches at that intellectual sunbeam in Scripture, and within yourselves, which both nature and universal history majestically reflect; and awaken the dawn of the young day of the earth by intellec-tual hymns of praise, responded to by a life of self-sacrificing love for the growth and advancement of truth and justice among mankind, the only but the indestruct-Neither certainly, as we believe in God and ible foundation of social union, of political

> lated into English Hexameters from the German Hexameters of Goethe. London,

> 2. Herman and Dorothea, from the German of Goethe. By JAMES COCHRANE.

> 3. Louisa, from the German of Voss. By JAMES COCHRANE. 1852.

Schiller, Goethe, Homer, Callinus, and Meleager. London, 1847.

W. Longfellow. Boston, 1848.

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thus show itself in time to come, as it has taken place in the use of human language, shown itself in time that is gone, to be the one than that by which the versification of Restorer of ruined Humanity,-the beacon- modern Europe took the place of the versiexpire! Looking into the Future, then, with testimonies and evidences are too numerous the eye of faith, dark as it may seem to the and coherent to allow us to doubt that the present eye of sight, we have no fear; but cultivated nations of ancient Europe derived with a hearty trustfulness echo the words of their rhythmical pleasures from certain sucour author, addressed to all earnest Chris- cessions of syllables differing as long and tian spirits,—"But ye, the children of light, short; those syllables being long which go fearlessly onward." To imagine a return contained a diphthong, a vowel before two of mankind to that infantine state, in which consonants, and the like. It is still more

certain, for we have for it the evidence of fiers go much further in this direction. our own senses, that our modern European Thus, Byron says (of Ireland) :-versification, and especially that of our own country, does not depend upon the succes "True, the great of her bright and brief era sion of long and short, but of accented and unaccented syllables: as it is often expressed, our verses are governed by accent, theirs, by quantity. This is, we repeat, a change amounting to a complete revolution; for it has gone to the extent of making the former state of things inconceivable to us. The English ear has no perception of the rhythm of verses, except so far as it is produced by the alteration of accented and unaccented, or, as we may rather call them, strong and weak syllables. It is only by converting long into strong, and short into weak, that the verses of Homer and Virgil are verses to us. The first line of the Æneid must be read,-

in order to make it a rhythmical line to us: though we say cano and Trojae in reading prose. The celebrated galloping line,

"Quadrupedante putrem sonitu quatit ungula campum,"

must be made dactylic in our pronunciation,

"Quadrupedante putrem sonitu quatit ungula campum,"

in order that the pace of Pegasus may be perceived in it. For if we pronounce the words as we do in prose, putrem, sonitu, qualit, we have a movement in which a stringhalt only, and no steady pace is felt. And equally insensible are our ears to the necessity, that a diplithong or a vowel before two consonants should necessarily produce a strong syllable. The smoothest of our modern English versifiers habitually make syllables weak in spite of such conditions. Thus, take Moore's anapestic verses:

"There is not in the wide world a valley so

As that vale in whose bosom the bright waters meet :

Oh the last ray of feeling and life must depart,

are gone,

The rainbow-like epoch where Freedom would pause."

Here true is short, and brief, are two short syllables, rainbow-like is a dactyl.

Notwithstanding the change of quantity for accent which has thus become the leading principle of versification, we retain the ancient names of feet by quantity, to describo analogous feet by accent, as has been customary among persons writing on this And employing this phraseology, we would make one or two other remarks on English versification before we proceed "Arma virumque cano Troja qui primus ab to the consideration of the works of which the titles stand at the head of our article. And, in the first place, we may remark, that several writers, and especially Moore, have been in the habit recently of mixing together trisyllable and dissyllable feet. Take, for example, "The Legacy;"

> "When in death I shall calm recline. O bear my heart to my mistress dear -Tell her it liv'd upon smiles and wine, Of the brightest hue while it lingered here. Bid her not shed one tear of sorrow,

To sully a heart so brilliant and bright, But balmy drops from the red grape borrow, To bathe the relic from morn to night."

Such verses were in former times of English poetry called tumbling verses. But, in fact, their tumbling movement may be subordinated to a pervading principle of rhythm, so as to resemble dancing rather than tumbling. Of course, for this purpose, all the feet must be of nearly equal rhythmical value, like all the bars in a strain of music; and consequently, the weak part of the dissyllable feet, consisting of one syllable, ought to be stronger than each of the two weak syllables of the trisyllable feet; and if the syllable be such as not to bear this weight, the verse has all the more propensity to tumble. This remark, of course Ere the bloom of that valley shall fade from my implies, that among the weak syllables some are less weak. And this any one's ear will readily inform him is the case; for though Here such words as world, whose, rays, must, neither accumulated consonants, nor long shall, are short syllables in the rhythm; vowels, nor diphthongs, can, as we have seen, waters is two short syllables. Other versi- necessarily prevent syllables from being

weak, that is, analogous in the rhythm to one of the most pleasing and laminated the short syllables of the ancients; yet lengths measures. The writing the two weak syllables, so weighted, have a cumbrous and heavy movement. Short syllables so lengthened, though they do not triameter rhyme is not insisted on) a difference to the execute the verse, do very much mar its smoothness. They do not depends upon typographical fashion like the make it executed by executed the verse, but they make it spiriting of the old implied line of fourteen. make it cease to be verse, but they make it printing of the old iambic line of fourteen to be very harsh verse. And dissyllable feet syllables in one line, in the old form of the may, by this weighting of the light syllables, psalms, and in two, in the new. Thus we approach to the nature of spondees, or con- have, tinuations of two equally strong syllables, They can, however, only approach to this standard; for in modern verse, depending as it necessarily does upon the alternation of strong and weak syllables, spondees,-combinations in which two strong syllables succeed each other with no alteration, cannot regularly occur. And here the contrast between the ancient and the modern feeling of rhythm again comes into view. It would be impossible to make intelligible, as rhythm, to an English ear, a succession of feet of which a considerable part were spondees. In order to make them verse, the spondees must be read as trochees; just as in music, a succession of notes of equal length is perceptibly separated into bars by an accent on the first note of each bar.

The difference of principle between ancient classical and modern English versification being so great, it is plain that our verses are iambies or trochaics, dactylies or anapestics, so far only as this analogy or substitution of accent for quantity makes them such. But with this substitution of the modern for the ancient principle of versification, we find our English poetry to consist of masses of verse which we may describe with the most perfect propriety by the ancient terms. There is no reason on earth why we should not name our verses trimeters, hexameters, pentameters, and the like, according to the number of feet, or bars, to use the musical expression. And thus, English hexameters really differ from the most common kinds of English verse, precisely in the same way and degree in which these kinds differ from one another.

Indeed, hexameters are among the most common kinds of English verse. Thus the measure of Shenstone's Pastorals is really anapestic hexameters, though divided into two triameters :-

"O ye woods spread your branches apace, to your deepest recesses I fly,

I would hide with the beasts of the chase, I would vanish from every eye."

This is, as Lindley Murray remarks of it,

weak, that is, analogous in the rhythm to one of the most pleasing and familiar of

"The Lord descended from above, and bowed the heavens high, And round about his feet he cast the darkness of the sky."

But in the more modern form-

" When all thy mercies, O my God ! My rising soul surveys, Transported with the view, I'm lost In wonder, love and praise."

But the English hexameter, especially so called, is dactylic rather than anapostic, inasmuch as it always begins with a strong syllable. It would be easy to transpose Shenstone's verses into this type. Thus :-

"Woods spread your branches apace, to your deepest recesses I hie me,

Hid with the beasts of the chase, I would vanish from every gazer.

This is the measure of the best of our modern hexameters. Thus Mr. Longfellow's charming poem Evangeline opens :-

"This is the forest primeval, the murmuring pines, and the hemlocks, Bearded with moss, and in garments green, in-distinct in the twilight."

In the second line we have already an instance, garments, of a dissyllable foot inserted among the dactyls. But this is also, as we have already remarked, a common feature of the most current English dactylics. Moore's verses, which we have already quoted to illustrate this practice, may easily be converted into hexameters by the omission of a few words, which do not alter the general rhythm.

"When in death I recline, O bear my heart to my mistress;

Tell her it lived upon smiles of the brightest hue while it linger'd; Bid her not shed one tear to sully a heart so

brilliant; Drops of the red grape borrow to bathe the relic for ever."

We are not concerned to maintain that

thus hexameterized suffers no damage by the change; but it must be clear to every reader that the slight change by which they became hexameters cannot convert them from smooth dancing, acceptable English verses, into such harsh, tuneless, intolerable measures as all English hexameters are by some critics declared to be. The general current of the versification, in the two forms, the licenses taken in making syllables strong or weak, and in varying the strong with one or with two weaker, are absolutely identical. No doubt the pause by which one long line is separable into two shorter is a difference; but the long line, when it assumes the liberty of changing the place of this pause, does not alter its rhythm, but only acquires a new element of variety and dignity, as we see in our heroic and Alexandrine lines.

Where, then, is the origin of the disfavour with which some of our critical brethren receive the modern examples of English hexameters? The answer to this question is, we think, very curious, and capable of being very fully substantiated. English hexameters were attempted by the poets of Queen Elizabeth's time upon false principles, and have never quite got over the odium which this mistake drew upon them. Sidney, Spenser, and their friends, with their heads full of the rules of Latin quantity, and their ears familiar with the violence done to the ordinary pronunciation of Latin words, in order to read them into hexameters, began to construct English hexameters subject to the same rules, and requiring the same licenses; subject to rules in which the English ear recognised no real force; claiming licenses which revolted the English sense. They thus produced lines which could not be read as verses, without subverting the common pronunciation of the words; as we have seen that we must do violence to the ordinary accent of Latin words in order to make them run in Latin hexameters. Thus we have such verses as these of Spenser :-

" See ye the blindfolded pretty god, that feathered archer

Of lover's miseries | who maketh his bloody game, Wot ye why his mother with a veil hath covered

Trust me, lest he my love | happily chance to behold."

(We take our examples from hexameters with pentameters, or elegiacs, as classical scholars call them; for the same remarks apply to both.) Here we have false English accents in

the diction of the passages which we have which makes the verses deservedly ridiculed. But though we have these licenses, we have a eareful attempt not to violate Latin rules;

> for pretty is conceived to be prety with a single consonant, and the first syllable of bloody is conceived to have only a single vowel, as in pronunciation it has.

> Sydney in the elegiaes and hexameters which his Arcadia contains, adheres to this pedantical refinement with wonderful pertinacity. There are, in his verses, very few examples of syllables used as short which in Latin would be long. Even such light words as and, must, and the like, are, wo believe never made by him to stand in the place of short syllables; and he is equally careful as to the endings of his words. Thus he says-

> "Let not a puppet abuse thy spright, king's crowns do not help them.

But he would not have said-

"Let not a puppet abuse thy spright, king's crowns do not profit."

because not would then, according to the Latin grammarians, be long by position. In like manner, we find Spenser's correspondents on this subject complaining of the difficulty which arises from the necessity of making the second syllable of carpenter long. To the spontaneous judgment of the ear, carpenter is, of course, a dactyl: nor does the mere English reader perceive any difference between the dactylic distinctness of such a word, and one free from any such combination of consonants; for instance, pewterer. On the other hand, Sydney forces the pronunciation of English words without remorse. Thus :-

"Fortune thus gan say, misery and misfortune is all alone;

And of misfortune, fortune hath only the gift."

Here we have misery with a false accent on the last syllable and misfortune with the accent on the first and last, instead of on the second syllable, as it properly stands in the first line. It is not to be wondered at that verses like these found no acceptance with English ears, when presented by the side of the steady rhythm, according with the general usage of pronunciation, Spenser employed in his Faery Queen, and which was vigorously followed out by his contemporaries and successors in various forms, Among these forms there was no reason why dacblindfolded, lovers, miseries, mothers, his face, tylic lines of six feet should not be as grateful to the ear as iambic lines of five or of six smoothest versifiers. These critics are fond the Spenserian stanza.

part of those who, having good ears for verse; nor half so much as they are to many sification, have not had their taste preju- of Spenser's Alexandrines. diced, and their memories occupied, with Latin and Greek hexameters. It is so, for that English hexameters have nothing in instance, with most women who are lovers them ungenial to English ears, when we of poetry; and how sensible such persons thus find that the condemnation of them

" After the excellent pastor discreetly had question'd the old man."

language; the fact being that we have an unlimited supply of spondees, but that they of Goethe, the Hannehen of Eberhard, will are systematically excluded from all Eng lish verse. They complain that their ears are offended by diphthongs, and clusters of German rhythm. It would occupy us too consonants made short, and short vowels long to give a history of the introduction of made long; whereas, in truth, the distinc-tion of long and short syllables in English, though it affects the smoothness of verse, stances which we have mentioned; but we does not touch its essence; and diphthongs, may the more readily combine a few reand the like, are habitually admitted in the marks on this subject with our criticism of weak syllables of all English verses by our the English attempts, inasmuch as several

feet, which were generally adopted. And of quoting the grotesque fancies by which we have no doubt that, if a poet of toler- some of Spenser's contemporaries expressed able powers of poetical invention or narra- their sense of the perverted rhythm of such tion, had composed a long poem in this hexameters as were produced in his time, measure, in good English, and observing such as we have given examples of; the well the sway of English accent to which lines are like lame dogs, lame ducks, a colt our popular measures owe their popularity, yolked with an ass, and many other images the English hexameter might at this time of halting and unrhythmical movement; have been as favourite a kind of verse as and these images apply, indeed, to such hexameters as we have quoted, as they do to In proof of this opinion, we may observe, lame lines in all other measures; but they that the hexameter so treated is, even now, are not more applicable to good modern a measure highly relished by the greater hexameters than they are to modern heroic

We have, we conceive, no small proof

are to the music of good verse, every one proceeds only from those whose ears have knows, as the poems which they themselves been Latinized; or rather, who judge of write abundantly prove. Who of such persons verse by the eye, in disregard of the effect ever found anything to offend in the verses on the ear. And this proof, thus drawn of Evangeline? What, indeed, readers of from the grammar-school prejudices of our this class are startled and disturbed with, own countrymen, is fully confirmed by the are the spondees, which modern hexameter- history of versification in a neighbouring paists, with a lingering bias to classical models, tion, almost identical with our own in the still occasionally introduce. Such readers rhythm of its language, but not governed by would not like such a line as this—

the same prejudices. In Germany, as is well known, the hexameter has been introduced, received with great favour, and employed by the greatest poets of that people, The inversion of the natural accent, old in poems which have reached the highest degree of popularity. And why? Because man, which in the verse requires, for old man, in Germany, the hexameter had not to which is the natural utterance, seems to struggle with the absurd recollections and them harsh. And accordingly, our smooth-lingering traditions of the pedantic experiest hexameters are those in which such ac- ment made by the Elizabethans. In almost cents are avoided. But while hexameters, every other kind of verse the Germans have free from spondees and forced accents, fall followed our lead. Percy's Reliques gave welcome on the common ear, a more cru-dite class of critics, full of Latin grammar and of Virgil, are intolerant of all such at-tempts. They can see nothing in English adopted the rhythm of Shakespeare and hexameters but abortive imitations of Latin Fletcher. But in the epic, the German hexameters out abortive initiations of Latin Pietcher. But in the epic, the German hexameters; though, as we have seen, the muse has ventured to disregard the prejutive depend on quite different principles, dices of her eldest sister, and to colo the and are governed by different rules. They declare that we cannot have this kind of no one who is acquainted with the Messiah verse, because we have no spondees in our of Klopstock, the Louisa of Voss, the Her-

translations of the most noted and successful of the above-mentioned German poems.

It was not without encountering some obstacles, that the German hexameter made its way. Klopstock, in his Preface to the Messiah, apologizes for it, and speaks of Crist in Leipzig, who, like our Elizabethans, "prescribed to the German hexameter the rules of the Homerian." But Klopstock's Messiah established the reign of hexameters in Germany. Religious poetry, when it obtains any popularity at all, is far more read, and is made far more familiar to the reader, than poetry which deals with merely mundane matters. The interest of the most solemn trains of thought, and the most sublime conceptions of which the human mind is capable, is, in such poetry, added to the ordinary charm of feeling and imagination. The poet soars "far above the Aonian mount;" dives far beneath the surface of daily life. His strain searches the heart, as well as stirs the fancy ; puts in movement each man's vastest hopes and fears about his own immortal part, as well as his sympathies with herocs and heroines. Hence the perusal of such poetry lines, especially called spondaic lines, occur, becomes a religious exercise, as well as a gratification of taste. The currency which Pollok's Course of Time a few years ago obtained may serve to exemplify this tendency. When Klopstock wrote, Milton's Paradise was an old, and Young's Night Thoughts a new object of admiration among the readers of English poetry. Those poets were, in their respective spheres of thought and invention, the models which he imitated; but his rhythm was borrowed from Virgil's Pollio; for it does not appear that Vida's Christiad, though a prem of a subject so closely approaching his own, had any influence upon him.

Klopstock's Messiah became very popu lar in England, even in a prose translation. If the twenty thousand hexameters of which it consisted had been converted into the character of these translations:-

of the English hexameters before us are "So at the midnight hour draws nigh to the slumbering city

Pestilence. Couch'd on his broad-spread wings lurks under the rampart

Death, bale breathing, as yet unalarm'd the inhabitants wander;

Close to his nightly lamp the sage yet watches; and high friends

Over wine not unhallow'd, in shelter of odorous bowers,

Talk of the soul and of friendship, and weigh their immortal duration.

But too soon shall frightful death in the day of affliction

Pouncing, over them spread; in a day of

meaning and anguish; When with wringing of hands, the bride for the bridegroom loud wails."

These lines are, for the most part, not only smoothly rhythmical enough to satisfy any unsophisticated ear, but graced with a significant variety of pauses, such as we admire in Milton's blank verse. In the last line, however, we have not only a spondee in the sixth place, (loud wails,) which is, as we have said, a stumbling block to an ordinary English reader; but also in the fifth place a dissyllable foot (bridegroom,) instead of the regular dactyl. Such exceptional as every schoolboy knows, in Latin poems:-

("Cara deûm soboles magnum Jovis incrementum:)"

and when sparingly used, may be made very significant, as the line in Klopstock may not unreasonably be held to be. But these hexameters of Taylor's, being only detached specimens, and appearing in the pages of Reviews, (often, alas! we fear, a very transitory vehicle of the treasures committed to them,) seem to have made little impression on the English public, and the hexameter epic was left to pursue its course in Germany, uncheered by any sympathy or curiosity among the English readers of poetry.

Voss continued the supply of German same number of English hexameters, there hexameters which Klopstock had begun. is no reason to suppose that its popularity The first three cantos of the Messiah were would have been less; and it cannot be published in 1748. In 1781, Voss pubdoubted that, in such a case, the currency of lished his celebrated fac-simile translation hexameters among us would have been much of the Odyssee, in which a fidelity of greater than it is at present: William Tay-imitation was attempted, such as aplor of Norwich, the friend and correspond pears at first sight impossible. The Greek dent of Southey, inserted in the reviews of was rendered not only line for line, but that day, translations of some specimens, pause for pause, and often with a mirrorwhich give a very fair representation of the like reflection of the original wording and original; and may be regarded as among the rhythm. This curious effort was not withfirst steps made in England to the proper out its direct influence upon German poetry; use of this measure. The following pas- but probably still more important was the sage (a simile) may serve to exemplify the effect which it produced in moulding an original poem of the author, his Luise. Even

in this poem, which became, and is, highly Blowing her gown which rustled and flapped popular in Germany, we see how well the round the feet of the maiden, popular in Germany, we see how well the hexameter lends itself to the Odyssean reality of life in all ages; giving a Homeric circumstantiality and homeliness of detail, with no small share of Homeric earnestness and dignity. Undoubtedly the action of this poem is trivial, being nothing more than a pic-nie coffee drinking, held in the wood near the banks of Lake Eutin, to celebrate Luise's eighteenth birthday; the company comprising her parents, her young brother Charles, and her betrothed Walter: and afterwards, the marriage in presence of the Countess, their neighbour, and Amelia, her daughter, Luise's friend. Thus the triviality of domestic detail and ordinary talk is not elevated by contact with weighty interests and deep struggles of sentiment, as is the case in Herman and Dorothea; and we presume that it is in reference to this unraised, unidealized, everyday character, that eminent German critics pronounce the Luise, as we have heard one of them do. "etwas philisterisch." Yet we, who admire Cowper's Sofa-his tea-table and his greenhouse, and Crabbe's still homelier particularities, may condescend to tolerate the pastor of Grunau's dinner and after-dinner; and even (in consideration of his German breeding) his pipe and his afternoon nap. are now, thanks to Mr. Cochrane, able to refer the English reader to an adequate reproduction of this poem in our own language; and we think our countrymen who have a taste for idyllic simplicity and epic reality will find in this tale much to enjoy, In this, as in the case of the Messiah, Mr. Taylor, in his Survey of German Poetry, has given specimens of translation; and perhaps the comparison may not be without its interest, if we coilate some of those earlier fragments of our English Louisa with Mr. Cochrane's full-length copy. This is Mr. Taylor's translation :-

"Wing'd were the steps they now took; winds blowing the robes of the maiden Close to her well-form'd limbs, and dishevelling

curls on her shoulders. Now from the stern of the boat the pastor des-

cried them, and cried out: Decently, children, and softly; you run like

the fowls in the court-yard, When cook flings them some crumbs and a handful of barley or oatmeal:

Cautionsly, daughter, you'll stumble else over the roots of the bushes."

This is Mr. Cochrane's version of the same passage:-

"This time they turned; the breeze from the

Tripping along, while her ringlets of dark hair

waved on her shoulders.

Nodding and signing the pastor exclaimed more loud from the shallop:

'Gently and softly, you children! you really run like the chickens

Over the court when the maid at the back-door scatters the barley;

Slowly, Louisa, be careful and see you don't trip 'mong the bushes.'

But perhaps we shall give a fairer impression of the character and capabilities of this kind of poetry, if we hasten to the catastrophe, which is brought about by Amelia inducing her friend to put on her wedding attire the evening before the intended day of the marriage; which she does in an interview held between the two girls in the "snug confidential room in the moonlight," on the ground of the necessity of seeing how it will look. Her appearance delights the prompt bridesmaid; and when at the moment the bridegroom knocks at the door, she cannot refrain from letting him share her admiration.

"Rattled the door; loud laughing, Amelia towards it bounded,

Turning the key, and, delighted, the bridegroom entered the chamber.

Gently Amelia seizing the hand of the bride, as she blushing Stood all trembling, presented her now to the

wondering Walter, And then, slightly inclining, in happiest humour

began thus :

Bridegroom, thus will Louisa to-morrow appear at the bridal!

Sav. have I dressed her with taste? Look carefully: is she not lovely?

Ended Amelia: speechless the bridegroom stood with amazement. So in a country retirement a man whose kind-

liest feelings Nature and spells of enchantment have nourished, and rendered ecstatic,

Looks on an apple-tree, now in its first fullblossoming beauty,

Planted in youth by himself in the most loved spot of the garden, &c.

So stood Walter, entranced with the charms of his levely Louisa,

Dressed as a bride, and a thrill of delight pervaded his bosom."

He cannot resist the joy of shewing her thus immediately to her parents. The father is equally delighted and affected; and, after some reflections on marriage, and recollections of his own, which soften him still more, he adds :-

Say, shall I marry them now ? it could not be better to-morrow,"

which accordingly is done with all due reality of household conversations and natuabridged translation of the passage)-

Superintendent.

General Superintendent, I'd answer, the marriage is valid."

The description of the impression produced by the sudden news of the marriage upon flans the houseboy, the "pretty Susannah" the housemaid, and other affectionate dependents and neighbours, with their consequent extempore festivities, close the poem; not, however, leaving unsung the decorations of the bridal chamber, and the bridegroom's elegant dressing-gown,-

"Also the slippers of crimson morocco bespoke for the wedding,

Namely, for each one a pair, and the two placed neatly together,"

and other appointments for the occasion no less appropriate, and no less carefully described.

The Luise shewed how well the hexameter was adapted to the domestic epic; and gave occasion to another poem of the same kind, but of far higher excellence. We speak now of Goethe's Herman and Dorothea: which exhibits the same Homeric homeliness of detail, (much moderated however in its proportion to the whole poem,) the same her by this reception :-

formalities, though every body is taken by ral family affections; and besides these, a surprise: the good pastor declaring the Shakespearian truth of dramatic character, marriage to be valid in the most official and a story which, though its incidents pecumanner, and adding (in Mr. Taylor's liarly mark the close of the eighteenth century, have a breadth and simplicity of human interest which might have been borrowed "Were it arraign'd by the voice of the General from the patriarchal histories of Isaac and Rebecca, or Jacob and Rachel. This poem has also been translated by Mr. Cochrane, who, however, has had at least two predecessors in the work, besides the portions which Mr. Taylor had translated. This tale is so well known, even in England, that we shall not think it necessary here to narrate it. But we will give a specimen which, we think, may correct an impression generally current, that the hexameter poet is at home only in homely details of external things. Herman has found Dorothea, a beautiful, affectionate, and intelligent damsel, in a crowd of exiles who are flying the country in consequence of some of the horrible events of the war of the French Revolution. He is deeply smitten with her, and wishes to make her his wife; but, not daring to tell her so, brings her to his father's house with a sort of ambiguous invitation that she is to assist his mother in household matters. The father, who wishes his son to marry, but, being an ambitious man, has made up his mind with difficulty to such a match as this, nevertheless tries to receive her with well-meant jocularity. Then follows the description of the impression produced upon

> "But the surprised young maid, much wounded and vexed by the banter, Which she imagined was spoken in ridicule, merely to hurt her, Stood, from her cheek to her shoulder suffused all over with blushes; But she, collecting herself, soon full self-possession recovered, And thus answered the father, although her chagrin scarce hiding. Well! a reception like this your son did not lead me to look for, Who represented his father a good, kind, courteous burgher; And I am sure that I stand in the presence of one who is civil, And who suits his demeanour to answer the person he spoke to. But it appears unto me that you sympathy want for the maiden Who now crosses, a stranger, your threshold, hired as a servant Otherwise, surely, you never would mock her with jesting unkindly, Far less rude, howsoever inferior she is in station. True 'tis, I enter your dwelling with only my clothes in a bundle, Which were it properly furnished, would confidence give to the inmates; But still knowing myself, well know I what's due to my station. Kind I am sure it is not, to receive me, on ent'ring, with banters, Forcing me almost to stand at the door, where a home I expected."

Herman is on the rack all this while, as may for shewing a temper unfit for her position, be supposed; but the matter is made appal. This attack brings out a further display of the rently worse by the pastor, who rebukes her state of her heart:—

"Thus he addressed her: his searching remarks much wounded the maiden, Who no longer her feelings restrained, but betrayed her emotion Visibly; sighs, in her bosom suppressed long, audibly bursting: And while the big warm tears from her eyes streamed down she thus answered: Little the seemingly wise man knows, of a truth, who in sorrow

Counsel would give, how weak are his efforts to comfort, or lighten Aught of the woes irresistibly destiny lays upon mortals Happy is your lot, then no wonder a joke you delight in! Sufferers cannot so feel; jests seemingly innocent pain them: No, and it would nothing serve me, although I could even dissemble. Better that now should appear what later would double my anguish, Making me pine 'neath a slowly consuming but fatal disorder. Let me away then. Here no longer I'll think of remaining."

And having thus resolved to go, she declares, rothea, for they are, so to speak, parallel as the ground of her determination, that she poems. As Goethe describes the effects of had been so taken by Herman's appearance a war in Germany, as felt in the domestic and manner, that she could not bear to live circle of the country, so does Mr. Longfellow where she might see him the wife of another. narrate the effects of an American war upon This confession, of course, brings about a American demestic life; and Mr. Longfel-general explanation and an immediate below's poem has an especial interest to the trothal. We think no one can deny the affolious of English hexameters, as being an fecting nature of Dorothea's position in this original, not a translated poem, and as guidcase, the skill with which it is brought about, ed in its rhythm more by a true poetical car or the natural pathos of the sentiments which than by imitations of other models. Mr. she utters, and of which our limits allow us Longfellow, as might be expected from his only to give a small portion. Nor, we think, other poems, is true to the character of the will any reader of poetry hold that these domestic epic; true to its homely details and feelings could have been expressed in ordi- its natural feelings, graced with fanciful nary couplets, with so much of homely realisimages. The poem is probably familiar to ty, without falsetto or exaggeration, as in the most of our readers, and we will only transcript in which Coupled to the coupled to

measure in which Goethe expressed them.

It is natural to speak of Mr. Longfellow's recollection. Here is a family group:—

Evangeline along with the Herman and Do-

" Soon was the game begun. In friendly contention the old men Laughed at each lucky hit or unsuccessful manœuvre; Laughed when a man was crowned, or a breach was made in the king-row. Meanwhile, apart in the twilight glow of a window's embrasure, Sat the lovers, and whisper'd together, beholding the moon rise Over the pallid sea and the silvery mist of the meadows. Silently, one by one, in the infinite meadows of heaven, Blossom'd the lovely stars, the forget-me-nots of the angels."

Evangeline is so sad, and the course of events are obliged to declare, tainted with the most so aimless; so that the impression left by shocking heresics in the article of versificathe whole is far from corresponding with the tion, of which we may hereafter have a word exceeding beauty of innumerable passages to say. Passing over several minor essays

We have been unfortunate, in recent as well as in ancient times, in the original attempts which have been made at hexameters the lover of poetry. Politics and political bordering upon profaneness, machinery cation Pastoral" is so uncouth and licen-strange and yet mean, a multitude of person-tious as often to repel the most indulgent read-

It is a pity that Mr. Longfellow's story in faults, the Laureate's hexameters were, we which occur in it. If the same engaging in the same measure, all of which were more writer would take up a national tale, in which or less sportive, and therefore tended to difthe incidents are marked and striking, and the fuse a persuasion that hexameters could not catastrophe satisfactory, and treat it in the be earnest, we may notice a little production same manner, we do not think it at all too which, though partly tinged by the same much to expect that it might rival the fame spirit, has still some remarkable characters of Herman and Dorothea, great example of in its composition. We speak of Mr. a national poem as that is.

Clough's Bothie of Toper-na-Fucsich. The strange name by which this composition is designated belongs, it seems, to a rude dwelling which stands in some region of the in England. Southey's Vision of Judgment Scotch Highlands, and which is connected combined almost every fault which can repel with the history of an Oxford reading party who spend the summer in its neighbourhood. intolerance, religious images and expressions In its versification, Mr. Clough's "Long Vaages and no drama, with the utter want of er; for it is often impossible to know how poetical interest, would have weighed down the author intended his lines should read as the most musical lines. But besides these hexameters, and not unfrequently, as appears to us, impossible so to read them by any ments, and their mode of treating their studforce of false accent. Indeed, Mr. Clough ies, are given with a truth which any one who
seems to have regarded his performance have retained extravagancies of accent, phrato fail to be struck by. This kind of domeshave retained extravagancies of accent, phratiel lice, as well as that of the family of the
soology, and imagery, as part of the jest. Pastor of Grünan and the Host of the GoldYet, in spite of these blemishes, there is a
chann the poem, which give it a considerable
charm. The character of the several Oxonitions of the hot of the colloquial discussions of the
widest subjects, their several nicknames, and cal application of these by Philip Hewson,
other fragments of a special language, which, one of the party; who marries a Scoth lasafter the manner of such young men, they isie who dwells in the Bothic of Toper-nahave constructed for themselves during their Fuosich, and then goes out to New Zealand
season of domestic intimacy, their amuseas a settler. Hewson is a democrat.

"Philip Hewson the poet Hewson, the radical hot, hating lords and scorning ladies, Silent mostly, but often reviling in fire and fury Feudal tenures, mercantile lord, competition, and bishops."

Hewson is in the habit of declaiming to his | ter which is imposed upon women by modern friends against the helpless, artificial charac | habits, and the trifling of modern gallantry.

"Still as before (and as now) balls, dances, and evening parties, Shooting with bows, going shopping together, and hearing them singing, Dangling beside them, and turning the leaves on the dreary piano, Officing unneeded arms, performing dull farces of escort, Seemed like a sort of unnatural up-in-the-air ballon work, (Or what to me is as hateful, a riding about in a carriage,) Utter divorcement from work, mother earth, and objects of living, As mere gratuitous trifling in presence of business and duty, As does the turning aside of the tourist to look at the landscape, Seem in the steamer or coach to the merchant in haste for the city. Hungry and fainting for food, you ask me to join you in snapping—What but a pink paper comfit with motto romantic inside it. Wishing to stock me a garden, I'm sent to a table of nosegays; Pretty, I see it, and sweet; but they hardly would grow in my borders. Better a crust of black bread than a mountain of paper confections; Better a daisy in earth than a dailia cut and gathered; Better a cowsilp with root than a foreign carnation without it."

The tutor of the party, "the grave man, nick-|trine of the equality of women; and, among named Adam," attempts to answer this doc-lother matters, to retort the illustration.

"However noble the dream of equality—mark you, Philip,
Nowhere equality reigns in God's sublime creation.
Star is not equal to star, nor blossom the same as blossom,
Herb is not equal to herb any more than planet to planet.
True, that the plant should be rooted in earth I grant you wholly,
And that the daisy in earth surpasses the cut carnation,
Only the rooted carnation surpasses the rooted daisy.
There is one glory of daisies, another of carnations.

We might go on, for the discussion continues in an amusing and spirited manner. But, more doll, he finds enough of his ideal to ensure the himself to speculative discussion. Having First, he says, in earlier youth, determined in his own mind that woman

"Chanced it my eye fell aside on a capless, bonnetless maiden, Bending with three-pronged fork in a garden uprooting potatoes,"

who produces a movement in his heart, to ramble in the mountains, he comes to a Now, in the course of a holiday which the farm by the loch-side of Raunoch, where he youths give themselves from their studies, is "smitten by golden-haired Katio the

youngest and comeliest daughter." But from after, his companions hear of his falling away her he tears himself, in consequence of the from his republican sternness. One of them passing glance of another damsel; and soon

" Came and revealed the contents of a missive that brought strange tidings; Came and announced to the friends, in a voice that was husky with wonder, Philip was staying at Balloch, was there in the room with the Countess, Philip to Balloch had come, and was dancing with Lady Maria."

This whirling in the vortex of aristocracy na-Fuosich. He writes thence to his tutor does not, however, long continue. Soon af-concerning his having found Elspie Mackter, Philip is heard of at the Bothie of Toper- aye-

> "She whose glance at Rannoch Turned me in that mysterious way; yes, angels conspiring Slowly drew me, conducted me, home, to herself; the needle Quivering, poises to north."

We have the wooing, the father's consent; sure makes us willingly accept a style in and, after a certain interval, during which which the usual conventional phrases and he takes his degree at Oxford, and after a dim generalities of poetical description are continuation of his discussions with his tutor replaced by the idioms and pictures of comon the subject of human life, we have his mon life,

wedding and his emigration.

fied attempts at familiar and argumentative we find such lines as the following :dialogue in the language. And as we have

> " How little thinks the worldly-wise man who seeks to console us, That his cold words have no power to touch the depth of our sorrow!"

make verse of it would undoubtedly accent acts of violence in this translation. So long it thus :-

seeks to console us, that his cold words have no deaf ear, and the critics bend their brows power to touch the depth of our sorrow!"

Whereas, if we rightly apprehend the translator's purpose, he would have us make dacwords have no; and thus he, at every step, does violence to the natural pronunciation; and three lines later we have a phrase which we should, of course, read-"No, there is no help for me, even if I could dissemble." What a perversion is it to read this as a hex-

"No, there is no help for me, even if I could dissemble."

His tutor goes to him; approves his choice. already said, the very novelty of the mea-

But in order that this measure may be, or We have dwelt the longer on this poem, may deserve to be, acceptable to the Engbecause, notwithstanding its great, and in- lish ear, the rule must be earefully observed deed, wanton rudeness of execution, it seems of not forcing the natural accent which beto shew that the measure in which it is writ-longs to the words used. It is not enough ten may be made the vehicle of a represent that the lines may possibly be read as dactytation of the realities of life, better than any lic hexameters; they should be such as are more familiar form; more real and true, and naturally so read, or at least, easily so read. yet not destitute, when managed by a poet, One of Mr. Coehrane's rival translators of of poetical grace and ideal elevation. The Herman and Dorothea appears not to have conversation pieces in this, as in Herman been sufficiently attentive to this rule. For and in Louisa, have more of the spirit of instance, to take a specimen from a passage conversation than Cowper's Table Talk, which we have already given in Mr. Coch-Pope's Satires, Crabbe's Tales, or any versi-rane's translation, namely, Dorothea's speech

Any one reading this without seeking to We might point out innumerable similar as such lines are offered to the world as specimens of English hexameters, it is no "How little thinks the worldly-wise man who wonder that the readers of poetry turn a into an awful frown.

It would not be difficult to give rules with regard to hexameters which would, if followed, prevent such harshnesses. But such tyls of How little wordly-wise, That his cold rules are no more needed, and no more likely to be observed, than the like rules in any other kind of English verse. The main rule in these dactylics is, as it is in the anapestics of Shenstone, or Beattie, or Moore, or Byron, that the verses must of themselves read easily and smoothly into their appropriate metre. No doubt, either dactyls or anapests, where the short syllables are loaded with diphthongs, accumulated consonants, or emphasis arising from the sense, will be rough and unwieldy, and will

be made to move in the prescribed rhythm, and prime, were the children of art who only by strong pressure, like a lame horse under a robust rider. But this is what any one who can make or read verses at all will learn from his own ear; and from the same authority he will learn how far such harshnesses are tolerable, or even graceful; for it is to be recollected that it is possible for verses to err by being too smooth. Many persons think, with the author of the "Feast of the Poets," that

" Pope spoilt the ears of the town With his cuckow-note verses, one up and one down;"

and the regular trot or canter of a series of perfect feet, either iambuses or trochees, anapests or daetyls, is in the end wearisome. When the ear is familiar with the normal hexameter, it accepts with gratification the variety produced by the dissyllable feet, and even the trisyllable feet, which are not quite smooth; in addition to the variety produced by the various places of the pause, to which we have already referred.

Still there is a certain movement in the dactylic hexameter which ought never to quit the ear; and one of the conditions of this movement is, that every verse should begin with a strong syllable. This we hold to be a rule that admits of no exception; and Southey, by violating this rule, as in other ways, has damaged the eause of English hexameters. He asserts speculatively "the license of using any foot of two or three syllables at the beginning of a line." But though he gives us a reason, that without this the verse would appear exotic and forced, he has used this license in not more than half a dozen lines of his poem, if in so many. We have these lines :-

" And Shakespeare, who in our hearts for himself hath erected an empire;"

when plainly the verse would, to say the least, be much improved by the omission of the first syllable.

" Upon all seas and shores wherever her rights were offended.

Here lost in their promise,

And prime, were the children of art who should else have delivered

Works and undying name to grateful posterity's keeping."

The last example, if it is to exemplify the license, has only five feet. It may be forced Sat astride on his nose, with a look of wisdom into a hexameter:-

should else have deliver'd;"

but either way it can hardly be held as improving the general current of the rhythm. Yet Southey has in this poem many passages well versified; for instance the passage beginning :-

"Then as it swell'd and rose, the thrilling melody deepen'd."

Southey also asserts the trochee to be the proper foot for the last place: and such, no doubt, it is in general; and nothing more completely separates the hexameter from our ordinary verses than to have a spondee in the last place. This would be made more evident if hexameters were ever rhymed, which they might be as well as other kinds of verse. Mr. Tennyson had, in the first edition of his poems, some hexameters which rhymed at the middle and the end, like the leonine verses of the Middle Ages. Mr. Milnes has, among his poems, some hexameters with final rhymes. And the beginning of Virgil's first eelogue has been translated in the following manner :-

"Tityrus, you at your case, where the beech broad shadow is flinging

Rest, to the sylvan muse your oat-pipe melodies singing

We, from the fields we have till'd, from the homes we have loved, go as rangers,

We go as exiles afar, to mourn 'mid the dwellings of strangers."

But the perpetual continuance of this double, or as the French and Germans call it, female rhyme, is somewhat undignified. Still such lines shew the natural eadence of the hexameter; and such a cadence is most familiar to the common ear. Whether, however, the reminiscence of the ancient epic which the final spoudee, used sparingly, may give, be not sometimes a grace, we shall not here discuss. Mr. Longfellow, in whose ear we have great confidence, does not shun it :-

"When from the forest at night through the starry silence the wolves howled, Faces clumsily carved in oak on the back of his

arm-chair, So in each pause of the song with measured motion the dock dicked.

When through the curling Smoke of the pipe, or the forge, thy friendly

and jovial face gleams. Shocks of yellow hair, like the silken floss of the maize, hung

Over his shoulders; his forehead was high; and glasses with horn bows

supernal."

readers with specimens of English hexameothers. Several such pieces of verse have appeared in Punch. These examples have diffused a notion that the hexameter is na-

It would have been easy to amuse our shew how easily the English ear takes hold of the hexameter rhythm. Perhaps too, ters written for jocose purposes; of which there is a poignancy added to the jest in many elever bits are current, the productions such cases, by the mock pedantry of imitatof eminent judges learned in the law, and ing the versification of Virgil and Homer, to which is generally added a corresponding cast of phraseology. We may reckon Vis-count Maidstone's "Free Trade Hexameturally jocose; the fact being, that parodies ters" among those which aim, among other in any other measure equally prove the things, at raising a smile; though, like other jocose nature of the measure; while the parodies, they have also other objects. They frequency and currency of these parodies begin thus,—

> "Then came trooping together the well-booted sons of the farmers; Larger and bigger were they than the lank-bellied spinners of cotton, Sodden in vaporous mills, and husky with dust of the devil," &c.

persons of eminence, and eminence of varitelling the public nothing which it does not know already, in stating that the translations Trinity College, Cambridge, and Archdeacon any purpose in any other measure,-

One of the publications, of which the title | Hare. Some of them are excellent specistands at the head of our article, shews that mens of hexameters; some, a little harsh; among which we may note the translation ous kinds, have not disdained to swell the of "Herman and Dorothea." The transhexameter chorus. We believe we are lations of Homer are singularly faithful, spirited, and flowing. But perhaps we shall do best to select a case in which the hexafrom Schiller, Goethe, &c., published by meter (with the pentameter) can do what Mr. Murray, are by Sir John Herschel, the no other measure can do. The following is present Provost late Master of Eton, Dr. a translation of an epigram of Schiller, (Co-Hawtrey, Mr. Lockhart, the Master of [lumbus], which could not be rendered to

> "Still steer on brave heart! though witlings laugh at thy emprize, And though the helmsmen drop, weary and nerveless, their hands, Westward, westward still! there land must emerge to the vision; There it lies in its light, clear to the eye of thy mind. Trust to the power that guides; press on o'er the convex of ocean; What thou seek'st-were it not-yet it should rise from the wave, Nature with genius holds a pact that is fixt and eternal:
>
> All which is promised by this, that never fails to perform."

The latter distich was quoted, with great translations to some of the curious passages effect, by an illustrious German, in speaking from poets of the eighth and twelfth cen-

of the discovery of the planet Neptune by turies, illustrating his sketch of the history an English and a French mathematician, of the city. These also, we think, could not before it had been disclosed by observation. be suitably rendered in any other measure. We are glad to see that Miss Winkworth This is of the eighth century, given by

has, in the recently published third volume Muratori,of the Life and Letters of Niebuhr, anhexed

> "Built in ancient days by the noble labours of Patrons, Verging to ruin now, Rome thou art subject to slaves! Kings that reign'd so long in thy walls have left thee for ever: Left them and gone to the Greeks; gone with thy glory and grace. Constantinople is cherish'd: New Rome is the name that they call her,

This of the twelfth, by Bishop Hildebert of Mans,-

"Rome even now unequall'd, ev'n now, when beheld as a ruin: Here in thy fragments we see how thou wast great as a whole. Time has humbled thy pomps, and levell'd the walls of thy Cæsars, Yea, and the fanes of thy gods cumber the slimy morass Fall'n are the works of thy power, the works on which distant Araxes Trembled to gaze as they stood, mourns to reflect in their fall."

Thou, old Rome, must decay-old are thy ways and thy walls."

The whole elegy is full of a noble sadness. Æneas Sylvius, afterwards Pope Pius II., breathes the same strain. "Rome, I love to ponder, and sadly to gaze on thy ruins : In thy ruins to-day see I thy glories of old," &c.

Here we have not so much to note the terrible struggles of conscience in one or poetical beauty or antiquarian interest of these verses, as to remark that any translation except one in the original measure, would give the English reader a very imsuch thing. Ruth is still the simple girl, perfect impression of their tone.

we are naturally somewhat impatient of trustful love. Mr. Bellingham is no Don novelties in poetical fashions, and especially Juan, but a young gentleman with a new in versification, yet we think we have shown toy, which he very much admires for its reasons for holding, that in this case the beauty, but sometimes grows tired of; adnovelty is very slight, and the recommend- dressed as "Sir" by her whom he calls ations considerable.

ART V .- Ruth: A Novel. By the Au-THOR of MARY BARTON, 3 vols. London,

her child.

book, we should say, is its perfect simplicity, dogged by the shame of her one fault? VOL. XIX.

country-bred, delighted with the new sight We have not thought it unworthy of our critical dignity to devote a few pages to this subject; for though, as eritics accustomed to the established and received forms of art, "Ruthie;" trying to amuse himself in rainy weather by teaching her to play cards; and at last, when laid up with fever and under his mother's care, very glad to get rid of his companion as an incumbrance, provided the thing can be done handsomely, without his taking any trouble about it. And yet, when the bitterness of trial is come, and with it the inculcation of a higher morality, not by the reproof, but by the example, the love, The story of "Ruth" is the simplest post the self-devotion of a Dissenting minister sible—that of a seduced milliner's appren- and his sister, (Mr. and Miss Benson,) who tice, and of her illegitimate child. We see take the deserted one into their house as a her first, beautiful, innocent, ignorant, friend- distant relation, Ruth is able to look back less; then loving, betrayed, and deserted, upon this period of outward sunshine and when already about to become a mother; inward ignorance as one of guilt and sinthen trained into virtue out of ignorance, fulness, and bears her life-long penance of rather than restored to it out of conscious self-abasement always, and latterly of outer sin, by the kindness of friends and the du abasement, as the just wages of her fault. ties of motherhood, but at the same time She "was alive without sin once; but when made to occupy a false position, for the sake the commandment came, sin revived, and of her helpless babe, by being passed off as she died." Another exquisitely natural dea widow; then overwhelmed with reproba- velopment of eircumstances alike and of tion through the discovery of her sin; and character is shewn in the well-meaning unlastly, redeeming her own name, and restor- truth of the Dissenting minister and his sising her son to self-respect, by spotlessness ter as to Ruth's history. They remember of life and self-sacrifice, and dying of a fever the wild looks of an illegitimate son on seeing caught in attending, as a sick-nurse, on her his baptismal certificate. The poor girl's early betrayer, whose hand, when at the sin has been one evidently more of ignosummit of her past good fortune, she had rance than of unchastity. Must her yet unrejected, because she felt, or thought, she born babe be punished for it by the world's loved him no longer, and because she saw seorn, even if she must? Will it be more him to be unworthy of being the father to than Christian charity that, when taken to a new place, established in a new sphere of The most marking characteristic of the action, she should not be haunted and truthfulness, its following out, step by step, was the decision, the pivot on which the fate of nature in all its parts, together with its of years moved," and Mr. Benson "turned exquisite purity of feeling in dealing with a it the wrong way." Ruth Hilton, the "sinsubject which so many would shrink from. gle woman," as she would be described in For instance, the latter part of the first legal phraseology, becomes Mrs. Denbigh volume shews us Ruth living with her sethe widow; a minister of the Gospel and ducer at a Welsh inn-a grand opportunity his sister burden their lives with an untruth. for commonplace moralists to picture to us They try to conceal it from their faithful old servant, who, unknown to them, has been | control through the sudden illness of her hoarding up her wages for thirty years, that she may die "an heiress," and leave all to "Master Thurstan;" they see her peering curiously at Ruth's fingers for the weddingring; they learn of her cutting off Ruth's flowing hair almost by main force, and dressing her in a widow's cap, Years after, Mr. Benson is stopped in his lectures to young Leonard, Ruth's boy, on the sin of falsehood, by old Sally reminding him that he is no worse than his betters, when they speak of The first falsehood needs to be propped up by others; Ruth's husband must assume some reality as a deceased surgeon; Faith Benson has to be stopped by her brother from telling more untruths than are strictly necessary, so easily do they come. Then the leading member of Mr. Benson's congregation, the rich Pharisee Mr. Bradshaw, so proud of his own integrity, so severe against sin, becomes an especial patron of the young widow, takes her into his own house as governess to his children, employs her as a sort of go-between with his headstrong eldest daughter, who will have her own way about a "suitable match" with her father's junior partner; and all the while Mr. Benson dare not reveal the secret, which he knows would forfeit the poor girl her position, whilst he knows her also to be well worthy of it. The guilt of this evil done, that good may come, weighs upon his whole life, makes him nervous, hesitating, apprehensive of consequences. And then the discovery does come at last; poor Ruth is covered with the most undeserved reproaches; her child cowers beneath the shame of his birth; the great pew of the Bradshaw family becomes vacant in chapel, though the pew-rent is ostentatiously continued to be paid. The perfectly simple, necessary, logical evolving of consequence after consequence is here obvious to any one. You see that the temptation to the first falsehood is almost irresistible; you feel instinctively that, sooner or later, it must be found out. You know that the more blameless is Ruth's conduct, the more she will justify the world's good opinion in her assumed character as a widow, and the more dreadful will be the shock of the discovery of her sin, the more bitter the world's anger at having been so deceived in her.

The dramatic power of the authoress of "Mary Barton" was not to be doubted. But what marks "Ruth" is her extreme sobriety in the wielding of it, the common incidents out of which she evolves it, the instinctive abstinence from exaggeration in her most highly-wrought and pathetic passages. The nerving of a young girl to self-

lover, her despair and attempt at suicide when deserted by him, her sudden meeting with him in after days, when she has risen to new conceptions of duty, although occupying a false position, her rejection of his renewed suit for her child's sake, the shame, less for herself than for that child, of the discovery of her past sin, her own revela-tion of that sin to her child, and finally, the impulse of seemingly renewed affection which makes her wait upon her sick lover, her catching the infection from him, and her death-these are surely, almost without an exception, elements of dramatic interest which never even approach the outer verge of likelihood, scarcely transcend the painful realities of every day. And the setting is as simple as the picture. The most harrowing struggle of the book, perhaps, takes place, as it might in common life, in a drawing-room by the sea-side, amidst all the amenities of social life-we mean that between Ruth and Mr. Donne, (the Mr. Bellingham of former days), when the latter recognises her as a governess in his host's house at Abermouth. This would be too long to quote; but let us take a specimen from that class of descriptions which are perhaps the greatest of all stumbling-blocks to mere pathos-mongers-Ruth's deathbed scene, as she lies delirious :-

"She displayed no outrage or discord even in her delirium. There she lay in the attic-room in which her baby had been born, her watch over him kept, her confession to him made; and now she was stretched on the bed in utter helplessness, softly gazing at vacancy with her open, unconscious eyes, from which all the depth of their meaning had fled, and all they told was of a sweet, child-like insanity within. The watchers could not touch her with their sympathy, or come come near her in her dim world; so, mutely, but looking at each other from time to time with tearful eyes, they took a poor comfort from the one evident fact, that, though lost and gone astray, she was happy and at peace. They had never heard her sing; indeed, the simple art which her mother had taught her had died, with her early joyousness, at that dear mother's death. But now she sang continually, very soft and low. She went from one old childish ditty to another without let or pause, keeping a strange sort of time with her pretty fingers, as they closed and un-closed themselves upon the counterpane. She never looked at any one with the slightest glimpse of memory or intelligence in her face-no, not even at Leonard.

" Her strength faded day by day, but she knew it not. Her sweet lips were parted to sing, even after the breath and the power to do so had left her, and her fingers fell idly on the bed. Two days she lingered thus—all but gone from them, and yet still there.

"They stood around her bedside, not speaking,

or sighing, or meaning; they were too much consequences of her sin, awed by the exquisite gracefulness of her look sin-God sends the child. for that. Suddenly she opened wide her eyes, and gazed intently forwards, as if she saw some happy vision, which called out a lowly, rapturous, breathless smile. They held their very breaths.

"I see the light coming," said she. 'The light is coming,' she said. And raising herself slowly, she stretched out her arms, and then fell back, very still, for evermore."—Vol. iii. p. 289.

Does not the shadow of Ophelia seem to flit around that beath-bed? and would not Shakspere himself have acknowledged the scene as a distant, but not unworthy out-

growth of his own genius?

The perfect naturalness of development in the story of Ruth results necessarily in a perfect clearness of purpose, from whatever side the work is looked at; a purpose not ticketed in the shape of a moral, but inwoven with the whole texture of the book, and as much part of it as the softness of a cashmere shawl, or the delicate design of a Lyons silk. That purpose, so far as respects the Bensons-after Ruth, the leading characters of the book-is the inculeation of the plain old English maxim, " tell the truth and shame the devil." Let us have no charitable Jesuitry, it tells us, no doing of evil that good may come; no paltering with the world's prejudices. If you want it to admire a self-devoted woman, don't flatter it by telling it she is a respectable widow, whereas she is nothing but a poor betrayed girl; compel it to love and reverence God's grace in the sinner; it is only thus that you will daunt its Pharisaical pride.

Again, in the unfolding of Ruth's character another truth shines out, clear and bright as day; the old truth which David expressed in a noble psalm—the truth which the Church of England has boldly embodied in her service of the churching of women, every word of which is as applicable to a harlot who has become a mother as to the Queen of England on her throne—the truth that "children and the fruit of the womb are an heritage and gift which cometh of the Lord." A very strange truth, indeed, now-a-days—a truth denied by every advertisement asking or offering the services of married men or women, "without incumbrances,"-a truth denied by the fearfully increasing number of cases of child poisoning, child-murder, abandonment of children, and perhaps still more so by the perpetual ver-dicts of "concealment of birth." But the authoress of Ruth is a mother, and the duteriold when, instead of acting merely as an ties of hallowed motherhood have taught adventitious nitigation of the penalties of her own pure soul what its blessings may carthly law, they become the local mainbe to the fallen. Ruth the seduced girl is springs of action around her; when she finds made a noble Christian woman by the very herself surrounded in the penitentiary, not

Satan sent the sin-God sends the child. The new sense of responsibility which his birth brings forth, the feeling of the wrong she has done to him, of the joy w hich he is to her, of the evil which she must keep him from, of the good to which she must train him, these are the means of her sanctification. Is there a harlot mother in whom the germs of these feelings cannot be found, if we only look deep enough for them? But no. It is so much easier to point the lesson of the sin through its consequence, to insist on the shame, on the trouble, on the expense of the unlawful motherhood! Another time, perhaps, a tiny corse will be found in the cesspool.—Why should you wonder? Is it not one "incumbrance" the less in this world, both to the mother and to the country at large, over-population being taken into ac-

But the tracing out of the influence of Ruth's motherhood upon herself is but a part, we take it, of the larger and more general purpose of the book—of that lesson which it inculcates, along with every penitentiary, ill or well regulated, in the world, for those who choose to read the lessonthat, as the sin of unchastity in the woman is, above all, a breaking up or a loosening of the family bond-a treason against the family order of God's world-so the restoration of the sinner consists mainly in the renewal of that bond, in the realization of that order, both by and through and around herself. We are beginning to learn that whipping unchaste women, or putting them in prison, are not, as our forefathers thought, sufficient safeguards against vice; and that, on the whole, if Newgate ever produces upon them any effect for good, it is only when a Mrs. Fry or a Sarah Martin comes into it, to tell of something which is not Newgate, but exactly the reverse of it-of the heavenly Father, and the babe Jesus growing into the adorable Saviour, the eternal Bridegroom of the everlasting Bride, the elder Brother, first-born among many—of earthly house-holds, framed, as far as man's poor endeavours can reach, upon the pattern of that heavenly one-righteous fathers, and pure mothers, and loving wives, and gentle little children, and brothers and sisters walking hand in hand through life. And we are also beginning to learn that, whatever effect all these new influences may have upon the poor sinner in the prison, their weight is tenfold when, instead of acting merely as an

by mercenary turnkeys and matrons, but by action, to those "eccaleobions" for the hatch-devoted women, who, for the love of Christ, ing of parentless eggs, and those artificial themselves deaconesses or sisters, as the lowly workers of Kaiserswerth, of the Rue de Reuilly at Paris, of Clewer, or elsewhere, or without any distinctive title. Then it is that discipline assumes for the penitent its true meaning and worth; then it is that she will sometimes submit, of her own free will, to poorer living, and coarser clothing, and harder work, than philanthropy would dare to impose on her in a gaol, and feel that the blessed privilege of being able to call herself a member of Christ, a child of God, is worth more than all the world besides. Now, if the authoress of Ruth had been a mere professed philanthropist, a setter up of systems, she would have placed her scene of action in some model penitentiary, and shewn us her notions of the regular machinery to be set at work for manufacturing virtuous women. And, no doubt, she knows as well as we do that a vast deal of machinery is others, penitentiaries are needed for the inconstantly throwing about the streets. We fall. have not the slightest doubt that she knows are likely to know, about the working of infant-schools and ragged-schools, factoryschools and servant-schools, day-nurseries, and penitentiaries, and sisterhoods, and all the other appliances of the nineteenth cenfew of them, and will help. But she knows worthy, useful, pious, are but palliatives-

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have come to spend their very lives with hens for the nursing of motherless chickens, her and the like of her, whether calling so characteristic among the material rareeshows of our age) ;-that the violation of God's family order lies at the bottom of all social evils-that there would be no need of day-nurseries or infant-schools if mothers would or could do their duty-no need of ragged-schools if parents in general fulfilled theirs-no need of penitentiaries if the holiness of marriage were understood-no need of sisterhoods if men felt that they were brethren : that the success of all charitable institutions depends exactly upon the closeness of their imitation of those processes of moral nature of which they are to supply the want ; upon the approximation of the infantschool mistress to a gentle and careful mother, of the schoolmaster to a wise and loving father, of the matron to a tender and motherly sister. And so she goes at once to the root of the matter, and places poor erring Ruth in a family, between a brother and sister, and their old servant, with her wronged needed in this poor world, even for the sake innocent child before her for a monument of of making people virtuous; that, so long as past sin and life-long duty. And thus the the churches do not lay hold upon the week- erring girl, as we said, grows up into a days and their work, as well as upon the noble Christian woman, and outlives the Sabbath and its rest-do not claim as their discovery of her shame to receive thanks sphere of action the whole of man's social from elergymen and medical men for her life, the whole of his moral nature, system devotion to the sick in time of fever, and to must often take the place of organic growth, die from attending on the man who ruined societies must spring up and apportion her. We are quite sure that, by a course amongst themselves, in somewhat higgledy-like this, the authoress will have done far piggledy fashion, many of the duties which more real service to the cause (as the cant should flow from the very constitution of phrase is) of penitentiaries, and nurses' instithe church, and form part of its regular tutions, and sisterhoods, and deaconesses' in-order; that, in this age of ours above all stitutes, and the rest, than if she had "taken up" any one of those subjects; simply creasing numbers of poor creatures whom because she has, as it were, lifted the veil our deprayed social state, and especially the from off their working, to show us the growth of the manufacturing system are principle by which alone they can stand or

The authoress of "Ruth" is one who quite as much as you or we, friend reader, looks at life so simply, with so little of partiality or one-sidedness, that we have a right to expect her characters to be as natural as the development of their actions. She has not, indeed, the wondrous Shakspere-like gift of Mrs. Beecher Stowe, of throwing off tury philanthropy, and has helped in not a a character in a few touches, so that the whole man rises at once before you, and you also, we should imagine, that all these same feel from henceforth his individuality throughappliances of philanthropy, however praise- out all he says or does, as clearly as if you knew him in actual life; a gift so remarkremedies applied to urgent symptoms, able in her, that one would say she absolutely whilst we cannot or dare not strike at the could not see any of her personages in the disease itself-shifts and contrivances to abstract, as mere walking gentlemen. But supply the place, to imitate the workings of the difference between the personages of the nature (in fact, if the comparison be admis- two writers is not that between real men and sible, not unlike, in the sphere of spiritual women and abstract, but simply between

sunshine and shadow; or, perhaps, rather, —Mr. Donne, indifferent nearly to every-between that clear dry atmosphere of "the thing except ontward beauty, negatively States," such as travellers describe it to us, rather than positively corrupt, anxious to bright and hard in its outlines, and in colouring like that of the south, and our own mistier skies, and the soft blurred lines of our hills, and the faint sunshine and light shadows of our summer, and the tender shadings and neutral tints of our laudscapes. characters in "Ruth" are all real characters. even when, like Mr. Benson, Mr. Farquhar (Mr.Bradshaw's partner), Jemima Bradshaw (his daughter), they grow slowly upon our view, half-riddles at the first. But long before the book is over we know them all well, and could tell each again out of a thousand. Ruth herself-the tender, loving, humble Ruth, so brave against everything but reproof-Mr. Benson, the deformed minister, led, to a great extent, by his half-motherly sister, Faith, in practical matters, but shewing his own manly dignity as the "head of the woman," wherever moral authority has to be asserted, so pure and lofty-minded, and yet fettered and burthened for years with the sense of his one untruth :- Faith Benson, the shrewd, kindly, warm-hearted, activeminded maiden sister, yet still enough a slave to conventional respectability to be at first more shocked at the prospect of Ruth's becoming a mother than at the knowledge of her past sin, and who, after suggesting the first untruth to save appearances, ends by treating it as a positive cruelty to shrink from acting upon that untruth to the uttermost, when Mr. Bradshaw offers to take the exemplary young widow into his house as a governess :-old Sally, the maid-servant, with her quaint, harmless Phariseeism of Churchwomanship, her vast contempt for Dissenters in general, her reverence for her own masters, and her lifelong devotion to the child whom she has maimed, whilst yet she is still at times the nurse-maid over the grown man:—hard Mr. Brudshaw, patroniz-ing, self-righteous, stricken in his most cherished pride by the criminality of his son :- Jemima, his daughter, proud and selfwilled herself, steeling herself against her love for her father's partner, because she thinks it is made by him and her father only a trade arrangement, then finding it grow the more, the more she estranges him by her caprices; learning to hate Ruth, whom she loved once with all a girl's passionate friendship, because she sees Mr. Farquhar's affections gradually shifting to her; and then recovering suddenly all her own nobleness of nature and affection for Ruth when her father upbraids the poor innocent hypocrite

" do the thing handsomely" with Ruth when his mother carries him away from her; capable of offering her marriage when he meets with her again, a governess in a tradesman's family, enough of a gentleman to forego blasting her character when she has spurned him from her; not enough of a man to do anything but regret that she should have loved him so much when he sees her dead on her bier,-not to speak of minor characters more sketchily dashed in, such as Mrs. Mason the dressmaker, Mrs. Bellingham, Mrs. Morgan and Mrs. Hughes, the two contrasted Welsh hostesses—all these are real men and women, flesh and blood like ourselves. And the scenery and the society in which they move are equally real. The scenery, indeed, but slightly diversified, two country towns, the Welsh hills, and a sen-side bathing place-here a dressmaker's work-shop, and the county assembly-rooms -there the poor dwelling of a dissenting minister, with its little garden behind, and the constant struggle against straitened circumstances, as it is carried on every day with such heroism in our middle classes, by dint of the most rigid economy and the most God-fearing cheerfulness. The society, the middle-class society of every day in a small town, especially in dissenting circles, with the poor minister and the rich shopkeeping pew-holder, and Christian duty constantly presenting itself in the sharp tangible shape of a sacrifice of pew-rents, where pew-rents are all the minister's life, varied only by a contested election, and the putting up for dissenters' candidate of a "very lax churchman," and the bribing for the sake of purity of election hereafter. All this is done most singly, truthfully, candidly, in such a way as to offer, we should imagine, a text to very opposite sermons. See the daily self-devo-tion of our ministers, would a Voluntary say, see how real and earnest must be their piety! these are Christ's real soldiers, and not your greedy archdeacons, the naughty boys who want "more good things," who " want all." See how false your system is, would the defender of Church Establishments reply; see how it does evil that good may come; placing the minister in the de-pendence of his people in order to try his independence; selling him into slavery to Mammon, in order that he may break his chains if he be a man, or perish in the attempt!

We have not taken up this book for the in her presence; and recovering with her purpose of finding fault with it, but for the own better self Mr. Farquhar's attachment: purpose of studying it, learning what it had

to tell us, and having learned this, and only your fill over a pantomime than sit at home then, of judging of it by its fruits. We shall over a sad novel, if you have to deal with caution her, as we might caution Mrs. Stowe, against the too frequent use of eulogistic epithets, such as "pretty," "beautiful," &c., which grow to be almost eatch-Jemima, though the first to learn of Ruth's is all very much exaggerated. fault, yet has no hand in revealing it. It is have been worked out by the writer as a simple pathos of her death touches without fiction, harrowing at the last-but over-lengthened. May we hint to her that "Deerbrook" is surely a not unworthy example of how a good novel may yet gain by curtailment?

to the painfulness of "Ruth" as a positive the use because of the abuse; still more so, defect. "I don't think I shall go on with not to draw the exception into a rule, it," said one very dear to us, after the reading of the first twenty pages, "I am sure it is not going to be pleasant!" And this one so often met with, that really it seems to deserve a critic's attention. You will find it conjoined alike with the utmost levity and the deepest feeling; in those who never take any practical concern in the welfare of sick bed. The novelist's true answer seems their fellow-creatures, and in those who to be :- I have to paint God's world as I spend their lives in tending upon them. Why should people be made miserable about fictitious woes, say some, whilst there look; a duty the more incumbent on me, are so many real ones to find out and to if I am acquainted with holes and crannies relieve ? You do but pander to sentimen- which others have not pryed into, and which talism, and enervate the active sympathies; contain, nevertheless, sights which they it is a crime to evoke feeling, without showing it at once a way to action; better laugh is, the sadder 1 must paint it. Wo be in-

not stop to notice one or two provincialisms all the stern stuff of life on the morrow.—
of style, which, indeed, have passed away The world is sad enough already, say others; from our memory, and would cost us more why make it sudder? I do grieve every day trouble to fish up again than the criticism over real miseries; why must I weep afresh would be worth; nor yet one piece of for-getfulness, of which the authoress, we dare say, is well aware by this time. We might great gloomy one of every day-let me brace up my hopes and energies by being shown how happy and sunny a thing life might be made-how virtue might find a re-A graver artistical defect, as it ward-how true love might run smoothseems to us, lies in the length of the work, how the wicked might find an earthly doom. and in the eking out of it by the love-story And then the worldling chimes in, Surely I of Jemima and Mr. Farquhar. This, in- have trouble enough in this world without deed, is in itself almost perfect, and wrought being bored with doleful stories, when I am out with the truth and finish of a Miss sick and weary for want of some amuse-Austin. But the character of Ruth herself ment! Of course there must be very wretchand her fortunes are of too overwhelming ed people in the world, but why should I be an interest to allow us to dwell with com- told of it? I don't know how I could replete satisfaction on this side-plot, which lieve them, and shouldn't have time to do after all scarcely advances the action, since so if I did know; and besides, I am sure it

Now we are perfectly willing to admit quite possible that it may have been intro- that we know of few things more contemptiduced as a relief to others, nay, that it may ble, than an author who deliberately sits down to write a sad story, for the purpose relief to herself, from the intense painfulness of exhibiting his own pathos, and playing of the main plot. But this would only show upon the feelings of others, as he would upon that that painfulness has been-not over an accordion. We are equally ready to strained, for the severest criticism would, denounce that morbid state of mind in we think, fail to detect one moral suffering which persons make up, sometimes during of Ruth which is not the logical and almost their life-long, for an utter indifference to necessary consequence of her fault, and the sad reality, by a perpetual gloating over sad We are equally far from denying, that a mind overburthened with the contemplation of daily wo and oppression will sometimes, as it were, need the stimulant of a picture of fictitious righteousness and bliss, There are, indeed, many who will object But we should be careful not to condemn do not treat the physician as a murderer when he uses laudanum, because vesterday a mother poisoned her child with it. We . feeling, that novels ought to be pleasant, is do not (unless indeed we be teetotallers) forbid the use of wine, because men get drunk upon it. But neither do we argue for the habitual use of brandy, because the jaded frame may sometimes need it on a find it, and above all, to shew others those portions of it on which I think they ought to

deed unto me, if for the paltry sake of artisti- | the main occasion of his present suit. cal effect, I tamper with its sadness, darken after all, he is suing for leave to atone for its shadows, exaggerate its miseries, so that his own wrong, both to her and to his child. the original shall no more be recognised from the portrait, or shall be turned away from as being itself the liar of the two! But wo to me also, if for the sake of your poor pleasure, and an equally paltry trick of brightness, I sun over the deeper shadows, paint out the tears and the wrinkles, daub no the tatters, and restore the ruins! That, by your own showing, were a worse lie than the other; and why should I have a lie in my right hand? It might have been far pleasanter for me, as for you, to have shewn you Ruth Hilton overcoming by degrees all worldly evil without, as well as all spiritual evil within; to have left her at the end of the third volume the wife of a loving husband, a happy and prosperous mother. But look around you, and ask yourself how often the complete spiritual restoration of a fallen woman, as I have depicted it, is ever accompanied by complete worldly restoration? Or ask yourself rather, how seldom either will occur alone; and then see if in showing you the painfuller picture, I have not shewn you also the truer one.

And we venture to think that the authoress would be right in so pleading. But indeed there is another test which may be used, and a simpler one. The book is above all one written for an earnest purpose; written less for those that are whole, than for those that are sick, or bear the seeds of disease within them. Is there one girl who would be tempted or encouraged to sin by the pieture of fallen Ruth's ultimate holiness? Is there one fallen woman who would be encouraged to remain in sin by the picture of penitent Ruth's sufferings and death? If we can say yes to neither of these questions, perhaps we had better say no more about painfulness, lest people should become too inquisitive about the state of our own eyes, and the reasons for our rubbing them.

We certainly do not feel qualified to teach ethics to the authoress of "Ruth." there is one point of her story on which we have felt some moral doubt, and hereby submit it to her. Is she quite sure that Rnth has the right, when Mr. Donne offers to marry her, and give their son all the advantages of his position, to reject his offer? Is she quite sure that there is not something of wilfulness in the plea-I love you no longer, addressed by a woman to the man by whom she is a mother-something of pharisaism in the plea, You would corrupt in itself. If we compare it with the author's my child, addressed to that child's father? other works, and especially with "Mary Granted that Mr. Donne has wronged and Barton," we shall find it present itself under deserted her. Granted that her beauty is some new aspects. Between "Mary Barton"

After all, he is just now near to doing a righteous act-nearer to the kingdom of God than he ever has been in this life. It is just no doubt, strictly just, for her to reject him. He has no right to complain of his punishment. But is it expedient, in the high Christian sense of that expediency, which is not lawfulness but the law itself? However slender, compared with his, her share in the sin of former days, does it not create on her part an obligation toward him which outstretches as it were mere justice? ls it for nothing that this fellow-man has been brought of old into relations with her such as ape, when they do not typify, the divinest of mysteries; it is for nothing that he is again brought face to face with her, brought to humble himself, at least intellectually, before her; but he must be cut adrift, delivered over as it were unto Satan? Who will save him from his own unrighteousness if she will not? Who will seek him out when she turns away? Is it so very certain that there are no roots of goodness in him, which her hand, that he now bows to, might quicken into life? Is it so very certain that the child would be corrupted by the father, and not rather that the father would be regenerated through the child? Is he not the father? Even if he have no claim on the child, has not the child a claim on him, and for him? Has she such complete dominion over Leonard that she dares, of her own choice, deprive him of his father ? We ask these questions in all humility.

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We do not deny that Ruth's rejection of Mr. Donne is natural, and we acknowledge it just. We doubt whether it be Christian, whether, in God's eye, she be not his wife, and forbidden to turn from him when he turns to her; whether, in fact, her refusal of him be not simply the sign that she has not self-sacrifice enough in her to devote her life to the man who has wronged her, though she may have self-sacrifice enough to die for him. And we cannot help thinking that the making Ruth die of a fever caught by Mr. Donne's bedside is after all a little bit of unconscious, involuntary poetical justice on the part of the writer, an acknowledgment that when they parted she left him her debtor before God. Nay, when she knows that he is lying ill, does she not herself as it were forget that she loved him no longer?

We have been hitherto looking at "Ruth"

and "Ruth" there is an evident kindredness; Mr. Bradshaw of Mr. Carson not a little ; Barton," although deeply true to human in its evanescent phenomena, was yet an occasional novel, if we may so call it. Its main interest lay in those terrible classrivalries, and class-hatreds, and class-misermanufacturing system, while as yet unsoftened, unpurified, unharmonized, by Christian duty and Christian love; in the treating of factory girls as a bevy of Circassians for his hareem by the mill-owner's son; of factory hands in general as a squad of slaves by the mill-owner; in the struggle with, and at last the breaking loose from temptation, of the slave girl; in the murderous revenge of the slave. But in "Ruth," the occasional clecounty ball and the milliner's apprentices looking upon the luxury and the pleasures merest introduction to what follows; the ings, from all the subjects for blue-books waiting for orders, and the foreman bullying or fining them. She knows well that such penitent. In this clear conception of her have thought that the vis comica was the object, in this resolute avoidance of temptations which lay very close to her way, we that a sense of humour comes out generally acknowledge an evidence of high power and more and more with the ripening of man's self-mastery; and we shall be all the better for its object the delineation of some of least in one's own self,) appears to be an those special social evils of which she knows so much, by this evicence of her entire freedom from all cant of philanthropy, Of at least explanations for the ridicule which this, however, her sweet "Moorland Cot- they excite in lower minds, open perhaps to who would take the trouble to read it.

of scope. Both describe the temptations of a young girl of the working classes, the type chosen in both instances being that of the lier, and less humble Alice. Of the dressmaker. In the one she is saved by "Moorland Cottage" we are reminded, more love for a man of her own class. In the through the incident of the forgery by the other, she falls, but rises again. But "Mary favourite child, (can the offence be so common among the middle classes of our manunature in its essential constitution, and not facturing districts, as to warrant the repetition of the means in two successive works by the same author?) and through the picture, though from opposite points of view, of the social relations between the poorer and ies, which are the direct outgrowth of the richer members of the middle class, than by any particular character. But with these resemblances the differences are also great. "Ruth" is far more finished, more even, more artistic and less melodramatic (if we dare use so harsh a word) than "Mary" Barton." There is also developing more and more in the writer, as the "Moorland; Cottage" gave evidence already, a very striking power of describing the aspects of nature, such as is equalled by very few of ment occupies the very smallest possible the writers of the day. We might take for The milliner's workshop, - the instances, if they had not been hackneyed already by quotation, the scene, from the story of Ruth's excursion to Wales with her from which they are excluded, are the lover, in which, standing by a sheltered mountain-pool, he decks her hair with waterrest of the story lies far from all class-feel- lilies, (a passage which has strangely reminded us by contrast of a famous descripand commissions of inquiry. Although we tion in George Sand's "Teverino," as the hear of Ruth, while at the Bensons, earning trial scene in "Mary Barton" recalled a a little money by plain needlework, the similar one in "Mauprat"); and again, the writer takes no trouble to conduct us to the description of Ruth's watching by night at warehouse, to shew us the needlewomen the Welsh inn during her lover's illness, when shut out of his room by his mother.

But there is another quality developed in scenes would but distract us here from her "Ruth," of which we saw only the faint main purpose, the growth of holiness in the glimmerings in "Mary Barton,"—humour. heart of the fallen woman, of the much tried There are those-Schiller for instance-who very highest reach of genius. Certain it is, nature, and that a perception of the ludidisposed another time, if she choose it, to crons side, even of great acts and righteous acknowledge the truth of some work having conduct, ay, and even of human misery, (at element of the very kindliest and truest wisdom, as enabling us to find excuses, or " was evidence enough already to all this one perception-a ridicule which to younger and more fervid hearts, so full of There is indeed a family likeness between admiration as to have no room left for huthe characters of "Mary Barton" and of mour, may seem absolutely fiendish. Now "Ruth," not sufficient in any wise to impair there was a quiet subdued humour in "Mary Think, not similarly in anywer of injuried in their individuality, but rather to bring it out more delicately by slight contrasts. Thus Mr. Donne reminds us of Henry Carson; But in "Ruth" there is one character genging uinely humorous, the old maid-servant wise conversation between Mrs. Bradshaw's Sally; besides a good deal of the same two youngest girls as to the signs and tokens quality about the strong-minded Miss Benson. Here is a sample, from a conversation between the old woman and Ruth, whom she quarrels with for her melancholy way of doing her duty.

"Why! dear ah me! making a bed may be done after a Christian fashion, I take it, or else what's to come of such as me in heaven who've had little enough time on earth for clapping ourselves down on our knees for set prayers? When I was a girl, and wretched enough about Master Thurstan, and the crook on his back which came of the fall I gave him, I took to praying and sighing, and giving up the world; and I thought it were wicked to care for the flesh, so I made heavy puddings, and was care-less about dinner and the rooms, and thought I was doing my duty, though I did call myself a miserable sinner. But one night the old Missus (Master Thurstan's mother) came in, and sat down by me, as I was a-scolding myself, without thinking of what I was saying; and says she, 'Sally! what are you blaming yourself about, and groaning over? We hear you in the parlour every night, and it makes my heart ache. 'Oh, maam!' says I, 'I'm a miscrable sinner, and I'm travailing in the new birth.' 'Was that the reason, says she, 'why the pudding was so heavy to-day?' 'Oh, maam, maam! said I, 'if you would not think of the things of the flesh, but trouble yourself about your immortal soul.' And I sat a-shaking my head to Hart i sate a state and a state and a state at think about her soul. 'But,' says she, in her sweet dropping voice, 'I do try to think of my soul every hour of the day, if by that you mean trying to do the will of God; but we'll talk now about the pudding; Master Thurstan could not eat it, and I know you'll be sorry for that.' Well, I was sorry, but I didn't choose to say so, as she seemed to upset me .- so says I, 'It's a pity to see children brought up to care for things of the flesh;' and then I could have bitten my tongue out, for the Missus looked so grave, and I thought of my darling little lad pining for want of his food. At last says she, Sally, do you think God has put us into the world just to be selfish, and do nothing but see after our own souls, or to help one another with heart and hand, as Christ did to all who wanted help b . . . Well, I would not give it up, I was so pig-headed about my soul; so says I, 'I wish folks would be content with locusts and wild honey, and leave other folks in peace to work out their salvation; and I groaned out pretty loud to think of Missus's soul. I often think since she smiled a bit at me; but she said, Well, Sally, to-morrow you shall have time to work out your salvation; but as we have no locusts in England, and I don't think they'd agree with Master Thurstan if we had, I will come and make the pudding."-Vol. ii. p. 60.

We might have quoted two other capital parrations,-that of Sally's offers of mar-

of love in their sister Jemima,-how exquisitely true to little-girl nature, let lady readers judge, if they will be honest enough to recollect their past selves.

It is indeed observable, that the humour of "Ruth," like that of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," disappears before the end of the book; -as if the engrossing contemplation of the sufferings of the lending personage had gradually worked upon the writer herself, so as to deprive her of the power, or at least of the wish, to exhibit the gaver aspects of life. Something of this feeling is perhaps to be traced in young Shakspeare's Romeo and Juliet, and this may be the one grain of truth in that otherwise most insolent saying, that "if Shakspeare had not killed Mercutio, Mercutio would have killed him." It is only the very highest and ripest genius which can dare to bring out the ludicrous and the pathetic at once to the last,as in that one marvellous scene in Vanity Fair, where a description of a certain meeting at Ostend from a steamer in the midst of the rain, and of the "bobbing" of a rather foolish and no longer young woman under the old threadbare cloak of a dull, awkward, elderly man named Dobbin, has made those feel their eyes water who otherwise rebel most stoutly against the proclamation of Mr. Thackeray's greatness. The last we see of Sally in "Ruth" is, however, a piece of homely pathos, quite as true and characteristic as her earlier humonr. She is standing by Ruth's coffin in Mr. Donne's presence, -not knowing of his previous relations with

" And I was not kind to you, my darling,' said she, passionately addressing the motionless, serene body,-'I was not kind to you. I frabbed you and plagued you from the first, my lamb! I came and cut off your pretty locks in this very room, I did, and you said never an angry word to me-no, not then, nor many a time at after, when I was very sharp and cross to you. No! I never was kind to you, and I dunnot think the world was kind to you, my darling; but you are gone where the angels are very tender to such as you ---you are, my poor wench! She bent down and kissed those lips, from whose marble, unyielding touch Mr. Donne recoiled, even in thought."-Vol. iii. p. 297.

On the whole, we take it, our authoress has written a good, righteous, true book; such a book as shews that she has taken her calling as an author in Christian earnest, and means to go on in it from strength to strength; such a book as befits her own sweet spirit, riage, and that of her will-making. A more and will make her, if possible, somewhat delicate bit of humour is to be found in the more loveable to all who love her already.

"Woman authors indeed! why must we than go forward in search of a reason. But have women authors? If a woman is a wife, in France (in spite of the nature of French and a mother above all, how can she find female education) Madame Charles Reybaud time to write books? what business has she to write them?" Now, we beg leave to say, that we have no partiality whatsoever for women authors, as such; that one of the most unpleasant recollections of our visits in old days to the reading room of the British Museum, is that of certain creatures of novelists are so numerous as almost to defy the female sex, with ink half-way up their fingers, and dirty shawls, and frowsy hair, whom we used to see there; nay, that the fact of a woman's having written a book would, for ourselves, be decidedly a reason rather for going out of her way than for going in search of her. But we have to notice the fact, that at this particular period of the world's history, the very best novels in several great countries happen to have been written by women; that there is no American novel to be mentioned side by side with Mrs. Beecher Stowe's "Uncle Tom;" no French novel that approaches the grandeur of George Sand's "Consuelo," or the perfect grace and beauty of her three "idyls," "La Mare au Diable," "François le Cham-pi," and "La Petite Fadette;" that Miss Bremer and Mrs. Carlen share the crown of Swedish novelism; and that, setting apart the two great popular writers of English contemporary fiction, Thackerary and Dickens, (whom we might perhaps best characterize by saying, that the works of the one are unacted and continuous coincdy-Dantesque if you will-and those of the other unacted and continuous melodrama, rather than true novels,) the two novels which are perhaps most likely of all to survive in England from the present day, are "Mary Barton" and "Jane Eyre." This, we take it, is a fact, and consequently has a meaning, which God has put into it. Our two English lady-novelists are certainly barely equal together to either of their two great foreign rivals, if they are to be so called. Compared with the epic vastness of "Uncle Tom," or the mythic dilogy of "Consuelo," "Mary Barton," "Ruth," and "Jane Eyre" are but single cantos or aets, or as detached groups beside the huge page of a Last Judgment or a Marriage of Cana. But still these works do far more than stand their ground beside those of even veteran masters like "the of the other. And if George Sand, Mrs. Stowe, the authoress of "Jane Eyre" and " Mary Barton," stood alone in their respective departments, we might feel tempted to writers, we cannot help being struck by the

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But we fancy we hear some one saying, take up with an arithmetical rule, rather comes, in the judgment of many, only behind George Sand in point of permanent litcrary worth as a novelist; in America, Miss Wetherell's "Wide Wide World" and her "Queechy" are now only second in popularity to "Uncle Tom;" and with us the lady enumeration-from Lady Georgiana Fullerton, the authoress of "Mrs. Margaret Maitland," Mrs. Caroline Norton, and Miss Jews-bury, through Mrs. Marsh, Miss Lynn, Miss Mulock, even down to Mrs. Gore and Mrs. Trollope, not to speak of the past efforts of Miss Martineau and Mrs. Jameson, or of what is felt by many as the imperishable freshness of Miss Austin. It is quite clear that successful novel-writing amongst women, as compared with men, whatever may be the degree of success, is now-a-days much more the rule than the exception.

Now, if we consider the novel to be the picture of human life in a pathetic, or as some might prefer the expression, in a sympathetic form, that is to say, as addressed to human feeling, rather than to human taste, judgment, or reason, there seems nothing paradoxical in the view, that women are called to the mastery of this peculiar field of literature. We know, all of us, that if man is the head of humanity, woman is its heart; and as soon as education has rendered her ordinarily capable of expressing feeling in written words, why should we be surprised to find that her words come more home to us than those of men, where feeling is chiefly concerned? There seems nothing improbable in the thought, that this supremacy of woman over the novel is one which will go widening and deepening, and that only through her shall we learn what resources there are in it for doing God's work upon earth.

But now a question arises, not to be flinch-What women ought to write novels ed from. that novels may be such as really ought to be written? A very common feeling suggests, that in our social state, wherein the supply of educated women, fit ornaments for rich men's houses, but unmeet helps for poor men's toils, so far exceeds the demand for wives, (polygamy being forbidden by law, in spite of plutonomic wisdom and the acknowledged blessings of laissez-faire,) literature is a fit refuge for their activities and aspirations-an honourable employment of their solitary leisure-a praiseworthy source of wordly independence. But yet, when we look at female

over the single, even from the days of Madame de Sévigné and Mademoiselle de Scudéry, downwards; we cannot help observing that the woman's book of the age-"Uncle Tom's Cabin "-is that of a wife and a mother; and even if we contrast the two names more immediately before us, those of the anthoresses of "Jane Eyre" and "Mary Barton," many of us at least can hardly repress the feeling, that the works of the former, however more striking in point of intellect, have in them a somewhat harsh, rough, unsatisfying, some say all but unwomanly,

as compared with the full, and wholesome,

and most womanly perfection of the other.* Is there anything strange in this? Would not the reverse be strange rather? If the novel addresses itself to the heart, what more natural than than it should then reach it most usefully and perfectly, when coming from the heart of a woman ripe with all the dignity of her sex, full of all wifely and motherly experience? No doubt a young lady—and even an old young lady-can write with the fear of God before her eyes, and become a great and good novelist; but somehow, one cannot help suspecting that she would find it much easier to write in the fear of God if she had already to write in the fear of husband and children. In dealing with the subjects of love, which, after all, must form the staple of all novel-writing, an unmarried woman must either draw upon imagination, or, at least, upon what one may call the prescience of the heart; or if, indeed, she draws upon her experience, that must be a bitter one, and one which she can hardly refer to without departing, in some measure, from the fair and becoming reserve of her sex. So that she is perpetually swaying between these three dangers; of being abstract, or morbid, or something like-we must mention the word immodest. And although love, in its typical form, must be the great stumbling-block for girl-novelist, yet the same applies, more or less, to all affections connected with it, and especially the parental ones. And we think it will be found, on examining most of the best novels by the best unmarried female novelists, such as those of Miss Austin, Miss Bremer, Miss Martineau, Miss Edgeworth, that their excellence lies always away from the depths of the most passionate human affections, and

vast superiority of the married, as a class, | consists either in a Dutch painter's accuracy in describing the surfaces and outer aspects of social or domestic life-in the development of some individual character, or of some family history-in the embodiment of some moral or economical principle; or lastly, in the rendering of the harsher passions. Compare, for instance-to choose a foreign instance-Miss Bremer with Mrs. Carlen, and the terrible heart-struggle of the "Birthright" with the sweet "intérieurs," as the French would say, of the "Home" or the "Neighbours," and you will soon see the difference. The one has indeed entered into life's hard battle; the other has looked at it from afar, or paints it at second-hand.

On the whole, therefore, we are of opinion that active-minded, quick-penned young ladies, especially if devoid of those precious safety-valves to youthful hearts-intimate female friends-may, without much danger, spend their leisure (if any) in scientific treatises, historical works, and the like, whether original or translated, especially eschewing novels and poetry, at least "Lyrics of the heart," and abstaining, if any way possible, from print; provided always, that upon their falling in love they do put aside all such labours, and only wake up to a consciousness of having achieved them, and of the purpose for which they have unknowingly done so, by the time they have to teach their children the names of the kings of England, or the difference between a fixed star and a planet, a snail and an oyster, a steam-engine and a fire-engine. By this time, with family cares upon their hands, and the moral responsibilities of their now completed life upon their consciences, to write and to print will be no mere temptations to their vanity, and it will be for them to judge whether they are really called upon to say something to the worldwhether they have that to say which their husbands will gladly hear, which their children will never blush to read; and whether their calling be to works of fiction, or to the severest exercises of thought, we are sure that the little flaxen heads at their knees will add a truth and a charm to matter and style alike, though it be only through the instinctive erasure of those hard words which Willie does so ery over in his lesson. And the world will receive such works with a righteous deference. All will feel that the wife and mother can have no time to lose, that if she speaks, it is because she is in earnest, and must speak.

But still, what is to become of the women who remain unmarried, and yet have gifts such as fully qualify them to do good service in literature? Gently, and with all reverence must we tell them-Endeavour to

^{*}The foregoing pages were in the Editor's hands before we had read "Villette," The confirmation which that work affords to the views above expres-sed is almost painful. We entreat the authoress not to be deluded by the flatteries of journalists, into a belief that she has done service to God or man by publishing a work so unequal, so imperfect, so constantly untrue to itself and to her own great powers, as "Villette."

find for your gifts other employments, tients themselves were unconsciously gratified do not make it more so by literary labours. Precisely because you are denied the most blessed enjoyments of the heart, strive not the intellect. Be assured of this, that the more you do so, the more you will be exposed to unsex, and unhumanize yourselves by degrees; to become pedantic and hard, or sentimental and false. Therefore, try to make to yourselves, if need be, living and practical affections and duties, in the place of those you lose. Because you have leisure, which the wife and mother has not, spend that leisure upon others, in that way in which they will feel most sure that is is upon them that you are spending it. To you belongs the daily working, the drudgery of all charitable institutions. The adoptive motherhood of the school may be yours, yours the adoptive sisterhood of the Nurses Institution, of the Penitentiary, of the simple district-visitor. Here, together with the household of your own parents, of your brothers or sisters, is the sphere within which your heart may preserve itself fresh and lovely, and mellow every year more and more. Who does not know some one old maid who is the blessing of a whole circle? Do not be afraid of any talents which God has given to you being wasted in these exercises, in the sincere, conscientious, life-long struggle to make yourselves, if wives you cannot be, yet the best of sisters, friends, and all but mothers. Would you learn how? Let us point you to this description of one devoting herself to perhaps the most painful at first of all womanly tasks to the lady, the vocation of a sicknurse :-

"At first her work lay exclusively among the paupers. At first, too, there was a recoil from many circumstances, which impressed upon her the most fully the physical sufferings of those whom she tended. But she tried to lose the sense of them, or rather to lessen them, and make them take their appointed places—in thinking of the individuals themselves, as separate from their decaying frames; and all along she had enough self-command to control herself from expressing any sign of repugnance. She allowed herself no nervous haste of movement or touch that should hurt the feelings of the poorest, most friendless creature who ever lay a vietim to disease. There was no rough getting over of all the disagreeable and painful work of her employment. When it was a lessening of pain to have the touch careful and delicate, and the ministration performed with gradual skill. Ruth thought of her charge,

Precisely because your lot is a solitary one, and soothed by her harmony and refinement of manner, voice and gesture. If this harmony and refinement had been merely superficial, it would not have had this balmy effect. That arose from its being the true expression of a to blight your capacity for such as remain kind, modest, and humble spirit. By degrees, to you by giving yourselves up to those of her reputation as a nurse spread upwards, and many sought her good offices who could well afford to pay for them. Whatever remanera-tion was offered to her, she took simply, and without comment. She went wherwithout comment. . . . She went wherever her services were first called for. If the poer bricklayer, who broke both his legs in a fall from the seaffolding, sent for her when she was disengaged. she went and remained with him till he could spare her, let who would be the next claimant. From the happy and prosperous in all but health, she would occasionally beg off, when some one less happy and more friendless asked for her, and sometimes she would ask for a little money to give to such in their time of need. But it was astonishing how much she was able to do without money.

"Her ways were very quiet; she never spoke much. . And yet, Ruth's siience was not like reserve; it was too gentle and tender for that. It had more the effect of a bush of all loud or disturbing emotions, and out of the deep calm the words that came forth had a beautiful power. She did not talk much about religion; but those who noticed her knew that it was the unseen banner which she was following. The low-breathed sentences which she spoke into the ear of the sufferer and the dying,

carried them upwards to God.

"She gradually became known and respected among the roughest boys of the rough populace of the town. They would make way for her when she passed along the streets, with more deference than they used to most: for all knew something of the tender care with which she had attended this or that sick person; and besides, she was so often in connexion with death, that something of the superstitious awe with which the dead were regarded by those rough boys in the midst of their strong life, surrounded her.

" She herself did not feel changed. She felt just as faulty, as far from being what she wanted to be, as ever. She best knew how many of her good actions were incomplete, and marred with evil."-Vol. iii. p. 171

We do not wish to be misunderstood, We do not mean to say that the unmarried woman, any more than any other member of the human family, is exempt from that great Christian equity which makes knowledge, talent, genius, trusts for the benefit of others. We do not say that when, doing her duty in the state of life to which God has called her, she has gathered up treasures of experience which she feels will be useful to others, whether in the practice of art, or in tuition, or in the discipline of charity, it is and not of herself. As she had forecold, she not her business, if she has the opportunity, found a use for all her powers. The poor pa-

print or otherwise. Nay, if, after all, she striving with her for her own redemption, still feels upon her the unmistakable call to chiding her for not telling him that she was appeal to the hearts of her readers in the lost, that he and his fellow hermit might representation of human life through the have done penance for her; bidding her take novel, and has made up her mind beforehand as to the limits of her vocation, God forbid that we should deny her the right of Son of the Virgin?"-appealing to her own exercising it. Who would wish that gentle Frederika Bremer had never written, old maid though she be? But before you hope to write as Frederika Bremer has written, see first what she is; see through her books, if not in friendly intercourse with herself, the tender, kindly nature of the woman, and how she has schooled herself into all graceful cheerfulness and sympathy, and from what a long and faithful experience flow her ever charming descriptions of family life and its duties. To be as good a writer as Frederika Bremer, a girl must first be as good a woman, and she will hardly become so till she finds herself-not very much younger.

We are writing here for our age and country, for Christians and for Protestants, coming forth alone from a poor cottage. countries and states of society, and of religious feeling, in which women, especially young women, have not this blessed English, far as we are aware, the earliest womanly tent harlot above a saintly hermit? pleading for the reformation of erring women -a pleading only heard centuries later, and realized in the Romish female penitential orders. In the "Abraham," she shews us an old hermit going forth, in secular costume, to rescue a niece from a life of sin, tenderly

heart in her self-reproaches, since "who ever was exempt from sin, save only the better nature by insisting on his own love for her, which had made him leave the wilderness, break the rule, mingle with the dissolute; entreating her to have pity on the fatigue which he had undergone, and to lay aside "that dangerous despair, a heavier weight, I know, than all the sins which thou hast committed." She yields at last, and he exclaims "Now art thou really mine own daughter; now will I love thee above all things." They start on their journey, and she says she will follow his horse. so," he answers, "but I will go a foot, and place thee on my horse, lest the rough road cut thy tender feet. Think of what a nun's life is, and of what a nun's heart must be ; think of the almost unconquerable selfrighteousness of professed ehastity, and then in a society which brooks of no monastic measure the depth of carnest, womanly seclusions, in which the active duties of sympathy which must have been beating in charity sit fair and seemly upon the unmar- the heart of this poor Swabian nun, to make ried woman, in which no man would dare to her put forth such loving words, words so think worse of a lady, because he met her true to the spirit of our dear Ruth herself! And if, in the "Paphnutius," her other play There have indeed been times, there are on a similar subject, which exhibits the conversion of the harlot. Thais by another hermit, she describes the holy man as acting, on the contrary, in a spirit of the rudest and, above all, Protestant freedom to do monkish severity, and imposing on the good, or are barely allowed to do so under penitent the most austere penance, and one the penalty of soul-destroying vows. Where which wears her life away, the true woman this is the case, we have no heart to condemn bursts forth at the last. A disciple of the poor nun for any literary effort, however Anthony sees in a vision " a bed strewn bizarre or pedantic it may be, and have little splendidly in heaven with white garments, doubt that sometimes through literature over which four radiant virgins preside, and alone will some noble, womanly soul find seem to guard it by their presence," and utterance for her choked and stifled yearn- which he thinks must be destined for "his ings towards all loving rightcousness. Nay, father and lord, Anthony." But a divine the reading of "Ruth" has strongly called voice tells him, "Not, as thou hopest, for to our mind, sometimes by analogy of sub. Anthony, but for Thais the harlot is this ject, sometimes by contrast of treatment, a glory reserved." Do you suppose that the strange work of the tenth century, the plays more "respectable" nuns of Gandesheim, of the nun Hrotsvitha,* of the Abbey of and, in fact, all the Mr. Bradshaws of the Gandesheim in Swabia, two of which, the day, male and female, were not shocked at "Abraham" and the "Paphnutius," are, so such doctrine, which actually placed a peni-

So Hrotsvitha wrote-she could do no more; and for such words as these we will gladly overlook many a page of pedantry. But suppose Hrotsvitha amongst us, a Protestant woman, and, if you like it, an old maid. Do you think she would be contented with writing about the reformation of her erring sisters? or would she not rather do it, and so far as other duties would allow,

^{*} See "Théâtre de Hrotsvitha, religeuse alle-mande du dixième siècle, par Charles Magnin." Paris, Duprat, 1845.

give herself up to the doing of it, heart and student, and made of great utility to the soul? Or if, being a wife and a mother, she had but a few crumbs of leisure to spare for this blessed purpose, then, indeed, might we expect her to make the most of her experience for the benefit of others, to teach by preaching when she could not by example; and in that case, covering painful fact with the garb of fact-like fiction, rather than borrowing a legend as a vehicle for her own feelings and desires, we might very likely find her writing a novel, and that novel's name would be-" Ruth."

ART. VI.-Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français. ments historiques inédits et originaux. 1re année 1852. No. 1 et 2. Paris.

THE present century, among other instances of progress, has been particularly distinguished by that which has been made in the art of writing History. The historian of the present day, if he desire to gain the approbation of the public, must not content himself with merely copying his predecessors, but he must have recourse to original sources of information, documents hidden away from public sight in the archives of terwards combine these elements into regugovernments, or in the chests of private families. Those relating to the same events, he must compare with critical skill, and sift form, instead of having to search for them the evidence which they present to him. However difficult it may be for a historian to keep himself entirely free from all bias in certain matters which deeply interest him, yet it is expected from him that he shall known. not write as a partisan. We now require truth above all things in studying the transactions of bygone days, and the writer who tion of historical documents and information, seems to transgress its bounds, is certain to meet with explorers in the same field to do battle with him.

One benefit which this critical method of science. Instead of being, as it often was, a mere amusement, it has become an instrument for clearing up the state of former Antiquities of various kinds are now not merely objects to be gazed on, but they are used as illustrations of the records of history; and manuscripts, instead of lying in public and private museums, as matters of curiotity to visitors, and of vanity to possessors, are not only diligently sought, but carefully copied, and, if necessary, transstructed by M. Guizot, then Minister of Public Instituted by M. Guizot, then Minister of Publi lated, and thus rendered available to the great benefits.

historian.

Every civilized country has now its societies for collecting and preserving the documents which throw light upon its history. Many of these have been already published, and have been found of great value in a historical point of view; and as old societies are becoming more zealous and active, new ones are springing into existence with specific objects, limited fields of inquiry, which, -just because they are limited, are likely to produce a beneficial effect on historical science, by directing particular attention to them.

Among the countries where, in modern times, history has been cultivated in a critical spirit, certainly France may claim a distinguished rank. Men like Daru, Barante, Thierry, Michelet, Mérimée, Thiers, and the learned ex-Professor of History at the University, Guizot, help to shed a lustre upon any country. In France, also, have been published, by the liberal assistance of former governments, and by societies, extensive series of historical records, including the best collections of memoirs and letters throwing light upon various periods of European history.* It is obvious that the researches thus made and brought to light by the industry of a number of fellow-workers, not only facilitate the labours of those who aflar histories, by presenting to them the documents which they require in an accessible in various repositories, and decyphering manuscripts often difficult to read; but many interesting pieces have been published, the existence of which was not even

It is because we appreciate the utility of societies having for their object the collecthat we hail with pleasure the formation of the one the title of whose first bulletin stands at the head of this article. But we will not conceal the fact, that our pleasure writing history has produced to us, has been is enhanced by the specific end of this So-the raising of Archæology into a useful ciety of the history of French Protestantism,-the formation of a body of documentary evidence concerning the history, as well of French Protestants within France, as of those who were compelled to leave their country in times of persecution, together with the various fortunes of their descen-

^{*} The "Société de l'Histoire de France" was founded in 1834 by Messrs. Guizot, Barante, &c. This was followed by the "Comité des Documens,"

dants in foreign lands. There is no history | though civilisation was advancing in the be-that can surpass in interest that of the different phases of Protestantism in France; its rise and struggles in the sixteenth century; its prosperity during the greater part of the seventeenth; the attempt at extirpating it at the end of the latter and in the beginning of the next century; and its reestablishment, as a church recognised by the State, since the Revolution of 1789. Whatever can bring to light fresh information, whether from manuscripts or from forgotten printed works, to put those important events in a clear point of view, must be of the utmost interest.

It is a common subject of congratulation among Protestants-and it is often admitted by the more liberal of their adversaries that the reformed religion has had a beneficial effect upon the intellectual progress of mankind. But it has not been quite so clearly perceived that the Reformation was, in a great degree, one of the effects of the reawakened spirit of inquiry, and of the assertion of the rights of the human mind to exercise its judgment upon subjects of the greatest importance. Accordingly, at its rise, numbers of thinking men in every country of Europe gladly embraced its doctrines; -openly, where it could be done with safety, or privately in those countries where dissent from the ruling Church was crushed by the most cruel punishments. Thus, in France during the sixt enth century, almost all the learning and talent was on the Protestant side, as the side of progress, unless in cases where interest interfered; and the consequence of this was, that numbers of the nobility, including the Bourbons and the Condés, adopted the reformed creed. It may be easily understood that many of these persons were not actuated by a deep sense of religion. The assumptions of the Court of Rome and of the hierarchy, the absurdity of the superstitions promoted by them, the unreasonableness of many of their doctrines, and the loose lives of some of the clergy, disgusted many, and are quite enough to account for a portion of the progress of the Reformation. Much of what we have mentioned still appears to our eyes in the Church of Rome; but it has been so modified by the influence of the Reformation that the men of the sixteenth century would scarcely have recognized it in the eighteenth, as it shewed itself in Protestant countries and in France. † Al-

ture was reviving, soon to produce some of the master-pieces of the human mind, yet there remained still much coarseness of manners, turbulence, and even ferocity. The perpetual wars which raged in various parts of Europe had greatly impeded the soothing effects of literature and of the arts. When the Reformation began, the dominant Church regarded the persecution of innovators as a sacred duty; nothing but the extirpation of heretics was thought of. Heresy was considered not only as a sin, but as a crime. Even in subsequent times, in a Commentary on the New Testament by the Jesuit Maldonatus-a text-book in many Romanist seminaries, and recently beautifully printed-on the parable of the tares in the wheat, (Matt. xiii, 24,) he quotes the opinion of some who used the Lord's words, "Let both grow together until the harvest," as an argument against the propriety of putting heretics to death. But he shews, that as this text cannot be used to prevent the civil magistrate from punishing criminals, so it does not interfere with the duty of persecuting heresy, which is worse than murder, since it slavs the soul. With such opinions, it is not wonderful that the more conscientious men in authority were, the more barbarous should be their con-The only check which they received -besides that inconsistency which sometimes makes men act right in spite of bad principles-was the difficulty of carrying out what they considered their duty, when their adversaries became too strong for them. Francis the First began by burning heretics; but during the reigns of his son and three grandsons, under the guardianship of Catherine de Médicis, so many powerful nobles had embraced the reformed faith. and the royal power was so weak, that a degree of toleration was extorted for thera. at least from judicial prosecutions. The house of Guise, a foreign family settled in Lorraine, but having property in France,

ers-has lest a very extraordinary book under the title of "Apologie d'Hérodote" It seems that objections were made by some of the learned of that day to certain statements of Herodotus, as being in-credible. The plan followed by Etienne in this book is to relate a number of criminal actions of Romish ecclesiastics, as matters of notoriety, shewing his rences had taken place which exceeded those narrated by Herodotus in improbability. The usual method of the time was employed to refute the book; both it and the author were sentenced to be burned. The latter, however, escaped to the Jura mountains; and as the work and his effigy were consumed in the One of the Etiennes, better known by their middle of winter, he used to say that he was never Latinized name of Stephanus-the celebrated print- in his life so cold as on the day that he was burned,

[•] M. Ch. Labitte says—"The Reformation (in France) bad the privilege, and almost the monopoly of learning and talent."

were the champions of the Roman Catholic, with many excellent qualities, imbued with Valois.

the pious members of the communion which ever, toleration was still granted them. he was forsaking. His best friend Duples-

The second had the effect of alienating the sis Mornay, strongly advised him against feudal nobility from them, who were mortithis setting at nought of conscience, and the fied at having to play a secondary part to bulletin above mentioned publishes a long the pastors. During the civil war just al-and interesting letter from Theodore Beza, luded to, the Duc de Rohan, presiding in then the principal pastor of the Reformed Lauguedoc over one of those assemblies, Church, dissuading him from his contempla- had been exposed to the violent invectives ted change of religion.* Henry, however, and unseemly interruptions of the more inloved this present world, went through the fluential pastors; exasperated by their turmummery of a public discussion, and changed bulence, he exclaimed: "Ye are nothing but his religion with a jest. Still, endowed republicans; I would rather preside over an assembly of wolves, than an assembly of ministers."* At the same time the govern-Catholics; the Order of St. Louis, coveted.

D'Estirée.)

cause, while the Prince of Condé was the truly liberal principles, anxious for the welhead of the Huguenots. The Court fluctu- fare of his people, and resolved to use his ated between the two. Religion was more power for the benefit of Europe; he did or less a pretext for both, under which they much, and was preparing to do more to fought for their temporal interests, and both quell the despotism of the house of Austria, lost their lives by assassination in the civil whose huge power weighed upon European war which they had fomented. The Duke's politics, and on the cause of reformation, son, Henry, followed in his father's footsteps, when the knife of a fanatic deprived France and helped to suggest the massacre of St. of her best king. This is, perhaps, the only Bartholomew, in which Coligny, the succes- instance history can furnish of an assassinasor of Condé, perished. Henry de Guise tion, or a judicial murder, really promoting and his brother, the Cardinal of Lorraine, the ultimate object proposed. The assasformed the notorious Catholic League, with sination of Cæsar did not restore the Roman the ostensible purpose of defending their re- Republic. That of the Prince of Orange did ligion against the Huguenots, and of pre- not crush the Dutch revolt. And the same venting Henry of Bourbon, the next heir to remarks will apply to a vast number of the throne, from ascending it. They were cases. But the assassination of Henry IV. both assassinated by command of the King, probably saved Austria from being hum-Henry III., who found that the power which bled, and certainly led to the political asthey had gained over the Roman Catholic cendency of Roman Catholics. On his acparty was really turned against his authority, cession to the throne he had published the He met with the same fate himself shortly celebrated ediet of Nantes, which secured afterwards, and in him ended the house of the free exercise of worship to his former coreligionists, which they enjoyed for nearly a Henry IV. was now king de jure, but the century. But this edict contained two a lherents of the league refused to acknow- clauses, which subsequently injured the Reledge a sovereign excommunicated by the formed Church. The one was, that Henry, Pope, Although he had been victorious in to secure the independence of the Hugueseveral battles, and held Paris closely be- nots, granted them certain cities and districts, sieged, yet many circumstances concurred to which created an imperium in imperio, and make it apparently very difficult for a king prevented the amalgamation of persons of professing the reformed religion to reign over the two creeds; the other, that in giving a the French people. His opponents still legal constitution to the Protestant party, it formed a considerable and very bitter party, had been put under the direction of assembacked by the then powerful house of Aus- blies, in which the votes and the influence of tria. In an evil hour Henry of Bourbon their ministers preponderated. The first hearkened to the promptings of temporary brought the Huguenots into collision with expediency, and apostatized from what in the government of Cardinal Richelicu, whose his heart and soul he knew to be the truth, great object was the political unity of France, to gain peaceful possession of the throne of A civil war was the consequence, in which France; not, however, as it has been sup- they were defeated; and La Rochelle, their posed, without indignant remonstrances from stronghold, was taken from them. How-

^{*}This letter disposes of the assertion of Schlosser, the author of a German life of Beza, and of Valli-émin, "Historie de la Confédération Suisse," who copied him, that Beza approved of the abjunation of the king through political motives.

I Paris vaut bien une messe.—(Letter to Gabrielle

^{*} Bulletin, p. 47.

The excitement of war once over, many of those warlike barons relaxed in their ardour for a cause which they had embraced without any strong religious convictions. The consequence was, that numbers of the nobles returned to the Church of Rome during the reign of Louis XIII. Under Louis XIV., the consequence of the Romanist creed; the glory of the great king dazzled the young noblity, who followed him in his victories; the Roman Catholic clergy had many men of learning and talent among them, some of the highest genius. Bossuet, especially, produced a powerful effect by his controversial works. By the time that Louis revoked war of the Fronde, during the king's minority, efforts were vainly made by Roman Catholic clergy had many men of learning and talent among them, some of the highest genius. Bossuet, especially, produced a powerful effect by his controversial works. By the time that Louis revoked war of the Fronde, during the king's minority, efforts were vainly made by Roman Ca-The excitement of war once over, many of self-styled enlightened Europe of the ninewarm the royal stomach, and his confessors expand its branches. endeavoured to appease the never-dying fire caust to the offended Majesty of Heaven.

the Edict of Nantes, few of the distinguished ty, efforts were vainly made by Roman Ca-families who had once professed the reformed tholic lords to draw them into the opposition creed remained faithful to it. The most il- against the Queen-mother and Cardinal Malustrious houses—the Bourbons, Colignys, zarin. They remained firm in their allegi-La Trémouilles, Bouillons, La Rochefou- ance, and contributed more than any other caults, Rohans, the Duke of Montausier, the class of men, by their industry and enter-Marquises of Maintenon, Poigny, Montlouet, prise, to the welfare of their country. Bigot-D'Eutragues, all gradually abjured Protes ry—unmitigated inexeusable bigotry, dictantism. Its stronghold was now among the tated the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. lesser nobility, the middle classes, and the The despot imagined, that at the word of industrious artisans. As long as the higher his mouth his Protestant subjects would all nobility were ready to defend their opinions renounce their faith. His wretched clerical with the sword, those opinions were re-spected. But as soon as the Protestants had to disappointment. The measures embecome a peaceable and harmless flock, the ployed,—the hanging of ministers, the dragking's conscience awoke to the sin of tolera- onnades, the galleys,-proved ineffectual ting heresy. That conscience had slumbered with the greater number. Thousands of during the greater part of his long reign, families sought new countries where they not only with respect to the impropriety of might worship God in peace. France was toleration, but to the indulgence of every impoverished, and Holland, Prussia, Engsin which disgraces and hardens the heart of land, and Ireland, gained new branches of man. And when old age chilled long-in- industry, and valuable citizens. Protestantdulged sensuality, and kindled the flames of ism lingered a weak plant, until the Revoremorse, his cooks invented* liqueurs to lution once more gave it air and liberty to

In the meantime, while the principles of of conscience, by advising the noble sinner the Gospel were exterminated or banished to offer up his heretical subjects as a holo- from France, a far more dangerous enemy was slowly growing in the land. That dis-Persecution among all who practice it, satisfaction with superstition and priestly arhas usually sought an excuse in endeavouring roganee, which had once found its cure in to connect disloyalty, and other criminal the Reformation, now took the form of a opinions. Our Protestant ancestors thus cold, sucering infidelity. The Christian re-endeavoured to justify their penal laws ligion, which Protestantism had preserved against Roman Catholic and other dissenters. in the hearts of millions, was weighed down In France, even now, such is the pretext for by, and sunk under, the perversions of Roprohibiting all but the creeds recognised by manism. In persecuting the Huguenots, Louthe government, to meet for religious wor- is XIV. sowed to the wind, and his descendship. In Italy, oath-breaking sovereigns are ant, Louis XVI., reaped the whirlwind. Influsing the same excuse to stifle the love of delity was one of the main influences which the truth among some of their subjects, eaused, not the Revolution, but the horrors Count Guiceiardini is expiating in exile the of it, and cost that unfortunate monarch his crime of reading the Bible: and a still more crown and his life,-infidelity born of super-*This is a literal fact. See Brillat Savarin, Physicial on the minds of Frenchmen is, in a great

siologie du goût.

than in reality.

France is peaceably but steadily making France. Those metrical Psalms became so the establishment of the Society we have sing them in the public promenades. There mentioned-which has given occasion to this is also a list of twenty-two Protestants sent Article—and the warm interest it has called to the galleys, about 1702, for their religion, forth. M. Guizot has accepted the presi- accompanied by a letter of Admiral Baudin, dency; and other distinguished French Pro-himself a Protestant, giving an account of testants have given their adhesion. In the the dreadful punishment which they must preliminary observations the views of the have undergone; in fact, most of them died

committee are thus stated :-

"For some time past, and especially during the last few years, in proportion as men have been more seriously engaged with earnest hiswith respect to this subject-how poor our Protestant library is. This deficiency is the more annoying, as it has given full scope to ignorance and bad faith; it is the more to be regretted, as much light has thus remained under the bushel-many treasures have remained buried -many sources of edification and of life have been lost to the faithful. Some efforts have indeed been made: good and useful works have been undertaken and published. But these efforts were isolated, individual, or partial; those publications, however conscientious they may be, were still incomplete; they caused more to be desired than they gave; and above all, made tenday or to-day, as well his Majesty as the it obvious how much more was yet to be accom- Oneon, his mothers, and all the

They go on to mention several works re-D'Aubigné's History; and the most recent by Félice. And it is for the purpose of forming a collection of trustworthy does ments to promote such works that this So was killed in his lodging and thrown upon the citer is founded to at the case. ments to promote such works that this So—was killed in his lodging and thrown upon the ciety is founded: as they say, p. 13,—"The pavement; and this execution was followed up totality of the labours of this Society will on all the principal men of that party which present, together with critical observations, could be found in this city, of whom there are a general inventory—a complete collection of the sources of French Protestantism—a mass of pieces justificatives of that history Count Montgomery, who was lodged in the may be studied? may be studied,"

measure, gone by; now that the moral sense; The 1st Bulletin already contains some is almost extinct in the majority of the peo- interesting historical documents. Besides ple; now that the respect for civil authority the letter of Theodore Beza to Henri IV., has been shaken by frequent revolutions, mentioned above, there is some account of and all is swallowed up by the fear of an Bernard Palissy, together with a curious unchecked despotism, that despotism has extract from his works; he is well known in formed a hypocritical alliance with Rome France as an artist in enamel, but remarkaand her ministers, as the only parties who still ble in consequence of the beauty of his style have a kind of authority over some, though of writing, resembling that of his contempothey are just now stronger in appearance rary Montaigne; it contains a sketch of Clement Marot, the translator of the Psalms, In the meantime the Protestant Church in with his address in verse to the ladies of Among other manifestations is popular in France that the ladies used to after a few years suffering. The latter document proves the utility of a society for preserving such curious matters, for the Admiral found it among the waste papers torical works, and as a taste for such has been intended to make cartridges in the arsenal of extending, it has been generally acknowledged Toulon! Lastly, there is a curious account how limited and insufficient our resources are of an inscription formerly existing at Nantes. of an inscription formerly existing at Nantes, commemorating the refusal of the mayor and corporation to execute the orders of their Governor, the Duke de Bourbon-Montpensier, to massacre the Huguenots at the time of the St. Bartholomew. To those who know the particulars of that atrocious slaughter, the letter of the Duke will offer a mixture of the naif and horrible; it is dated 26th of August 1572, and is as follows :-

"The Admiral (Coligny) having been so wicked as to form a new enterprise to kill, yes-Queen, his mother, his brothers, and all the Catholic Lords of their Court, among the which, ye may be assured, I was not forgotten. God, cently published on the history of the French Protestant Church, which illustrate the in-Protestant Church, which illustrate the interest taken in the subject:—Charles Co-querel's "Histoire des Eglises du Désert;" conspiracy should be discovered, and bath so conspiracy should be discovered, and hath so Napoléon Peyrat's work on the same sub- well-inspired the heart of our king, that straightject; Alexis Muston's "Recherches sur les way he hath determined to execute that same Vaudois de Provence;" the well-known exploit against that wretch and those of his lintention of His Majesty is sufficiently known

as to the treatment to be given to the Huguenots ART. VII .- Lorenzo Benoni; or, Passages of other cities, and also the means whereby we may hope to behold hereafter some certain rest in our poor Catholic Church, the which we ought not to fail to carry out as much as in us lieth, after such a declaration which the king hath made of his devotion to the same, in the which I beseech our Lord to aid him and to The names of the principal characters are make him persevere, that he may be perpetually fictitious, and here and there an incident is praised for it. and that he may grant you, Mes-

They had churches in Dublin, in Portarling-still carry that flag in the face of Europewhich they may possess.

Since the foregoing Article has been torical recollections. written, seven numbers have appeared of introduced our readers.

greatly promoted.

in the Life of an Italian. Edited by a Friend, Edinburgh, 1853.

We cannot be mistaken in supposing that introduced having the air rather of an artisseurs, his holy and worthy grace.—Your very the friend, Louis de Bourbon." than of a real occurrence; but, on the whole, We regret that want of space should it is clear, from internal evidence, that we prevent us from giving more extracts from are to regard the book as a faithful tranprevent us from giving more extracts from large the promising periodical. But we hope script by a living Italian of his recollections that having drawn the attention of our of his own boyhood and youth, from the readers to the plan of the Society which has year 1818 to the year 1833. When we that having drawn the attention of our of his own boyhood and youth, from the readers to the plan of the Society which has year 1818 to the year 1833. When we published it, many who love the principles add that the writer represents himself as a of the Reformation and of civilisation, may Genoese, born about the year 1809 or 1810; to induced to make themselves better that in the course of the narrative we are acquainted with its labours, and perhaps ontribute to its store of information. They cal state of Piedmont at a time when, ingreatly desire to collect information constead of being as now the freest portion of cerning the Protestants who fied in the days Italy, it was the very stronghold of Italian of persecution. The descendants of these despotsm; and that the most prominent forms of the protessors are many of them in Great Bid, personages in the latter part of the story. confessors are many of them in Great Britain and Ireland. There must be memorials including the author himself, were the chiefs
of their fathers among them, and it is well lof that noble band of young men who,
known with what love they look back on twenty years ago, raised the flag of Italian those. In Ireland, some of the most re- nationality and independence, and whose spected families spring from Huguenots, survivors, Mazzini pre-eminent among them, ton, and in other towns. Such persons we say enough to indicate that the book is cannot shew their attachment to the cause one of no ordinary interest. Under the of their ancestors more clearly than by modest guise of the biography of an imagicommunicating to the Society-and thus nary Lorenzo Benoni, we have here, in fact, making known-the interesting documents the memoir of a man whose name could not be pronounced in certain parts of Northern Italy without calling up tragie yet noble his-

The interest of the work, however, by no the historical periodical to which we have means depends exclusively on the nature of Many of the its materials. Let the reader most disposed articles are of the highest interest: among to fling aside works having any political alluothers, a series of letters from French sion, take up this book, and it will be sure Bishops of the time following the revocation, to rivet him. Here is no rabid revolutionproving, on the authority of the persecutors ary writing, no effusion of common-place themselves, the flagitious means used, -both demagogy from the pen of an infuriated reby violence and by bribery, to carry out fugee. Sad events are, indeed, told; and the king's objects in producing ecclesiastical the writer, in retracing the history of his youth, has to walk over a ground conse-Already, without any extraordinary effort, erated to him but too bitterly by the memoa number of interesting documents have ries with which it is covered-memories of come to the knowledge of the writer of this wrongs silently endured, of aspirations un-Article,—throwing light in particular on the justly repressed, of young hopes crushed, of history of the French Protestant settlers in friends and brothers buried before their time. Ireland. Among other curious facts, it is But all is told simply, firmly, soberly, with proved by them that the poplin and tabinet the tone of a man whose nature is genial manufactory was established in Ireland by and truthful; who has all along possessed these settlers, and that of linen in the north that tolerance, that habit of viewing things in just proportion, which belongs to minds of large culture and accomplishment; and who has even acquired by his later experiremodel society. The book, therefore, is not a dose of liberal Italian politics under the er, exhibiting so perfect a command of pure, elegant, and idiomatic English. And in the higher respects of artistic construction, clear and graphic narrative, and varied characterpainting, the book is equally excellent. A vein of quiet, keen, and pleasant humour pervades it throughout. In short, while we recommend it with confidence to all those to whom the nature of its materials as a story of Italian life twenty or thirty years ago will prove a special attraction, we can recommend it also to others, who might be proof characterized by a finer species of literary interest than many of the most popular novels of the season. There is love in it, too, ladies; a beautiful Italian Lilla wins and pains the heart of the young Lorenzo; there are spots of pure sunshine, and that Italian :sunshine Italian, in the course of the story; and even at the close, where the darker elements prevail, and men struggle with men with death for the issue, love hovers in the air, and white arms are wound impeding round the fighting and the flying.

Dismissing the work as a whole, with this summary description of it, to the care of those who shall read it, let us take it up here in the aspect in which it most interests ourselves-that is, as an authentic picture of Italian boyhood and youth under a despotic government some twenty or thirty years ago, and of Italian life in general as it still flows on wherever there is despotic rule. The state of society in Piedmont is happily not what it was at the period to which this but it must be a sad reflection to the writer, the social condition of his native portion of Italy then, is to be accepted, with but little alteration, as still true of every other portion of the Italian peninsula.

ence something of a spirit of conservatism, same things all the world over! Yes, the disposing him to look back with a smile on route which a child has to travel on his way the period of his more ardent youth, when to manhood is, amid all the diversities of abstractions seemed golden, and he had clime and country, whether amid the fair-greater faith in the power of individuals to haired sons of the North, with their blue and grey eyes betokening research and phantasy, or the flashing-eyed and black-haired guise of a story. It is a faithful autobiogra- children of the passionate South, very much phic novel, a genuine story of real life. Its the same in reality. To the many, a route merits, simply as a work of literary art, are onward to that common field of professional of a very high order. The style is really activity where they shall make money, and beautiful—easy, sprightly, graceful, and full have houses of their own, and beget children of the happiest and most ingenious turns of in their likeness, and labour on and die; to phrase and of fancy. We question if any the few whose destiny it is to think, a weary book has been recently published in this path, beginning at any point of a vast cir-country, indisputably the work of a foreign cumference where the chance of birth may have cast them, but leading surely and invariably to that middle space of all where the initiated of all nations walk up and down, putting the same questions and giving the same answers! This is one of the things with which we have been impressed in reading the present story. It is on the whole, however, a story only of external and social life; and hence there is more throughout of local colour and costume than if, even with an Italian for the author and the subject, the purpose of the story had been to exhibit the against such an attraction, as a composition gradual development of an individual mind. The very first scene, where we are introduced to the young Lorenzo, then a boy of seven, living with his uncle, a Catholic priest in a small country town of Piedmont at some distance from Genoa, is thoroughly

"Every day, as surely as the day came, when the clock struck eleven, my uncle the Canon inva-riably said Mass, at which I invariably officiated as his assistant. This ceremony had long lost the attraction of novelty, having been repeated daily for two whole years; and as, besides, my uncle's Mass was very long, it is needless to say, that I went through it with a feeling of intense ennui. So, when, at a certain moment, after having helped the priest to the wine and water, it was my duty to replace the sacred phials behind a curtain on the left of the altar, I never failed, by way of relief, to take, under cover of that same curtain, a long pull at the phial of wine. This was only for the fun, as wine was not with me a favourite bev-erage. * * My uncle was a weak-minded, rather good than bad sort of man, about sixty, who spent one half of the year in expecting won-ders from the approaching crop, and the other story refers, though even there some of the half in bewilling the failure of his hopes—thus features of the picture are still unchanged; for ever oscillating between the two extremes of unbounded expectation and utter despair. My unthat what he has set down here respecting cle had only one distinct idea in his brain-olives; only one interest in life—clives; only one topic of discussion, either at home or abroad—clives. Olives of every size and description-salted olives, dried olives, pickled olives-encumbered the table at dinner and supper, and no dish was served Boyhood and youth, words of deep im- without the seasoning of olives. All my uncle's port, which after all imply very much the walks, in which I was regularly ordered to accompany him, had for their sole object to observe! the year, we literally trod on olives, which were strewed a foot deep on the floor of our large hall. olivo emanations. The rare intervals in which olives were let alone were employed by my uncle in abusing France and Frenchmen. This was a sort of secondary hobby with him. What France or the Frenchmen had done to the old canon I do not know, but I well remember a certain anecdote on the subject, which he would repeat over and over again, with ever-renewed mirth and no little pride. Being once in the vicinity of the Var, where this river separates the Sardinian States from France, he had crossed the bridge, gone over to the French side, bit his thumb at France, and come back triumphant. Let France get out of it as she can!"

From his residence with this worthy gentleman Lorenzo was taken back at the age of eight to his native Genoa, to be entered as a pupil in the Royal College of that city-a Italian scale of ascent, with a Scottish gramestablishment) with an English public school. The constitution of this seminary is thus described :-

monastic orders devoted by their institution to the education of youth, and was governed secording to the following hierarchy:-

A Father RETTORE-sovereign power, without control or appeal-Czar and pope in one.

"A Father VICE-RETTORE -locum tenens of the first in case of absence or illness.

" A Father MINISTRO—the real executive power, everywhere present, and meddling with every-

"Last of all, the PREFETTI, or superintendents A prefetto was placed over each division, and never left it night or day. At table, in the schoolroom, at church, in the play-ground, the inevitable prefetto was ever there, ever everywhere. Dur-ing the night, from his bed, placed at the upper end of the dormitory, he commanded the whole room at a glance, and watched that silence and order should not be broken.

"I must add that the irksome and enslaving duties of prefetto were so ill renumerated, that none but a starveling of the lowest order of priesthood would have accepted the position. were generally men without cultivation or instruction floundering into subjects quite beyond his depth, tion of any kind, and pretty well justified our school expression, that their tonsure was taken as a ticket of exemption from the plough or the conscription."

This general description is followed up, in the course of the story, by portraits of the several officials and dignitaries connected are the following :-

The Prefetto.- " The Prefetto of our Division the appearance of the olives on the trees, and to was an ugly, dirty, round-bellied priest, with a watch their progress; and, at a certain period of large red nose covered with carbuncles, which might have rivalled that of Shakspeare's Bardolph, and two little savage eyes bright with malice. The very air we breathed was impregnated with Such, in two words, was Don Silvestro. (The title of Don is given in Italy to all the clergy.) Scarcely able to read his breviary, knowing no language but the dialect of his mountains, his profound ignorance, which he himself could not help being aware of, joined to natural and instinctive malignity, kept him in a constant state of hostility towards a set of youths whose superiority humbled him, and disposed him to see an insult in any expression, the meaning of which his thick skull could not catch. But this sort of latent ill-will transformed itself into open warfare and frightful violence, whenever he chanced to be seized with a fit of a kind of malady, which we did not know how to define, and which was nothing less than decided melancholy madness. I suspect, for my part, that these fits were, if not occasioned, at least aggravated, by excess in drinking, as there was always about him, on such occasions, a strong smell of spirits. His fixed idea in these place of education corresponding, in the fits was, that we were determined to have his life. Sometimes he fancied we had poisoned his wine: mar-school, or rather (seeing that the pupils at others he declared there was a plot to murder were for the most part boarded within the establishment with an English public school he saw a menace of death to him in a red cross which I had most innocently painted on my desk. Another time he had one of my school-fellows sent to prison, as guilty of having sharpened a "The Royal College was under the direction Prefetto's) throat. This unfortunate man died a of the Reverend Somaschi Fathers, one of the few years afterwards in a mad-house, raving in his last moments of nothing but poison and dag-

An Absurd Professor .- " The regular lecturer happening to be ill in bed. a supplementary professor filled his place-a thin, sallow, lanky priest of about thirty. His real name has escaped my memory, for he always went among us by the appellation of Spiderlegs, owing to the disproportionate length of his nether limbs, which gave him the appearance of a clerical shaven crown upon stills. The excessive tendency to familiarity which characterizes childhood, requires, on the part of a teacher, to keep it from degenerating into rude disrespect, a nicety of judgment which few possess—and Spiderlegs least of all. He possessed not one quality which could command respect-no learning, no manners, no taste, no brilliant or solid qualities of any kind. to redeem in any degree the awkwardness of his appearance. On the contrary, a vulgar emphasis, absurd gestures, a rage for incorrect quotations, and a turn for combined to make of him the most grotesque caricature. I must further mention one of his foibles, quite incomprehensible in one so ill formed. His strange figure would have been perfectly veiled by the priest's long gown, such as is commonly worn in our country; but, as if to display his deformity to its best advantage, Spiderlegs had had the weakness to adopt the short ecclesiastical coat, knee-breeches, and with the school. Among the best portraits black silk stockings, a rather modern innova-are the following:— under the following in the followi

show off his handsome limbs. The most serious, their books, and order and propriety prevailed couragement upon this extraordinary diligence. amid the titterings, to him quite incomprehensible, of the whole set; till one unlucky, nearsighted fellow, begins to hesitate and stammer. Spiderlegs frowns. 'Are you not ashamed,' cries he, 'to fall so far short of your companions? with what he has got, and begins to read. The professor having made up his mind to this, at the opposite sides of the hall, while the rest, who have no particular occupation, set to talking, laughing, or quarrelling, with the same freedom as if no professor at all were present."

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A Popular Professor .- "Three hours later,

man could not have refrained from a smile at throughout. It seemed almost impossible that sight of Spiderlegs, with his head complacently these should be the same youths, so riotous and bent on one side, his short cloak tucked up unruly in the morning; and the man who, by under his arm, his clows squared, his toes his presence alone, could operate such a metaturned out, tripping forwards with a sort of morphosis deserves a few words of introduction skip at every step, which gave him a family to the reader.—Signor Lanzi, our professor of likeness to a magpie wagging its tail as it hops Latin and Italian poetry, was a nan about along.—The lecture begins—Spiderlegs is in forty, with a considerable tendency to corpulis professor's desk, which is exactly like a lence, which, however, a tall, well-proportioned. pulpit. How often has he stood there as in a figure carried off very well. He wore gold-pillory, a mark for the mocks and gibes of his rimmed spectacles, had a rather high-coloured turbulent class! The pupils, one after another, complexion, and a countenance expressive of enter the hall, each holding his coat-tails under serene benevolence. Gentle and intelligent was enter the hall, each holding his coat-tails under serene benevolence. Gentle and intelligent was his arm, and mimicking, with mock gravity, all, his smile, and his voice sweet and melodious; the ridiculous peculiarities of the professors but the influence he exercised upon his numergait. Presently, the pupils stand in a row, in our audience depended chiefly upon that natural the middle of the hall, to repeat their lesson, refinement of manners which wins affection. The lesson is said admirably—not a word is while it imposes involuntary respect. There is omitted. The professor lavishes praise and en-couragement upon this extraordinary diligence, from young people as treating them with a certain degree of regard, which makes it a point of honour on their part to strive to merit the good opinion indicated. But perhaps, the circumstance which had the greatest share in cries he, to fall so far short of your companions? the authority and popularity of our lecturer on Follow the example they have set you? Repetry, was that of Signor Lanzi's not being a newed hilarity. "Go nearer, says a voice, priest. Had he been a priest or a monk—two You ought to have put on spectacles, cries words synonymous among us with tyrant and another. 'We'll write larger another time,' fool-he would infallibly have met with a sysbreaks in a third. The direction of all eyes tematic opposition, and an amount of ill-will, leads at last those of the bewildered lecturer to which he would no doubt in course of time have look over his desk, and there he sees, just overcome, though not without a struggle. As beneath hin, and facing the pupils, a huge he wore boots and a round hat, instead of a paper, with the lesson of the day written in clerical three-cornered one and black silk stock-capital letters. He tears it off indignantly, and lings the pieces about him with rage.——The against him, and we soon felt that we might themes are then called for, but scarcely a dozen yield ourselves to his guidance without degraout of fifty can be collected. Spiderlegs exclaims dation. Such at least was our college reasoning,
against such an enormous defeit, and asks of, and I give it for what it is worth. Signor Lanzi
those who have failed how this comes about, possessed besides intrinsic merits more than Now for the best of the joke. One, with a sufficient to capitate our young minds. His lamentable air, shows his check dreadfully crudition in Greek and Latin literature was swelled from tooth-ache, which was, of course, really prodigious, and he was very well versed a moment before, in its natural state. Another in Archivology. There was hardly an author, has dislocated his wrist, and exhibits it to the and unsociated may wrist, and symbols it to the forces or robusine—even the most obscure, time professor, shockingly contracted. A third raises he had not analyzed, dissected, passed through his fore-finger, bound round with a heap of rag the crucible of his brain; hardly a sholium or —he has cut himself to the bone. Others a commentary that he had not himself compandaciously assert that they have given in their mented upon. It was a real pleasure to hear theme, and that it must have been mislaid, and Signor Lanzi earnestly dissert, for hours, on the set about hunting for it, of course only creating Caionis annuem atrocem of Horace, or on the disorder. Poor Spiderlegs must be satisfied substitution of an r for a v in the word Diva. substitution of an r for a v in the word Diva. You would have supposed, from the solemnity of his tone, that the fate of the whole world his audience make up theirs, some to lean with rested upon the question. He was exclusive in their clbows on their desks to take a little nap his admiration of the classics, and he would as comfortably as they can, others to have a positively work himself up to the point of game of draughts, others to play at olds or weeping over Fons Bridaine, spirmlid or vitro, evens. A battle with paper arrows begins be while the beauties of Shakspeare and Schiller tween the day scholars and the bearders, seated left him quite unmoved. Indeed, he hated innovators as much as he could hate anything, and would, I believe, willingly have seen them consigned to an auto-da-fé. Such was the Such was the man

The Father Rettore .- "The Father Rettore the same hall which had been the scene of such was a little old man of about seventy years of the same half which had been the scene of such was a little our man of about severity years of uproar and riot in the morning, presented a lage. His carroty wig, set awry, his high-totally different, and far more edifying picture, boned rosy checks, a large vein, which marked The pupils were bent in silent attention over a thick blue line upon his red nose always

crammed with snuff, tended to render his appearance rather ridiculous than imposing. And died severity, I might say, of harshness in his yet, notwithstanding this somewhat grotesque exterior, never was monarch in all his mightiness quisite sensibility, which we had more than more revered by his subjects than was the Father Rettore by the turbulent youth confided to his case; and this was not owns solely to the amount of the distribution of the size of the si encircled with a halo of saintly glory. As just as it was possible to be in his situation, kind and humane, although frequently severe upon system, full to the brim of a conscientious sense of duty, this austere man combined in himself, in the highest degree, the virtues and the defects of a fervent Catholic priest. Unbounded was his devotion to the young flock entrusted to tolerance to a pitch of cruelty worthy of a Torquemada. in all cases in which he thought-with or without reason—that he saw the slightest of-fence to religion. And such is the power of to excess, that in spite of its effects being often to bis full height, would stand mujestic and inexorable, like Moses, when coming down from the mountain, he found the Israelites worshipping the golden calf. Besides, the Father Rettore, in order the better to maintain the manihave recourse to certain tactics, which proved his long and deep experience of children. certain degree of mystery surrounded all his actions, especially the punishments he inflicted. It was not uncommon, for instance that a sum-mons to the presence of the Father Rettore should be followed by the disappearance of the individual thus summoned. What had become of him? Nothing transpired and it was only on his being restored to his companions that it became known that he had been, perhaps, in prison. This was the system of Venice applied to a college. Like those of the oracles of old, so the awards of this dreaded monk came from an invisible source; for the Father Rettore lived far from the eyes of the profane, and in a mysterious sphere, from which, however, his influence penctrated everywhere, and at every moment. His very rare appearance in public became an event the more imposing from its

his care; and this was not wing solely to the appear; there he let forth all the treasurers of his perfectly unlimited extent of his power. Other gentle kindness. What care, what tender anxietic treumstances concurred to make him an object betty, what soft solicitude! He would become a of profound respect, such as an illustrious name child again himself, to bring a smile upon the and exquisitely polished manners, for which he lips of a sick child. With what affection he was indebted to a highly aristocratical, nay, would make himself his nurse, watch and comprincely education, and a reputation for important processing the control of the contro thy of the early ages of the Church. Wender-old man on a secrement day, his countenance ful tales of the penances and macerutions he radiant, and shedding tears of tenderness as he was said to impose upon himself circulated in prayed for his beloved children, whom he bethe College, and were calculated to strike our lieved to be in a state of grace. The bursts of young minds, open as they were to receive sensibility, which gave an insight into the strong impressions from all that rose above or-depths of his soul, did not escape our sharp-dinary life—and to inspire us with deep veneral sighted observation and mingled with our awe tion for a head which we looked upon as already of the Father Rettore the more tender sentiment of almost filial love."

Now, all these are thoroughly Italian portraits, t' at of the Father Rettore especially. And yet they are not strange to us. There is perhaps not one of these figures, and perhaps not one of all the pedagogic types introduced to us throughout the first half of him, for whose eternal weal he considered him- the book, that has not its exact Scottish or self individually responsible to God; but this English analogue. The contrast, for examsense of responsibility caused him to carry inple, so admirably depicted, between the poor absurd Professor and his popular and efficient colleague, is one which reproduces itself, with little variation, in almost every any faith deep and sincere, even when carried college or grammar-school in our own country. Cannot the memory of every one of us productive of serious evil to us. we looked with furnish recollections of native pedagogues as admiration on the bent priest, who at such absurd as the Genoese Spiderlegs, as worthy times, drawing himself full up, as if by miracle, of undying respect as the Genoese Professor of Poetry? To our own memory as we write there rise the figures of three men. now dead, who, were there a record of such things, ought to be consigned to the order fold influence he possessed, did not disdain to of academic infamy. There was Dr. A., a Professor of Natural History, a poor old man who gave us, instead of Natural History, a mere rubbish of scraps pertaining to no science in particular, who was a source of fun to us all, whom we pelted with snow regularly as the winter came, on whose black board we used to chalk ineffable figures, during whose lectures we sang songs, and whose dialect we used to mimic to his face. There was Dr. B., a Professor of Moral Philosophy, almost worse still, an old man who lectured trash to us out of manuscripts not his own, while some of us drank bottled porter under the seats, and whose wits, never bright, were all but absolutely gone, so that he used to be seized with mental obscurations and total loss of the power of utbecame an event the more imposing from its always occurring unexpectedly. He spoke little, seldom smiled, was very sparing of praise, which he ever tempered with some slight re- languages, but in whose class-room we used

to read novels, and write letters, from a per-, which their useful lives had been spent; but fectly sound conviction that this was the they were men who, if a right note were ta more judicious expenditure of the time we ken of such things, should have been sought were obliged to be in his company. It makes out for public and conspicuous honour. us angry even now to think of how much Whether in Italy or Great Britain there is these three holders of important Chairs de- no more deserving functionary in a Comfrauded ourselves and hundreds more, who monwealth than a conscientious and able are now scattered over the world, inferior to teacher; and it might be made a test of the what they might have been by all that the social condition of states how many such hours thus wasted might have added to their functionaries they have, and what scope is culture. Probably the evil is one for which given to them. there can be no perfect remedy; and yet one cannot but think that there might be a provision for rooting out from our colleges all stitutions given in the pages before us, would such very notorious incapables. On the have stood very ill the application of such a such very notorious incapables. On the have stood very ill the application of such a other hand, perhaps there is an educational test. The Signor Lanzi, and the Father value in the existence in our Universities Rettore of the Royal College of Genoa and other public institutions, of a fair proportion of such pedagogic lumbugs. They instances rather of how good men may lurk serve at least as sources of some of the most rich reminiscences in the after-lives of those cast constitutionally in the mould of the whose youth they have professionally cheat- worst system, than of the proper character ed. Happy, however, the educational in and bearing of the system with which they stitution that has not too many of them, and were associated. And here we are remindthat can balance every Spiderlegs and Don ed, in spite of such international resem-Silvestro with at least one Signor Lanzi and blances as we have noted, that it is to schoolone Father Rettore. Nor, fortunately, are life in a despotic country that we are introsuch men more rare than their opposites, duced in the pages before us. Side by side in our own memory with the wishes to obtain an idea of the difference beeven yet, is a new sense of gratitude. One account which our author gives of the maman, we remember, a colleague of the two nagement of the Royal College of Genoa unincapables first mentioned, who was in all der the rule of Somaschi Friars. The essence very brother of the Signor Lanzi presented country, education, as we know too well, strictness he loved to expound and inculcate, supplied to those who can procure it as somewhose real opinions baffled all investigation, entirely separate interest. known, perhaps, beyond a local circle within thing tied down over them as an entirely

Piedmont, thirty years ago, if we may Whoever very humbugs we have named stand men of tween the system of education in a free and a very different cast, every thought of whom, that in a despotic country, ought to read the respects, save that of physical appearance, a of the difference soon appears. In a free to us by our friend Benoni-a man whose may be deficient enough in quantity, and head was itself a type of the true Roman bad enough in kind; but, such as it is, it is whose rendering of O Fons Bandusia would thing good and desirable in itself, and the have been a treat to Horace himself, whose end and direction of such education are dereproaches for a false construction or a false termined no farther than they may happen quantity made us feel like criminals for half to be by the general wants of the commua day, and to learn Latin from whom was to nity, and the general ideas, be they truths be taught accuracy and research for ever, or prejudices, which float in the whole social Nor, when he is remembered, is it possible atmosphere. In a despotic country, on the to forget others to whom, each after his own other hand, education, where it is administerfashion, a similar tribute would be due-ed at all, is administered as something which him, for example, who, while he taught us is daugerous, but which cannot be withheld; Euclid, reminded us, by figure and charac, and the end, amount, and direction of such ter, of Aristides; or him, whose warm heart education, are determined by the one blastand enthusiasm made us love Homer and ing thought, of how it may be reconciled Sophocles for his sake as well as for their with the conservation of despotism itself, own; or him, the weak-voiced, strong-armed as represented in a set of arrangements not eccentric, who led us so cursorily, but so spontaneously adopted by the community, beautifully, over the field of general physics, but let down into it, and tied over it, as an Such preemiwho called us blackguards to our faces, made nently, is education in Italy. In every part sly hits at the idola fori of our neighbourhood, of Italy, with some exception now in favour and so first taught us to doubt and to ques-tion. Of these, some were men hardly is something extraneous to the people, somecannot be withheld is ordered, stinted, cor-rupted, supervised to the one end of not tions, to present a vivid picture of the obloosening or of farther strengthening the stacles thrown in the way of the youth of wretched bonds by which this incubus holds Italy when they reach a period of life when itself from being flung off. Worst of all, it they can think and judge for themselves. has been reserved for the Roman Catholic In these chapters we have some additional, priesthood, herein untrue to that ancient and, we have no doubt, authentic portraits ideal of Catholicism which was proclaimed of Italian officials—in particular, a most by their own Hildebrand, and which, with all its faults, contemplated a very different Commissioner for the Board of Public Infunction for the Church in the history of the struction, and a perfect lynx of despotism. world, than that of being the lackey of secu-lar tyrants—it has been reserved for this let us only note the impressions they give rule of the actual Papacy.

separate interest; and such education as which his hero and other young men were

priesthood to assume the office of the thus us, as to the real effect on the young men degraded schoolmaster. How are the mighty themselves, of the system of education purfallen! A priesthood teaching, as the the-ory is, that the great God of heaven and In the first place, it is clear, Italians in good earth has left as a deposit of his past pre-circumstances do, under all the disadvantages scuce and footing on our planet, an institu- of the system, succeed in being educated, tion called the Papacy, and that it is for this and even, in some respects, well educated. institution to control the thoughts of men, Perhaps it is in the article of science, and to issue from time to time, by virtue of and especially of science as either stimuits connexion with the unseen world of truth, lating to intellectual generalisation, or new intellectual irradiations, and new moral trenching on social practice, that formal decrees, till the earth, swimming in factitious Italian education is most deficient. The beauty, shall near the goal of the Eternal- priests do not seem to be jealous of geomethis were a sight to awaken chivalrous respect try, nor would they repress a decided bent even in those to whom the theory itself to anatomy, to optics, or to hydraulics; seemed but a fallacy and delusion. But but they would rather not have a Liebig where, save in the dreams of a few English among their pupils, much less a political neophytes, who are carrying more into Ca- economist. In the article of traditional tholicism than they are deriving out of it, is literature, on the other hand, they seem to such a priesthood now? The characteristic be less wary. Young men belonging to intellectual work of clerical Catholicism wealthy families may, it is probable, be as proper, at the present hour, is to write cate- well grounded in the classics, and in all the chisms of despotisms, such as the Austrians learning of archeology, in Italy as any where compel to be used in the schools of Italy, else. Literary taste, skill in versification, and otherwise to theorize everywhere for the and the like, seem to be even encouraged; conservation of a particular type of secular and in the native country of modern art, it government. And this definition will hold would be hard if there were not the means good until Jesuitism shall show that it has a of sufficient culture both to practical excelprogramme of its own, distinct from the lence in music and painting, and to a widemere design of converting the nations to the spread and genial dilettantism. In short, whether it is that, even where priests are Even more striking than the author's pic- the schoolmasters, there is a certain routine ture of Italian school-life, as an illustration of valuable studies which custom and the of the practice of despotic governments in prescription of ages make sacred and inevitthe matter of education, is the account he able, or whether it is that there are always gives of what may be termed the university a sufficient number of men like the Signor portion of the career of his friend Benoni. Lanzi and the Father Rettore to keep young At the time when Benoni is supposed to men hard at work within the permitted leave the Royal College and to enter on this range, or whether it is that there are in portion of his career, the University of Ge- Italy sufficient means of education supplenoa, which, with that of Turin, had been mentary to that of the schools, extending closed in consequence of the insurrectionary even to liberty of access for the few to promovement in Piedmont in 1821, had just hibited books of foreign and native literature, been re-opened under a new code of regula- it is certain, that if the young men of the tions. In several chapters, accordingly, the wealthier classes in Italy consented to be author makes it his aim, partly by historical mere book-worms or dilettanti, they might details as to the nature of the regulations, go on as comfortably as in any other country partly by humorous accounts of the shifts to in Europe. But they will not consent to this;

and here lies the difference. We wrong can gratify their secret glee in doing spite to dual; at present, what she craves is a little and take up his abode in Ireland. freedom to choose the opposite. Right or instinct of many generations in them, they

them in expecting that they should. It is all very well for us in a land like ours, where we may rave on platforms if we like, and plunge up to the neck in politics of any colour, to affect the philosophy of a Goethe, sucer at the life of platforms and politicians, and preach the calm and sober culture of the individual. The calm and sober culture of the individual? The luxury of ennul to a man fatigued with work, the post-prandial appetite for nothing but wine and walnuts! But a nation doomed to ennul as its one occupation, served with wine and walnuts and its only food! We have lost the right and on rolls life in Italy, one generation of English spirit in contemplating such matters. them in expecting that they should. It is the priests. Thousands of Italians are free-English spirit in contemplating such matters. young men succeeding another, each, while There is a cant, it may be, in these everlast- it is young, going through its course of ing disquisitions on freedom, with which the harred to the priests, and each, as age and world resounds; but in our horror of such respectability grow upon it, succumbing to cant, and our speculative disgust with the these very priests, confessing to them, being platitudes of demagogy, are we not begin- married by them, and shrived by them, and ning to lose sight of the grand old truth carried by them to their duly consecrated which the word freedom does recognise, and graves. The women and the peasantry form to strike a note that is weak and false? O in Italy, as in every other Catholic country, for one hour of a Milton to sound anew the the permanent social menstruum in which trumpet-blast, to refresh an intellectual the scepticism of the educated men is lost world sick with too much Goethe, and to and dissolved as fast as it is formed. teach how much better for the mind of man But already in Italy the entire social even the jars and broils of liberty, than the mass begins to be pervaded with what peace of priests, with pictures, dance, and is virtually an anti-Papal feeling; and if the song! Italy may come round at some time Pope wishes to live in a really Catholic to the calm and sober culture of the indivi- country, he ought to leave Italy very soon,

It is a common observation of those who wrong, the youth of Italy are not content to have opportunities of watching the youth of be either mere book-worms or mere dilet- a country or of a district, in the aggregate, tanti, even should the liberty of private reli- for any number of years, that talent and gious scepticism be added in the most energy are not diffused in equal proportions abundant measure. Hence a universal spirit over equal parts of a given period, but seem of rebellion, such as no other country can rather to come in irregular waves. Ask any parrallel, against the entire system under veteran teacher, and he will tell you that which they are educated. With all that such has been his experience, and that, in they do contrive to acquire by way of cul-looking back, he can fix on the precise year ture under that system, they feel that they or years when his class contained a greater are systematically wronged. With the galaxy of talent than ever before or since. Whether it is that there is a kind of contachafe and revolt under a system which seeks gion operating among young men, so that, to train them up so that they shall be pas where there is one youth of any special bent, sive slaves of the governments that are tied others are leavened all round him, or whether, down over them. Above all, they hate their as is more probable, the reason lies in a schoolmasters. There is something terrible, more general law, according to which, as the something passing all that we in England vegetable crops of certain physical years know of hatred, in the hatred with which are unusually fine, so certain years, taken every educated young Italian regards a after a moral measure, are characterized by priest. A priest—only hear the tone of a better than average condition of human mingled contempt, loathing, and suspicion nerve, certain it is that this fact of undulawith which a young Italian pronounces the tion, of unequal concentration of talent and name! And hence in Italy it is the delight spirit in particular times and places, may be of young men to complete their own educa-tion by plunging into whatever regions of thought or investigation are under sacerdotal of the work before us, with what we chance prohibition, and by running riot in all that to know of the real basis of fact in the history

of Italy on which these representations rest, | non, will let them stay out of bed; they do Genoa during the last forty years to the Sardinian kingdom, and again the peculiar Precisely as the state of society in Italy de-Suffice it here to remind our readers, that, ardliness, and cruelty, more pure and exaguntil the year 1848, the Sardinian or Piedgerated than are found in most other coummontese kingdom was under a despotism tries, so, on the other hand, operating on nathe subjects ample opportunities of personally ters in which the virtues of honour, fidelity, studying the common problem of the whole courage, and gentleness, are pushed to the distinguishing them from the rest of the Italian brings himself to say Tu to a man, talians; and again that the Genoese, thus acknowledging him as his friend, it is a politically compatriots of the Piedmontese kind of paction of life and death between since 1815, have elements in them, more the two—purse, thoughts, secrets are thence-especially the proud republican memories forth in common between them. Such was of a thousand years, distinguishing them the Friendship formed between our two from the Piedmontese, and qualifying them brothers and a young fellow-townsman with to think and act, under the conditions of whom about this time they became activities and who thereforeward fourse in influential manner.

may, let us fancy the one Genoese in whose

we have no hesitation in saying that the all that honest youths can to reconcile the years 1830-33, about which time our friend hopefulness and buoyant spirit of youth in Lorenzo Benoni, leaving his studies at the general with the chronic ennui to which University behind him, is represented as youth in Italy is subject. It is hard work. beginning life in Genoa on his own account, At every step they are dogged by a carabi-as a young lawyer, must have been, if not neer, or meet the sinister face of a Jesuit, for all Piedmont, at least for Genoa and its or have to command the hot Italian pride neighbourhood, precisely one of these epochs rising in their hearts as they encounter the of unusual flower. It is a curious fact, in insulting glance of an Austrian officer, or deed, already well known, that no city has are reminded in one of a thousand ways of contributed so many men conspicuous in the miserable meshes under which the socirecent Italian politics as Genoa. The fact ety of which they are a part lies bound and might be susceptible of explanation were we enthralled. In these circumstances they relation of that kingdom to Italy in general, velops types of treachery, meanness, cowboth military and ecclesiastical, which gave tures of better material, it produces characpeninsula; that the natural subjects of this degree of romance. What we call friend-kingdom, the Piedmontese proper, have a ship in England would hardly answer to the peculiar and rather hard type of character, Italian definition of the word. When an distinguishing them from the rest of the Italian brings himself to say Tu to a man, their new combination, in an original and quainted, and who thenceforward figures in the history under the name of Fantasio. Leaving these hints to suggest what they This remarkable person is thus described :-

"Fantasio was my elder by one year. He fortunes we are at present interested, as he walked about his native city, laden with this and prominent, and eyes black as jet, at times last University honours, and with the poor darting lightning. His complexion was a pallo prospects of a Genoese lawyer before him, prospects of a denocese mayer before him, in the year 1830. He has his office in his father's house, where he and his brothers live, petted by a mother whom they all love, and enthulia pet all the father whom they all love, and enthulia pet a little force the transfer of the father whom they all love, and enthulia pet a little force the transfer of the father who was softened by a smile of great and enduring not a little from the tetchy temper of their father, who is secretly proud of them, but hardly sees what is to become of them, but hardly sees what is to become of them all, and is in constant dread of their them all, and is in constant dread of their services is viewed by the services in the secret was a fascinating power in his eyes, his view his whole bearing that was them all, and is in constant dread of their there was a rasenating power in fils eyes, his getting into scrapes with the authorities, the brothers, especially two of them, Cesar and Lorenzo, who are nearly of the same age, are constant companions, and have much library, his eigar, his coffee; some occasional time on this lands—Cesar having as little. age, are constant companions, and nave much library, his eigar, his coffice; some occasional time on their hands—Ceasar having as little walks, rarely in the day time, and always in solto do as a physician, as Lorenzo has as a lawyer. They read books, they walk out, they play billiards, they go to balls and the large play billiards, they go to balls and the large play billiards, they go to balls and the large play billiards, they go to balls and the large play billiards, they go to balls and the large play billiards, they go to balls and the large play billiards, they go to balls and the large play billiards, they go to balls and the large play billiards, they go to balls and the large play billiards, they go to balls and the large play billiards, they go to balls and the large play billiards, they go to balls and the large play billiards, they go to balls and the large play billiards, they go to balls and they are large play billiards, they go to balls and they are large play billiards, they go to balls and they make a play billiards, they go to balls and they make a play billiards, they go to balls and they go monlight, such were his only pleasures. His morrals were irrepreachable, his conversation was a lawys change in sold play monlight, such were his only pleasures. His morrals were irrepreachable, his conversation of the play monlight, such were his only pleasures. His morrals were irrepreachable, his conversation of the play monlight, such were his only pleasures. His morrals were irrepreachable, his conversation of the play monlight, such were his only pleasures. the carabineers, the detested police of Ge- would put an immediate stop to it by some one

word, which never failed of its effect. Such was the influence that the purity of his life, and his incontestable superiority, gave to him. Fantasio was well versed in history, and in the litera-ture not only of his own but of foreign countries. Shak-peare, Byron, Goethe, Schiller, were as familiar to him as Dante and Alfieri. Spare and thin in body, he had an indefatigably active mind: he wrote much and well both in prose and verse, and there was hardly a subject he had not attempted,—historical essays, literary criticisms, tragedies, &c. A passionate lover of liberty under every shape, there breathed in his fiery soul an indomitable spirit of revolt against tyranny and oppression of every sort. feeling, generous, never did he refuse advice or service, and his library, amply furnished, as well as his well-filled purse, were always at the com-mand of his friends. Perhaps he was rather fond of displaying the brilliancy of his dialectic powers at the expense of good sense, by maintaining occasionally strange paradoxes. Perhaps there was a slight touch of affectation in his invariably black dress; and his horror of apparent shirt-collars was certainly somewhat exaggerated; but, take him all in all, he was a noble lad -To him I owe having really read and enjoyed Dante. Many a time, before having made acquaintance with Fantasio, I had taken up the Divina Commedia with the firm determination of going through the whole of it; but soon recoiling from its difficulties I had given up the task, and contented myself with reading those portions of the great poem which are most famous, and the beauties of which are most popular. In a word, I had only sought amusement in Dante. Fantasio taught me to look there for instruction and the ennobling of my faculties. I drank deeply at this source of profound thought and generous emotion, and from that time the name of Italy, which recurs so often in the book, became sacred to me, and made my very heart beat."

Fantasio and the two brothers become from this time the principal figures in a group or elique of young men, including some of the most promising of the educated youth of Genoa. Lorenzo is about twentyan expression of languor in his countenance, which easily brightens up, and changes for never, never to be extinct in all. the better. Cæsar, a year older, and to this chronic thought, and cheri hing in a noschool; and a youth named Sforza, a daring, example was before them in the successful strange, resolute being, who, even as a boy, struggle by which the Greeks had won their had shewn himself a born leader when firm freedom. Why should not Italy do what living frugally by giving lessons in drawing, patriotic souls, bound by a common purpose, would never borrow money or confess the and connecting all parts of Italy with each

want of it. There is besides another youth, Vadoni, an unfortunate wretch, who had been compelled by a miserly uncle to embrace the priestly office against his will; and from time to time there appears also a youth, of high aristocratic birth, named "the Prince," who figures rather equivocally in the earlier part of the story, where he is already introduced to us as Lorenzo's enemy and rival at school. These, we believe, are not imaginary portraits, but all portraits from the life. It will not be difficult, at all events, for such as have the elue, to recognise the original of Fantasio in a man not unknown at the present day in the history of Europe. The portrait is not without a dash of critieism in it, as if years and events had made Lorenzo no longer exactly what he once was to Fantasio, nor Fantasio what he once was to Lorenzo; and yet, if our identification of the portrait with the original is correct, what a tribute is paid to a man now much maligned in Europe, in the fascinating pioture given in these pages of the young Fantasio of Genoa, so pure, so good, so

From walks and talks together, from readings of Dante, from discussions of the great question of Classicism or Romanticism then agitating the literary world, from projects of literary journals in the interest of the Romantic school, to be published at Florence, where the eensorship was less strict than in Piedmont-little wonder if the thoughts of Fantasio and his friends turned at last most decisively to Italian politics. Indeed, of what else could an Italian think? His country, its wrongs, its hopes of emaneipation-from generation to generation this had been the one thought of every honourable Italian breast, a thought to be quenched, perhaps, in some by the cares of life as they grew older, and to be drowned by others in one years of age, tall, thin, dark, and with the feeble pleasures of literary dilettantism, but ever ready to burst out afresh, and whom Fantasio is more strongly attached bler form than usual that hatred of priestthan even to Lorenzo, is less tall, but stouter | hood and tyranny into which all Italians are, and better proportioned, with a healthy glow as we have said, schooled and driven, it was in his cheeks, and clustering chesnut hair, reserved for our Genoese group of friends to Other figures in the group are-a youth feel called, by the circumstances of the time, named Alfred, Lorenzo's fidus Achates at to put their thoughts in practice. A glorious will and action were required, whose hopes Greece had done? What was wanting in in professional life had been blasted by his Italy that Greece had possessed? One thing expulsion from school for a fray against the only—a Hetaireia like that which had done friars, and who, though poor as a rat, and so much for Greece; a secret association of other! Such was the first step of Fantasio | which stopped the investigations of the poand his friends in their progress towards the ice at the very point when they might have dangerous career of political conspiracy; led to death and ruin to all concerned, Fanand for months, both in Genoa, and in the tasio is released, on the condition of his imquiet and beautiful valley of San Secondo, mediate exile to France. He leaves his to which they often retire to be out of the little group of friends, and takes up his Italian Hetaireia. Lorenzo and his brother and in lieu of it love goes on. But soon with Italian flesh and blood, daily revolted coadjutors and ministers. ting up of the negation of God.

of the friends, led and agitated by the burn amply provided with resources, and growing ing enthusiasm of Fantasio, in their search in dimensions every day. We here quote after the Italian Hetaireia. Suffice it to say, our authorthat at first they fling themselves into the restoration of the Bourbons, and which, at not a considerable village that lacked its propamore necessary at a moment when the lements of a better Hetaireia—all the now one of our sect, pushed on propagandism more necessary at a moment when the indefatigably, as did our colleagues Adriano French Revolution of July seemed to hold Stella and the Prince, the first among the second among the nobility.

The varies of the moment in the signal of faring class, the second among the nobility.

To render justice to every one, I emancipation. They are scheming and arranging such an association, when, O the order of the day in all ranks. Surely the

bustle of town, the one subject of their con- abode in Marseilles. And here for a little versations is the possibility of founding an while the work of conspiracy is at an end; are watched by a kind and eccentric uncle there comes a messenger with a packet from John, who holds a commercial situation in Fantasio, announcing that as a refugee he Genoa, and who, perceiving what is in the has not been idle, that the rudiments of a wind, takes every opportunity of lecturing new organization have been formed by him his nephews on the folly of expecting to turn among his fellow-refugees, and that it desociety like a pancake. Uncle John's maxim pends on the friends he has left behind him is that the only thing is for every individual in Genoa to give effect and body to this orin his own sphere to be as good and to do ganization by spreading it throughout Piedas much good as he can; and he openly de- mont and Italy. Here the memoir before clares that if he was sure that, the first shop us becomes actual and authentic history. he entered, he should be asked only the cor- After deliberation, the suggestion of Fantasio rect price or thereabouts for any article he is taken up; Cæsar, his bosom-friend, bewanted to buy, he would think that moral comes his substitute as the soul of the prochange a more important conquest for the jected enterprise; and Lorenzo, Sforza, country than all the institutions of Sparta Alfred, Count Alberto, Vadoni, with two and of Athens to boot. But, after all, his new associates-Adriano Stella, a merchant heart goes with the boys; and, had he been well known on the Genoese Exchange, and Goethe himself instead of only uncle John, his brother Lazzarino, captain of a trading his preachings could have had little chance vessel,-are grouped around Casar as his by the workings of a government character-added, after a little while, a young cavalry ized since, in the words of even so calm a officer, named Vittorio. The work of orman as Mr. Gladstone, as a systematic set-ganization now goes on in right carnest; it is no longer a set of youths dreaming and We cannot here trace the successive steps longing; it is a formidable conspiracy,

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"In six months of incessant labour, we had arms of Carbonarism, a system of secret obtained results at which we were ourselves asassociation, dating its origin from the tonished. Not a single town of any importance Neapolitan movements consequent on the in the kingdom, but had its committee at work; restoration of the Bourbons, and which, at not a considerable village that incident is propa-this time, after being dormant for some years, gandist leader. We had succeeded in establish-was again recruiting its ranks in all parts of leading the propagation of the second stable of Count Alberto; and with him, his sister, Leghorn and Civita Vecchia, and so on to and a long and trying love-episode for poor Naples. The number of adepts had multiplied Lorenzo. But our friends soon become to such an extent, that we soon felt the necessity disgusted with Carbonarism, which proves itself, in their experience of it, to be more a mummery than a reality; so that they have to look about among themselves for Among these last named, my old friend Yadoni, all the have to for heart of the transfer of the control of the

horror! Fantasio is arrested. It is a mohour appointed by Providence for the diverment of intense anxiety, but at last, by an
unexpected conjunction of circumstances combination of perseverance, self-denial, intel-

ligence, and activity in this cause, were destin-| months from the first establishment of the new ed to fail in the attempt! It must also be allowed that the directing committee at Marseilles danger." gave us good assistance. Thanks to their agency, the crews of our merchant-vessels which traded to Marseilles returned well indocsteam boats that plied along the coast of the Mediterranean we had confidential agents, charged to carry to the different ports along their line, not only letters, but bales of printed be afterwards distributed inland.

But it was specially in a line hitherto unexplored-1 mean in the army-that the progress of the Association was most remarkable. Vittorio, the young artillery officer to whom Cæsar dur-ing my illness had presented the letter of introduction, had proved an inestimably precious acquisition. He was a young man of two and twenty, strikingly handsome. No man ever realized in my eyes, as he did, the type of a hero, both in body and in mind. He was taller by a head than the tallest of us, and erect as a tower, and though a youthful down barely shaded his lip, his broad chest and shoulders bespoke the full development of manhood; yet so finely and that we so much admire in ancient Grecian statues; and his every motion and gesture bore that stamp of nobility and easy elegance with which nature endows her most favoured chil-Vittorio had un ardent spirit, enthusiastically devoted to all that is good and noble, a mild and affectionate disposition, and uncommon capacity and activity. Such a man, it will be readily conceived, could not do things by halves. He earnest. The success he met with exceeded his most sanguine expectations, and in a short time of propagandism soon spread to the other mili-tary corps of the town. There could be no lack of elements of dissatisfaction in an army aristooratically constituted as ours was, (though by Italy, and National Independence.'

"Such was the state of our affairs in the begining of the month of February 1833-just fourteen

There is no difficulty in recognising in this passage a description of the association trinated and enthusiastic; and in almost all the which has since been famous in Italian history as the association of "Young Italy." There are many reflections which the picture here given of this celebrated association political papers, which were thus introduced to might suggest to us-particularly the reflection what a state of society that must be, in which all that is noblest and most generous in a people is driven to such a mode of working a way for itself; and what centuries of suffering, unheard of in our parts of the world, it must have taken to impart to the Italian character such an aptitude for conspiracy and secret organization as is here disclosed. Let us only, however, refer such of our readers as cannot shake off the bad associations legitimately connected with the word conspiracy in a country and language like ours, where conspiracy is happily not, harmoniously was he proportioned that he did as it is in Italy, the only synonym for polinot strike you as being much above the ordinary tical activity, to the more detailed represize. The lines of his spacious forehead, and of sentations in the pages of our author. Only his whole countenance, were of that pure cast by a fair reading of the whole book can the proper impression on this subject be produced.

We hurry to the catastrophe. At the dren. When looking at him in his simple but very time when the conspiracy was ripe, handsome uniform, leaning on his long sword, and when every honr of delayed action in-I could not help thinking of Achilles. The in-creased the danger of discovery, a difference ward was in keeping with the outward man, arose between the Genoese centre and the branch in Turin as to the precise moment for striking the blow. A correspondence is going on to adjust this matter: but the delay is fatal-the conspiracy is discovered. A first of all secured the co-operation of two of his quarrel between two soldiers is the cause of commudes and friends—his stoff as he jocularly the discovery. The police lose no time—called them, and then went to work in right (crear, Sforza, and others are arrested on the instant-Vittorio mysteriously disappears, he was at the head of a respectable number of and investigations begin which lead to wholeadepts. We were thus secure of access to the sale arrests in all the towns of Piedmont. arsenal, and of finding there not only the arms A warrant is out for the arrest of Lorenzo; which we wanted, but a body of men ready to but he contrives to avoid the carabineers in join and march with us. From the artillery, time, is hidden for some days in Genoa, esto which it had at first been confined, the work capes in a boat under the care of a smuggler who bargains to carry him to France, grows delirious on the way, and insists on being set on shore on the Sardinian coast, skulks about the law of conscription service was obligatory for a while in the neighbourhood of a counon all classes,) and in many corps of which try village where he runs great danger of merit was precluded from all advancement, if being discovered, and at last by a miracle unaccompanied by pedigree or title. Now this makes his way across the Var and is safe on was the case with nine-tenths of the numerous French soil. He hastens to Marseilles, and officers. Let us add, with honest pride, the Piedmontese uniform covered many a brave fate of those he had left behind him. The heart, that beat high and first at the words book closes with these tidings conveyed in the form of a " Note by the Editor:"-

" Lorenzo's presentiment as to his brother's fate

had proved but too true. Nor was Cæsar the be. Wise, calm, fervid, honourable, proud; only one among the reader's acquaintances—the single victim. Poor Sforza had been shot; the two associates of Vittoria, Miglio was one of them, were also shot. Vadoni was condemned to imprisonment for life; Lazzarino to ten years' of his own! To those who saw him but chat enveloped Vittorio's fate was not cleared till onest goutle man; to those who saw him of some months afterwards, when it was ascertained that he was at Roloma, a prisoner. To explain: because. What he was at Roloma, a prisoner. that he was at Bologna, a prisoner. To explain: -On the morning of the day previous to the capture of the chief conspirators, Vittorio was summoned before his Colonel, seized on while off his guard, thrown into a post-chaise, and conveyed under escort to the frontier of the Roman States, of which he was a native. By this summary, and apparently rigorous proceeding, had the gallant officer contrived, without committing himself too far, to save at least the life of his young subordinate, for whom he was known to entertain a special regard. Count Alberto and Alfred were left unmolested. Adriano Stella, who was absent from home at the time when the arrests began, took good care to keep out of the way. Many a fine fellow, chiefly among the military, whose name has not appeared in the foregoing pages—Vochieri was one—was shot at Alex-andria and Chambery; some were confined for life, or for periods varying from ten to twenty years; a still greater number succeeded in effecting their escape abroad."

cite, out of authentic and known record, ex- is the decree, my elder and wiser brother! tracts stating in exact detail the time and crate a few lines to pirvate feeling?

pleasure. What he was to ourselves-ah! what was he not? Dear to us yet, Agostino, as nothing ever can be dearer, the memory of the hours spent with thee; of the upper-room where we so often sat together, we and our common friend; of thy dark kind face, with its soft and melancholy eyes; of thy deep delightful converse, now of books and old themes of thought or fancy, now of matters personal, now of lighter and more gamesome things. Through thee it was that we first learned to love Italy-Italy which gave thee to us, and to which again we gave thee back, when duty and freedom called thee. Ah, it is years since then; and now, as from thy bed of sickness under thine own Italian skies, each passing month wafts us tidings of hope or sadness, how we think of thee and the old days which return no more ! Over all the intervening space of sea and And so, for the present, the veil is drop. land, I stretch my hand to thee, O Agostino ped over this interesting Italian history. —a salutation back to life, if our prayers Reader, we could raise that veil. We could can avail; a farewell for this world, if such Yet another Italian it has been our lot to

manner of the death of him who passes in know, also a Genoese exile, and not a strangthese pages under the name of Casar Beno- er to the events of this Piedmontese story It is a tale tragic beyond the power to He might be Fantasio grown older. relate it, calling up, as we write, the image him and what he is, it is not for private reof a prison-wall, of words written on that gard to speak; he is a man of whom history wall in blood, of gaolers finding a dead body. takes charge. Long ago was his name known We could tell of other victims named or not in Italy; and now, whether he walks modnamed in this history; and we could trace estly in the streets of London, or suddenly the farther fortunes both of Lorenzo and appears elsewhere to pursue, with no official Fantasio. The custom of courtesy does not pomp or circumstance, the business which allow that we should do so; only, as this Italy has devolved upon him, it is felt that in whole history has to us a warmer interest his hands lies a portion of the power of Euthan that of mere literary appreciation, may rope. For it is not long since the world saw we be permitted, in conclusion, to throw off him in a position which it has been given to for an instant, the critical guise, and conse- no other man of the present age to holdwith his foot on the neck of the secular Pa-The first Italian that we ever knew was a pacy. France, with Protestant England con-Genoese exile, driven from his country by senting and abetting, took him thence and events connected with those narrated in the raised the prostrate victim. Once more he volume before us. He might have been a came amongst us, again to bide his time. younger brother of Casar and Lorenzo. His work seems over; Pope and tyrants are Where these pages shall first see the light, at rest, and hope seems to have grown sick there are many who, with us, will remember in the heart of a waiting world, when, lo! he Agostino. Memorable to many he was, in again quits our shores, and fire bursts forth deed, fit to be—to old and to young, to rich and to poor, to wise men and to gentle wo-continent is searched for him. He is not men. Nature never made a man in a no-here, he is not there; he is sought for everybler, finer mould. Ho was sent among us where in vain; and yet he "many well be in to shew what manner of man an Italian might the heart of every Italian who has been outraged, oppressed, and wronged, and there no feel inclined to deny. For the higher attridoubt, Pope and Austrian will one day find him." Such is the prophecy, at least, of the

Times newspaper.

Italia, O Italia, how long shall thy harp hang on the willows? How long, instead of retaining such men as these within thy bosom, to make thee what thou mightest become, shalt thou have to drive them forth as now to shew what that might be? Arise, thou noble land; arise in thy strength to right thine own wrongs, and, while righting these, to render at the same time that service to the world which the world expects from thee! Destroy that Nuisance crowned with a tiara which not thou alone, but a whole earth is tired of; crush, crush that Spider of the nations whose home-nest is in thee, but whose web over-spreads the world! Arise, and take thy place among the nations, O fair Italy; do among them as thou hast capacity and will; and be estimated according to thy deserts!

ART. VIII .- 1. The Strayed Reveller, and other Poems. By A. London, 1849. 2. Empedocles on Etna, and other Poems. By A. London, 1852.

3. The Morlas, A Poem, By V. London, 1853.

POETRY is scarce. Our age, famous as it is in many ways-abounding in great deeds, and far from being destitute of great menseems unfavourable to the growth of the ever welcome flower. Many volumes of verses are published annually, evincing taste, feeling, and sometimes an artistic carefulness and finish. There is no indifference on the part of the public; on the contrary, we feel convinced that the " Vates Sacer," were he to come among us, could easily command an audience. The encouragement so freely afforded to anything which looks like promise, and the indulgence displayed to the poets of America, are the best proofs we could advance in favour of the existence of a genuine love of poetry.

It would be ungenerous to omit mention of an improvement which has taken place in the tone of many of our writers of verse. That there is often a delicacy and purity of feeling, a desire after noble objects of ambition, and what is better than either, an earnest and sometimes pathetic expression of sympathy for the wants of the poor, few those of the second. Nor is the philosophy of those who are in the habit of bestowing and general tone of the "Reveller" im-

butes and mysterious qualities of song, we look in vain. But at least let us be grateful for the absence of misanthropical monodies, and voluptuous love songs. There is another peculiarity in many of the recently published volumes of verses, which can hardly fail to force itself on the notice of every reader. We mean the unmistakeable traces which they bear of the influence exercised on his age and contemporaries by Mr. Tennyson. When the earlier poems of Tennyson first made their appearance, the admirers and disciples of the sensational school claimed their author for themselves. In his more recent productions, however, the poet has shown himself in an entirely new light, The debateable land that lies between the regions of sensation and the regions of thought, Mr. Tennyson has fairly claimed to hold. Where a great genius walks securely, how few there be that can follow ! In the efforts of the pupils there is a want of proportion, and an absence of harmony which render the varied ease and facile gracefulness of the master only more apparent. It is far from unnatural that the younger portion of the community should fix their admiration on the poet who is nearest them. Grave seniors may hint at the propriety of rigid adherence to classic models, and point to "the pure well of English undefiled,"—but in spite of all that has been, or that can be said, the poet whose verse comes bounding over the soul, who is continually in the thoughts and language of youth, must be he who has felt the difficulties, and perhaps solved the problems of the present time. There is one, it is true, who is for all ages and for all times, but it is rare to discover that the first affections of male or female students of poetry centre in Shakspeare. "Knowledge comes, but wisdom lingers."

But it is time to turn from our somewhat desultory reflections and introduce our read-

ers to "A." and " V."

"The Strayed Reveller" has been before the world for some time, and was, we believe, favourably noticed by more than one journal, on its first appearance. It is in all respects a pleasing and interesting collection. The writer, evidently a man of high culture, gave in this volume a promise of excellence which, we regret to say, his last production, "Empedocles on Etna," has not fulfilled. The poems in the first volume, as regards smoothness of rhythin, and ela boration of style, are strikingly superior to attention on the literature of the day will proved in "Empedocles," An indolent, selfish quietism pervades everything that; "A." has written, mars the pleasure of the reader, and provokes him into thinking severe thoughts about the poet. But "A. is a poet. He has held deep communion with nature. He has studied in a way that we wish was more common than it is. From the works of Sophocles, and Homer, Goethe, and Wordsworth, he has gathered fruits, and he has garnished his gains with fresh blooming flowers of his own. The "Strayed Reveller" is an imitation of the antique. Though containing some fine imagery, there is little which we care to extract. A "Fragment from an Antigone" is well executed, but hardly worth the trouble which must have been bestowed upon it. As a specimen of the graceful fashion in which "A." can write, we give the following poem, "To my friends, who ridiculed a tender leave-taking." It reminds us in many ways of Goethe :-

> "Laugh, my Friends, and without blame, Lightly quit what lightly came: Rich to-morrow as to-day, Spend as madly as you may. I, with little land to stir, Am the exacter labourer. Ere the parting kiss be dry,

Quick, thy tablets, Memory! "But my Youth reminds me- Thou Hast lived light as these live now: As these are, thon too wert such : Much hast had, hast squander'd much."

Fortune's now less frequent heir. Ah! I husband what's grown rare. Ere the parting kiss be dry. Quick, thy tablets, Memory!

" Young, I said, 'A face is gone If too hotly mus'd upon: And our best impressions are Those that do themselves repair.' Many a face I then let by, Ah! is faded utterly.

Ere the parting kiss be dry, Quick, thy tablets, Memory!

"Marguerite says: 'As last year went, So the coming year'll be spent: Some day next year, I shall be, Entering heedless, kiss'd by thee.' Ah! I hope—yet once away, What may chain us, who can say? Ere the parting kiss be dry, Quick, thy tablets, Memory!

" Paint that lilac kerchief, bound Her soft face, her hair around: Tied under the archest chin Mockery ever ambush'd in. Let the fluttering fringes streak All her pale, sweet-rounded cheek, Ere the parting kiss be dry.

Quick, thy tablets, Memory! " Paint that figure's pliant grace

As she towards me lean'd her face, Half refus'd and half resign'd, VOL. XIX.

Murmuring, ' Art thou still unkind?' Many a broken promise then Was new made—to break again. Ere the parting kiss be dry,

Quick, thy tablets, Memory!

"Paint those eyes, so blue, so kind, Eager tell-tales of her mind: Paint with their impetuous stress Of enquiring tenderness, Those frank eyes, where deep doth lie An angelic gravity.

Ere the parting kiss be dry, Quick, thy tablets, Memory!

"What, my Friends, these feeble lines Shew, you say, my love declines? To paint ill, as I have done, Proves forgetfulness begun? Time's gay minions, pleas'd you see, Time, your master, governs me. Pleas'd, you mock the fruitless cry,

'Quick, thy tablets, Memory!'

" Ah! too true. Time's current strong Leaves us true to nothing long. Yet, if little stays with man, Ah! retain we all we can! If the clear impression dies, Ah! the dim remembrance prize! Ere the parting kiss be dry, Quick, thy tablets, Memory!"

There is grace and pathos in the poem of "The forsaken Merman," but it recalls certain poems of Tennyson rather too vividly. "The New Sirens" does more than recall Mrs. Browning, and that too by no means in her happiest mood. We advise our friends to avoid "The Sick King in Bokhara." and assure them that there is nothing to be gained from the mystical pieces addressed to Fausta.

"A." constantly disappoints us. We are in hopes all throughout his volumes that we are about to be delighted with a flow of melody, or a noble train of sentiment. He is often on the verge of excellence. He has been astride Pegasus. We can hardly venture to assert that he has ridden him.

"Empedocles on Etna," is an utter mistake. It fills seventy pages, and though the author calls it a drama, it hardly possesses one attribute of dramatic poetry. Every thing about it is modern. But the thoughts and images which the author has accumulated in this poem are often original. Callicles, a young harp-player, has followed the sage up the mountain side, and endeavours by snatches of song to soothe the sorrows of Empedocles. Here is an exquisite description of the scene :-

"The track winds down to the clear stream, To cross the sparkling shallows: there The cattle love to gather, on their way To the high mountain pastures, and to stay Till the rough cowherds drive them past, Knee-deep in the cool-ford : for 'tis the last Of all the woody, high, well-water'd dells

On Etna; and the beam Of noon is broken there by chestnut boughs Down its steep verdant sides: the air So freshened by the leaping stream, which

Eternal showers of spray on the moss'd roots

Of trees, and veins of turf, and long dark shoots Of ivy-plants, and fragrant hanging bells Of hyacinths, and on late anemones, That muffle its wet banks: but glade,

And stream, and sward, and chestnut trees, End here: Etna beyond, in the broad glare Of the hot noon, without a shade, Slope behind slope, up to the peak, lies bare

Slope behind slope, up to the peak, lies bare; The peak round which the white clouds play."—P. 17.

Oh si sic omnia! But alas, "A." has indulged to excess in poems of a meditative cast, reflecting, indeed, the culture and refinement of their author's mind, but failing to touch the reader. "Tristram and Iseult" display the author's characteristic power to great advantage. "The Memorial Verses" on Wordsworth's death, originally published in Fraser's Magazine, are really very memorable. Our readers will thank us for

"LONGING."

- "Come to me in dreams, and then By day I shall be well again: For then the night will more than pay The hopeless longing of the day.
- "Come, as thou cam'st a thousand times A messenger from radiant climes, And smile on thy new world, and be As kind to all the rest as me,
- "Or, as thou never cam'st in sooth, Come now, and let me dream it truth, And part my hair, and kiss my brow, And say—my love! why sufferest thou?
- "Come to me in my dreams, and then By day I shall be well again; For then the night will more than pay The hopeless longing of the day."—P. 84.

There are indications throughout these volumes that the glorious scenery which surrounds the English lakes has especial attraction for "A." When we next meet with him, we trust that his poetry will exhibit more than it does at present of the severe manliness and exalted tone which must ever be associated in the minds of lovers of poetry with the hills and dales of Westmoreland. Less of aversion to action in all its forms,-greater sympathy with the wants of the present generation, will endear him to many who would now turn away contemptuously from the self-complacent reverie, and refined indolence, which too often disfigure his pages. It is not merely as an artist that

men love to regard a favourite poet. He must not only himself obey the dominion of moral and religious ideas, he must do more—he must teach others to go and do likewise. But, when all deductions have been made, and every critical objection has been stated, there still remains enough in the poetry of "A." to justify a warm culogy, and to entitle us to hope that he may yet produce poems worthy of a higher praise.

There is much in the poetry of "V." to excuse the belief that the writer (who is really a lady) is a man. Vigour, firmness, and an almost philosophical acuteness, are its distinguishing characteristics. "V." is a lover of realities. She has no meaning to conceal. She hates enigma. The unassuming form-betokening an absolute indifference to fame-in which the writings of "V." have been issued, has, we are fully convinced, injured her reputation. Some few years have passed since full justice was done in the pages of this Journal to the merits of her first publication, "IX Poems."* In 1842 she published the first canto of a poem named, "I watched the Heavens," which, amidst much palpable imitation of Dante, disclosed a deep knowledge of the mysterious workings of the human heart. We venture, before introducing our readers to her last and best poem, "The Morlas," to give the fol-lowing extract from the conclusion of "I watched the Heavens;"-

"For 'tis not only in the sun to bask, Nor by bright hearts to shun the tempest's rage,

That man is summoned to his earthly task, And shewn afar his native heritage. More glorious labours are assigned the race Whose future home is all the breadth of space, And who in many a fight must win the

strength

Which nerves their spirits to that height at length:

E'en as the falcon, when the wind is fair, Close to the earth on lagging pinions goes, But when against her beats the adverse air, She breasts the gale, and rises as it blows."

—P. 58,

The concluding lines we think it would be difficult to excel. In the few words of preface to "The Morlas," the author says—"I feel justified in offering it to the world, as the best I can do, which, if it fails to please, fails through want of ability, not for want of pains," This is superior to the affectation which would have the public imagine that the novel or poem was the work of hours, not days. The poem opens with a description of a forest solitude, far from the track of

^{*} North British Review. No. xxi.

men, which recalls the opening of Mr. Long-fellow's "Evangeline," but, indeed, only to render the inferiority of the American poet's "forest primeval" very evident. The stranger, who narrates the poem, is led to moralize on the vicissitudes of humanity, the common lot, the ultimate destiny of man. A voice seems to reach the air. The thoughts which have filled the stranger's bosom have vibrated through many hearts in that still solitude. The spirit of the valley, who takes form and shape, appears before the eyes—

"A form which, how it met the sight
I knew not, save that it was there;
A quivering and a colour'd light,
That seem'd embodied but in air."
P. 13.

To trace the line of existence through various ages is the delight of the spirit. The savage and the sage are brethren. They have stood beside the flood, each with his own aspirations, his own hopes and fears. A stone, whereon a mother who had fled from terrors of war had laid her boy, suggests the recital of the mournful story.

"Then, as his eyelids closed at last,
And every sense in sleep was fast,
She rose to seek for needful food
Wherewith to greet his waking there;
And left him in the sheltring wood,
Spending her very soul in prayer.
Her sleeping boy partook the breeze
That stirrd and freshend in the tree;
The same sun-ray that cheer'd the flower,
Sent to his frame it squick ning power;
It roused his blood, it smooth'd his limb,
And dyed his check a brighter hue;
The cay that warm'd to life in him,
Enjoy'd, rejoic'd—ah, suffer'd too."
Pp 22-23.

A sudden rising of the waters takes the life of the child. The mother returns—

"She came, and saw the waters wild Rush where she left her helpless child, And stared upon the madd ning view, And all her loss at once she knew, While pain intolerable pressed Shricks from her over-master'd breast.— And yet, in sooth, a mortal's grief Has but a few brief years to run, Time brought its winter of relief, And she was ashes like her son."

This is finely and delicately touched. Our next extract describes the solitude in its early beauty:—

"A teeming solitude lay round;
A sea of forest was my bound;
Where winds alone would nobly sweep
As o'er the waters of the deep;

Or from his rock the cagle's cry
Resound across the morning sky;
While rustling in the covert's haunt
Stirt d the unseen inhabitant.
All elso was still; creation's hand
Impress'd the solitary land;
And many a wild's untrodden span
Still lay between my dell and man,
Who, new to earth, not yet could trace
Half of his mighty dwelling-place."
P. 32

The descriptive parts of "The Morlas" remind us of Scott. The more serious portions of the poem combine much of the tenderness of Moore with the thoughtfulness of the later poems of Tennyson. We are, perhaps, inclined to desire some one exhaustive view of a single phase of human life, rather than the vivid but too brief sketches which the author has given us. But we must proceed in our analysis. A change comes over the peaceful solitude. The stag, as he seeks the margin of the water, bears a dart quivering in his side. "Long, red lines of blood" pass down the stream, and tell of distant strife and warfare. These tokens warn the narrating spirit of stirrings in the outer world—

"They told of far events to me
Which shook a land I could not see.
As when some troubled region rocks
Beneath an earthquake's whelming shocks,
A land at peace far off, will feel
A larger billow on its shore,
A cloud concer its sky will steal

A cloud across its sky will steal, And all grow quiet as before."

P. 34.

A fact in physical science is here rendered most forcibly. An exiled monarch seeks the wilderness. The fountain where he sought refreshment becomes the "Holy Well." Pilgrims repair to its welcome waters. The conscience-stricken find solace; the sick health—

"The hunter, when his way was lost, His dog untrue, his purpose cross'd, And swollen streams and darken'd skies Show'd like offended deities, Bethought him of the hallow'd soil, And vow'd to leave upon its shore A portion of his hard-won spoil, If home might welcome him once more."— Pp. 38-39.

But superstition is doomed. The hour had arrived when "the oracles are dumb." The apostle of the true faith at last finds his way to this remote spot.

"The stars were forth, the worlds of light, The brother-worlds we see by night; And o'er them through the peopled sky Wander'd his meditative eye. In reverence by the stream he bow'd, Where prayer from human lips had flow'd; He also pray'd-but not as those Who heretofore the temple chose To adore an unknown God."-P. 41.

The signs of idolatry are removed, and the cross is reared above the fountain. We wish we had space for the beautiful narrative which follows. A pilgrim, weary of life, has come in desperate need to claim the succour of the holy well. His infirm feet can hardly advance up the glade. He envies the springing deer in its progress; and when at last the well is gained, and he has plunged in the wave, and felt no reanimating vigour pervade his frame, hope, which had sustained him hitherto, expires within his breast, and he sinks prostrate on the earth. help is nigh at hand. He is bid, in the name of names, be free, and after he has indulged in the rapture of his new found strength, he returns to bend the knee before the Apostle, and to learn from his lips the glad tidings of truth. Night beholds the master and the disciple leave the valley together. spirit, after telling the stranger that he has chosen him, from his air of thoughtfulness amidst the common throng, to hear the records of the dell, again becomes viewless, and the poem concludes.

We think that the extracts from "The Morlas" which we have given will justify the opinion that it is no ordinary produc-The name is a puzzle. Some of the pains-taking contributors to "Notes and Queries," may, perhaps, be able to throw some light upon it. We hope and trust that the world has not heard the last of "V." Miss Mitford, in her agreeable volumes of personal reminiscences, informed her readers that "V." was so richly endowed with all that is generally supposed to ensure happiness, as to render it matter of surprise that her poetry has so often spoken of sadness and death. She has some faults to cure. Her rhymes are often faulty, and there is an occasional harshness in her lines, which contrasts some- 4. what unfavourably with other more elaborate and smoothly polished passages. May she prosper and delight us again!

Let all readers of poetry purchase "The Morlas." We assure them that they will

not regret it.

"The poet," said Goethe, shortly before his death, "as a man and citizen, will love his native land; but the native land of his poetic powers and poetic action is the good, noble, and beautiful, which is confined to no

judices, in setting aside narrow views, in enlightening the minds, purifying the tastes, ennobling the feelings and thoughts of his countrymen, what better could he have done? How could he have acted more patriotically?"—(Conversations of Goethe, vol. ii. pp. 427-8.) These are truthful words, and we should be most unwilling to mar their force by any remarks of our own, were it not that we believe that it is often the tendency of youthful aspirants to obey them too implicitly. Topics derived, not from the storehouse of the individual consciousness, nor from the real aspects of humanity, but from the world of books and authors, seem to posses especial charms for young writers. It is almost needless to insist upon the fact that a studied neglect of "the common things that around us lie" is fatal to the ultimate popularity of the poet. Men arising from the toil and tumult of this busy time—redeeming its earthliness—elevating and purifying its weakness singing not only for the studious and the refined, but also for the laborious and unlearned sons of toil, and bequeathing to generations yet unborn the goodly heritage of noble songs and stirring lyrics-such are the poets we desire to see amongst us, and we cannot believe that our hopes are in vain.

ART. IX .- 1. The Recommendations of the Oxford University Commissioners, dc. By James Herwood, M.P., F.R.S., of Trinity College, Cambridge. London, 1853. 2. Suggestions for the Extension of Profes-

sorial Teaching in the University Oxford. By BONAMY PRICE. London, 1850.

3. German University Education; or, Professors and Students of Germany, dc. By WALTER C. PERRY, Phil. Dr. of the University of Göttingen.

The Rationale of Discipline, as exempli-fied in the High School of Edinburgh. By PROFESSOR PILLANS. Edinburgh, 1852.

5. Regulations for Scholarships, Degrees, and the Courses of Instruction in the Faculties and Schools of the Queen's Colleges, Ireland, Dublin, 1848.

Introductory Lectures on the Opening of Owen's College, Manchester. Manchester. 1852.

Our function being to watch over the immaparticular province or country, and which terial, even more directly than the material, he seizes upon and forms wherever he finds interests of our countrymen, we have from If the poet has em- the first establishment of the North British ployed a life in battling with pernicious pre- Review, regarded the higher educational

institutions of Scotland, not only as a legiti-1 denied. On the contrary, they were admate, but as a peculiar object of our care. mitted with a facility which a greater With all the heartiness of the most genuine knowledge of mankind would have enabled sympathy, we have seconded the healthy us at once to set down as deceptive. It is and hopeful tendencies which are at work in not as regards religious doctrines alone that society in other directions. We have com- a distinction must be made between a ready mended the activity which is manifested in acquiescence and a living faith; nor is it in behalf of what is humane and beneficent, of these only that a nominal believer is a what is pure and blameless. landed the disinterestedness with which

of our people.

We have more dangerous enemy than an open infidel. But though we may have erred in aswhatever is calculated to refine or elevate suming that all who do not openly oppose, the masses of a hitherto too much neglected or who, from motives of convenience, even population, is instantly brought to bear on ostensibly second our views, are heartily on their condition, by those who are themselves our side, we should interpret ill the characalready in possession of comfort, and refine- ter of our age in general, and do grievons ment, and leisure. From the noble strivings injustice to our own country in particular, of Dr. Chalmers, and the benevolent speeu- if we failed to recognise that now in Seotlations of Mr. Helps, to the more immediand we may confidently look, if not for an diately practical efforts of those who have efficient support of learned institutions, at founded Ragged Schools, and built lodging least for a wider popular sympathy with houses, and furnished reading rooms for the intellectual and moral activity, than we working classes, we have withheld our word could previously have hoped for. Not only of encouragement from no rational scheme by the opinions which they express, but by which had the good of our fellow-men for the far surer test of the books which they read, we know that a very large and most At the same time, however, we have not influential portion of our countrymen are failed to point out, that more has been done, deeply and sincerely interested in whatever in these years, towards satisfying the lower they consciously feel, or even conscienthan the higher intellectual and moral wants tiously believe, will enlighten their under-Whilst we have been standings, refine their tastes, or purify their striving to raise the labouring classes from hearts. Though we have probably fewer degrading sensuality and gross vice, we have leading individual thinkers, and literary done, for centuries past, little to foster the guides, in Scotland at present than at any institutions which profess to cultivate the other period of our history since the early higher intellectual powers, and to supply part of last century, there is a wide-spread guidance and nourishment to the more seriousness of purpose, and a thoughtfulness active moral life of the community. In in the lives of the whole intelligent communeglecting these roots of our civilisation, we nity, which bids fair to produce an atmohave not only failed to provide for the sphere out of which, if not a higher and upward movement of society in its ultimate more creative order of minds, at least many manifestations, but, however vigorous may important improvements in our national be the signs of life which, for a time, our institutions and social arrangements may be social development in its earlier stages puts expected to arise. But we must remember, forth, we have been endangering the perma-that neither in the State nor in the indivinence of those very individual and citizen dual will spontaneous development, however virtues on the possession of which we have vigorous, supply the place of conscious effort. hitherto so justly congratulated ourselves, It is true that, with little sacrifice or effort But in previous discussions of this great and of any kind, the public have already become urgent national question, we have perhaps the most generous patrons of literature in taken these consequences of the neglect of its popular forms. As regards that suthe higher instruction for granted rather too perficial enlightenment, of which cheap hastily; and to this circumstance is probably books and lectures are the vehicles, there is to be attributed, in no small degree, the no longer any want of sheltering institutions little practical activity which the repeated or artificial culture. But the grain which demonstrations which our pages have con- nourishes, and the herb which heals, most tained of the fact, that the provision for frequently do not grow spontaneously, even supporting a literary or intellectual life in in a fruitful soil, and so it is with the most Scotland is so scanty and ill organised, have nutritions and indispensable products of hitherto called forth. In saying this, we mind. If we do not sow them, neither shall would by no means be understood as insinu- we reap them. If we do not bring within ating, that either our conclusions, or the the reach of some considerable portion of premises on which we founded them, were the community the possibility at least of

studious leisure, we cannot look for those the sympathies of the general intelligent results to individuals and society which public in their favour. It is on the Scottish nothing but leisure and study have ever people, in this sense, that the Scottish afforded to mankind.

the public interest in the higher education sentatives. revives, it will draw its nourishment from a far wider class than it ever before could apceived that enlightened sympathy which has ble. in this case it is obvious that the question of whether or not they shall succeed in adapting themselves to modern requirements, dening the majority are not, and never can be, the pends entirely on their success in enlisting

Universities must throw themselves. If the But we are gravely mistaken, if the wide-general voice pronounces that an efficient spread sympathy with popular education, instruction of the highest kind, and a strenuand popular literature, to which we have ous cultivation of literature, science, and alluded, does not supply some guarantee for philosophy, is not less indispensable to the future support of its systematic cultiva inational wellbeing than a widely diffused tion; and in the causes which have hitherto superficial intelligence, then our country is starved and crippled the learned institutions neither so poor as to be unable to supply of this country, we think we can trace, even the conditions of their existence, nor so weak now, symptoms of a temporary character. as to be unable to make its claim heard by The spirit of dissemination, for the present, Parliament. But our first concern is with has drawn off the sap from the higher stu- public opinion. Even before we attempt to dies, and the tendency of our civilisation is make a case, we must if possible gather an to spread its roots among the people, not to audience, and it is with this view that we throw its branches boldly into the air. But now address, not to the gifted few but to we are persuaded that the principle of social the earnest many, a few plain observations life has lost nothing of its power, and when on the political, social, and religious influenthe process of growth recommences, when ces of the higher instruction and its repre-

Sir William Hamilton succeeded in makpeal to. Our present institutions of learn- ing one hundred and six witnesses agree in ing were founded in a great measure by the pronouncing the intuitive beliefs of mankind munificence of an age in which cultivation to be the foundations of philosophy, and if was confined to the few. What might we he had inquired into their political erceds, not expect now if a similar sympathy could they probably would have had as little hesibe evoked on their behalf from the vastly tation in declaring the aggregate result of broader basis of the popular intelligence of the convictions of the community to be the our country in the 19th century? Besides, root of legislation in all states that are enit is obvious that the Universities of Scot-titled to be denominated free. Whatever land labour, in the meantime, under a double may be the form of government, if it is to disadvantage; for whilst they have scarcely fulfil the condition which Aristotle pointed yet become objects of interest to the whole out once for all as the test of the legitimate, community, they have already lost, to some as opposed to the illegitimate or degenerate extent, the protection of those classes by government; i.e., if it is to be a governwhich the community in former times was ment, not of a class, but of the whole, its led. To the clergy and nobility they stand acts must be in conformity with this comin a relation far less intimate than that mon conviction. It is in this that the monwhich they formerly occupied, and from the archy differs from the tyranny, the aristomiddle class of laymen, who now rule the cracy from the oligarchy, the free state from destinics of the state, they have not yet re- that which is governed by and for the rab-Now, this common conviction, or already been extended to the more popular common-sense, is neither the highest and educational institutions. Even in their in- latest discovery of the most advanced inditernal organization, the Universities have vidual members of the community on the not been able wholly to resist the spirit of one hand, nor is it the unaided and unguidthe age, which forces upon them that more ed opinion of the majority on the other. If liberal character which already belongs to it were the former it would be before the our other institutions; and in proportion as age, if society be progressive, and in any they comply with it, they cut themselves case would be above it; and, consequently, loose from what remains of their medieval the institutions resulting from it would be sources of nourishment. That they have suited to the requirements, not of the whole no choice in following the general line of community, but of a very small portion of march must be clear to every one who is it. Again, if it were the latter, synonymous, not blind to the character of the time; and that is, with the opinion of the majority, it

^{*} Politicor. lib. iii. cap. v. brav ptv b els, &c:

true exponents of the enlightenment of that on the completeness of the higher inwhich the age in which they live has taken struction, and consequently of the institusecure and permanent possession. It is tions by which it is communicated, our still but a minority who see even what has general civilisation, of which popular imbeen fairly and conspicuously brought to provement is only one of many conselight. Wherever this common sense has quences, is dependent, not only for its probeen attempted to be discovered by the gress but its permanence. mechanical process of counting voices, the real centre of gravity has not been found, age is dependent on the scientific thinking of and the consequence has been the instability the age which preceded it—the lower is of the social edifice. The moral influences, nourished by the higher instruction. In which in society carry in the end even each individual generation it is to those who physical force along with them, are all have received the complete training of their above this supposed centre; and to exclude time, that those who have received it parabove this supposed center; and to exclude time, that those who have received it particularly their operation is impossible. In the legiti- titally one the accuracy and precision of their mate state, which takes cognizance of them, knowledge, so far as it goes. Were it not they are elements of advance; in the illegit that the information communicated to the imate state, which ignores them, they are people is continually referable to its source, elements of disorganization. In either case and is exposed to the constant criticism of is these influences, and this intelligence, taken along with the opinion of the majority as modified by their action, which form the hand through which it passed. That the common sense, the popular spirit, in its fullest man is not always the readiest and common sense, the popular spirit, in its littles timal is not always the readiest and widest acceptation, which not occasionally clearest instructor, is so true as to be a true-or accidentally, but universally and necessism; but it is not less true, though apparently sarily, and this whether speaking through not so well remembered in our day, that the mouth of a Parliament or a king, is the unless the full man were alternately behind source of all genuine law-giving. Now, the the scenes as a coadjutor, and before them constituting in the property of the property of the property of the property in all likelihood. question which is important for our present as a censor, the audience in all likelihood subject is this,—can you supply these in could receive from the ready man only a fluences, and adequately deal with the com-mon conviction, as thus explained, by any-licet-matter of discourse. Nor can it be thing short of the highest instruction which doubted, that where the more ordinary gifts the age is in a condition to communicate to of clear statement, and ready and apt illusits children? Do you make the most of the tration, chance to fall together, as they often present, or do justice to the future, by dis- do, with depth and originality, a far greater seminating, even if such were possible, to impetus, and a much more serious charac-the whole community, an amount of insight ter will be communicated to the thinking of short of that which belongs not only to the an audience than can be given to it by an learned, but which, by adequate institutions inferior man, however dexterous. A speakfor the purpose, may be made the common property of all whose necessities do not ledge which he communicates, will impart withdraw them from mental pursuits? something of his own mode of viewing it, Whatever may be our activity, in directly and the better part of his audience will be checking vice, or preventing degradation, do participators, not only in the results of his we not, so long as we fail to communicate, thinking and of his learning, but of the habits to the greatest number who can receive it, of mind and methods of working by which the greatest amount of the highest instruct hese results were arrived at. Nor is it only tion, lose the most powerful means which from the professor's chair or the pulpit, from we possess of acting on the guiding spirits the platform, the bench, the bar, the senate, of society, of whose views its laws and or through the press, that such instruction institutions are, and ought to be, in a great may be communicated. Though the permeasure the expression. Nay more, when son whom we have supposed should be dewe turn from the political to the social side nied each and all of these public channels, of the question, do we not, by lowering the if you prepare him thoroughly, launch him whole tone of society, both intellectual and into the community, and support him in it, moral, cut off, even from the humbler he must and will do it this inestimable serclasses, whose friends we profess to be, the vice. Even if his instructions should not pass source from which the benefits, which at beyond the circle of his family and his present they are enjoying, flowed originally? friends, it is impossible to estimate the ser-To our mind nothing can be clearer, than vices which he may render in training others

they determine the current of events, and it the class of persons from whose labours it

for wider spheres of activity. We believe view the necessity of a Learned Class. for

rudiments of knowledge,

"Gladly wolde he learne, and gladly teche,"

is a characteristic happily not peculiar to the "Clerke of Oxenforde," either of the fourteenth or the ninetcenth century. Speculation is inseparable from intelligent existence, in the community. "Man philosophizes as he lives; he may philosophize much or little, well or ill, but philosophize he must." When we keep this fact in view, we have no difficulty in seeing that it is an error to suppose that the only impracticable schemers are those who propose to themselves an aim too high for humanity. We may reach the impossible by descending as well as by ascending; by taking too humble as well as too lofty a view of our common nature. Those who tell us that they wish all men could be persuaded simply to read their Bibles and attend to their business, utter a wish as chimerical as ever proceeded from the wildest believer in human perfectibility. No utopian ever proposed to himself a task more hopeless than that which the realization of their views would impose. The only choice that is left to man is between "philosophizing well" and "philosophizing ill," and all that that public sense, which rules the destinies of free states, can do, is to make its election between encountering the consequences of the one, or reaping the fruits Where the bane is inevitable, of the other. can there be hesitation in the mind of any an acquaintance merely with the indispensa- ions of Odin were the Levites of the Scandible elements of knowledge, but, wherever you come upon a mind more active than the rest, must have an attempt at applying this knowledge to speculative purposes, can you innocently or safely leave this speculation to wander into regions where error is found by the wayside, but where truth, if gained retain within their pale a class of persons whe should at all must be grained at the expense of long.

there never was a deeply learned and the mere safety of the community, comes thoughtful man, who did not create around out almost as clearly as that of a police or him, and leave after him, his school of dis-ciples. "an agistracy. They are the great moral ciples." and unless provision is made But farther, we must remember that how- by society for their vigilance, it is very posever we may estimate the advantages or sible that those whose boast it is that they disadvantages of the higher instruction, our "mind their own matters," may not be perhaving it and its representatives, in some mitted for ever to do so in security. Let shape, is not an optional matter. Wherever us remember what the consequences were of active minds are born into the world there Rousseau and his followers being left to lamust be those who acquire and communi- bour, with no monitors more adequate to the cate, who think and teach, beyond the mere task of superintending them, than the obsolete and dogmatic priesthood of last century! If France had possessed a class of active men of letters, dealing with subjects of modern interest, ready to apply the tests of history to every crude political rhapsody, to subject every pretended theory to the experimentum crucis of an unsparing criticism, who can say that the Revolution would involuntary in the individual, irrepressible have taken the shape which it assumed? There was knowledge enough in the world to meet the emergency, if it could have been brought to bear upon it, for we are greatly mistaken if a single erroneous political doctrine was propounded by these writers which Aristotle had not already anticipated and refuted.*

But if the present and the future do not greatly differ from the past, the purity of our religious faith and practice is not less intimately bound up with the higher instruction, than the rectitude of our political opinions, and the stability and progress of our institutions. In former times, the neessity of this connexion was never doubted. When the sacred functions, which the firstborn of all Israel had performed, were transterred to the tribe of Levi, to them also was entrusted the care of the secular-spiritual interests of the people. The priests of Egypt from the earliest times to the latest, were the representatives of secular learning. Manetho, the historian, is said to have been high-priest at Heliopolis, and certainly belonged to the order of the priesthood. Persian, Assyrian, and Babylonian Magi, the Hindoo Brahmins, the Chinese Confucireasonable man, or community of men, in ants, regarded the cultivation of the learning seeking for the antidote? If you cannot of their respective countries as inseparable have the lower instruction, in the sense of from their sacred functions. The compan-

^{*} For further illustration of these remarks we may refer to the paragraphs in the admirable pamphlet by Mr. Bonamy Price, placed at the head of this arti-cle, in which are so ably indicated the ill consequences of the conversion of the English Universiat all, must be gained at the expense of long authorities in the special branches of learning taught and patient and skilled husbandry. In this there."

navians, and the twelve pontiffs who were their very nature these duties must be the chosen from among them, were the inter- task of individuals, the obligation of making preters of the law, and the masters of the provision for their performance by the sup-lay. The Druids preserved to the unproport of these individuals, has been transfergressive Celts the little that they had re- red along with them. If the community is claimed from the realms of the unseen. In bound to perform them, it is bound to emthe classical nations of antiquity, the con- ploy the means that are necessary for their nexion between secular and sacred learning performance. If even on his own chosen was less than was ever clsewhere known, people, in whose affairs God so often interand there also the influence of the latter was fered by special providences he imposed the at its minimum. In cultivated Greece, in- duty of supporting, by the surrender of a deed, the philosophers were the true priest- tithe of their earnings, the class whose conhood of the nation; and we may say of the cern was with their immaterial interests, secular, that it absorbed the religious ele- can we suppose that it will be different in a ment, rather than that it was separated from condition of affairs in which direct interposiit. When in the Middle Ages the clergy as- tions have ceased, and in which ends are sumed the guidance of the entire spiritual more constantly and manifestly the results interests of the people, the assumption was of human means. acquiesced in, rather as a declaration of a connexion which mankind instinctively re-eognised, than as the proclamation of a new to admit that somehow they must particirelation; and when in the end Protestantism pate in the national wealth, the question re-established the right of private judgment mains as to the manner in which it must be and individual responsibility, in matters sagiven and secured to them. This brings us cred as well as civil, the union was recognearer to the practical part of our present nised, not in a tribe or an order, but in subject. "Ye are all priests," far from removing from the priesthood the responsibility of develop- and the progress of civilisation, it is contending, in a secular sense, the highest nature of ed that society has already so changed in its man, imposed it as a part of his religious character, as to render it unnecessary that duties on every responsible being. The provision should be made for a learned class privileges, and the corresponding responsibly direct endowment. If we can earry the abolition of the Mosaic arrangements, ex- sufficiently general, it will bear up the highlife, for the two indeed are one.

that tribe enjoyed, both amongst the Jews, hold to the general intelligence of the comand in the heathen nations which we have munity. Whilst man is a progressive and mentioned, such a portion of the fruits of the imperfect being there must be an unattained soil as was requisite for their support, not goal in knowledge and in virtue, and whilst only as the ministers of religion, but also as men are unequal there must be those who the secular teachers of the people.* The have advanced on the onward march further sacerdotal family had but a "tenth of the than others. However high you raise the tithe" which the children of Israel paid to general instruction and thinking of a people, the sacerdotal tribe. Now, if the duties of therefore, you must still have a higher inthe Levites, secular and sacred, instead of struction, which, though absolutely differing being abolished by Christianity, have only from what we now call by the name, will

But even when we are agreed as to the

bilities of the sacerdotal tribe, were, by the lower instruction far enough, and make it tended by Christ himself to the universal er instruction and support its ministers by Church. We are thus all Levites at our means of its own inherent strength. The peril. The religion which we profess is not principles of free trade, they tell us, are apan exceptional law, a jus singulare, a rule plicable here as elsewhere, and if we create for Sundays more than for Saturdays, for the market, we need not fear that the comsickness more than for health, for our pre- modity will be wanting. To this view we paration for another world more than for answer, that it is of the essence of the higher our guidance in this. It is the constant rule instruction to be unpopular to the extent of beof our secular as well as of our religious ing an unmarketable commodity; and this opinion we found on a consideration of the But when the priesthood was in a tribe, relation which it holds and must continue to been transferred to the whole community of hold to the general intelligence of the age to the faithful, is it not obvious that, since from which it belongs the same relative position which the higher does to the lower instruction at present. The distance between the two may, without injury to society, be di-

^{*} Vide Coleridge on the "Nationality," Church end State, passim. † Numbers xviii. 26.

minished for a time by the successful culti- But even this is not the worst of possible will pass away? Can we, for example, look from the community altogether. any way, however humble, of supporting wise, become indispensable.

those of whose labour it is the result? Nor

It is extremely difficult to assign a cause which prevents the higher instruction from forms of professional accomplishment into being self-supporting. Take the case of disfavour in our day. Perhaps it is to be books;—and even suppose, (what every attributed to the fact that the professions, lives, devoted to the subject of which it sacred and secular, were; but still, in extent than any other successful volume of and far less impartial, this law was probably have he and his fellow-labourers trusted? furnished by popular favour alone. The muldischarge of their natural duties to society, ious about the means by which each indior they have been holding public situations, vidual affair is despatched. They have no which, to the public loss, they found it neces- longer time or patience for the luxury of a sary to convert into sinecures. Such are learned treatment of their interests; and a the fortunate exceptional cases in which per- learned lawyer or statesman, instead of severance in learned pursuits has been ren- being eagerly sought after, is shunned as an dered possible; the rule is, that such men, impediment to public business. But whatafter an unavailing struggle to serve two ever the cause may be, the fact, we have masters, abandon the one whom, if he had good reason to think, is beyond dispute, and had the means of retaining them, they would the manner in which it is at present making have served with zeal; and the public, in itself felt in the highest department of the place of the lay-pastors of whom they stood legal profession, both in this country and in in need, have a very unnecessary and not England, has been so recently examined in very efficient accession to the already over- our pages, that for the present we must be crowded ranks of the professions.

vation of the lower instruction, and the ac- evils. So long as such men are abundantly tivity of popular literature; but it can dis- produced, they will contrive to give such a appear, if at all, only by a cessation of pro-tone to the existing professions and to the gress on the part of the higher instruction public service as will enable them to draw a which would ultimately check the march of scanty tithe from their connexion with them, social development. Now that the lower and the public will still have the benefit of instruction, and the general intelligence their services, though probably at a greater which it generates, do not at present sym- cost than would have been required for their pathize with the higher instruction, to the ex- direct support. The state of matters which tent of supporting it indirectly, will, we im- we have most to apprehend is that in which, agine, be admitted; and if we are right in wearied with the discouragements incident asserting that the cause of this effect is likely to their condition as irregular professional to be permanent, can we hope that the effect practitioners, they threaten to disappear for a condition of general intelligence, in which against this occurrence that we must guard, the public will buy books, or hear lectures, or as we should against an influx of barbarism otherwise avail itself of a teaching, in which itself, and it is when its approach becomes the highest thinking of the time is embodied, imminent, that direct endowments for a to the extent of remunerating, or even in learned class, which before would have been

is it the want of that amount of interest for the existence of that spirit of immediate which is extended to popular teaching alone utilitarianism which has brought the higher bookseller can tell is far from being the like the Universities themselves, have passed case,) that those which possess a strictly from the patronage of the few to the patronscientific or profoundly speculative charac- age of the many; and that the many are ter, could be sold as readily as popular trea- scarcely yet enlightened enough to perform tises or lighter literary productions, can they to them the offices which the few are no be produced with the same facility or in the louger in a condition to render. Even in same quantity? One single volume of no former times, it is true, those who exercised great dimensions, and which, if it is to be a profession were not dependent on monsold at all, must be sold at a moderate price, archical or oligarchical patronage to the extent is probably the result of a life, or of several to which the professors of learning, both treats. Even after its publication, whatever accordance with the whole genius of society, fame it may bestow on its author, it will the law by which they were ranked came bring him the means of living to no greater de havt en bas, and though far less liberal, equal size, and up to that period to what a more discriminating one than that which is In the most favourable circumstances they tiplication of affairs incident to a growing have been exercising uncongenial professions, external prosperity, has also unquestionably which stood continually in the way of the had the effect of rendering men less fastidcontented to make a reference serve in place

of a demonstration.* We are far, however, of Logic, whose own business transactions, from regarding this tendency, unfavourable as we think it to present progress, as a sign of social retrogression. On the contrary, we believe that in every state in which society is highly organized, and which enjoys great external prosperity, reference to gene-ral principles for rules of immediate action, on the part of those who are actually engaged in the despatch of business, must, from the delay which it necessarily occasions, come to be regarded as a worse evil than action which is at variance with principle altogether. In such circumstances, however, we are convinced that our safety does not consist in clinging, without farther investigation, to principles which have been established in more leisurely times. If our action in the senate and on the judgment-seat is to be in accordance with the requirements of our existing society, it must be founded not on principles which we have inherited, but on such as, by the constant labours of a living portion of our living community, are evolved for our present guidance. It is thus alone that the "occasion sudden" can be encountered with a rational confidence, that the experience of the past can be made truly available to the present, and that the spirit of innovation, which, without such guidance, the judicious tremble to see at work, will serve effectually to strengthen the hands of those who are entitled to be original. If we cannot afford to allow our men of action to retire into the closet, as their ancestors did, to question the rules of their own conduct, we must not neglect to supply otherst for the duty which we refuse to them the opportunity of performing. We must submit to this additional division of labour, as a new consequence of a civilisation which, if it is to be progressive, must become daily more artificial, and we must furnish society with a class of persons who can charge themselves directly with duties which can no longer be combined with other occupations. Sootland has furnished perhaps the most memorable instance known to history of the benefits which, even as regards their external prosperity, one single theoretical labourer may bestow on whole generations of practical men. It is to an old Glasgow Professor

for purposes of experiment, must have been pretty much on a par with those of Diogenes, that Europe is indebted for that science. the direct object of which was the supply of our physical wants, and for those principles of trade, by the practical application of which, in our own day, second-rate economists have gained reputations scarcely inferior to that of their great discoverer. If Adam Smith had been a merchant or a banker, it is scarcely probable that even he would have been able to view economics sufficiently in the abstract to enable him to raise them to the dignity of a science. In admitting, however, the necessity and recognising the benefits of a separate cultivation of theory and practice in advanced societies, we must guard ourselves against the imputation of supposing that they can possibly exist independently of each other, or that their mutual dependence can be diminished without injury to both. On the contrary, it is precisely for the purpose of preserving their connexion, and preventing practice from being guided either by antiquated dogmas or by narrow empiricism, that we have dwelt on the necessity of a non-practical or rather a non-practising class. function of these individuals will not be, by laying down lifeless rules for his guidance, to relieve the practitioner from the necessity of being acquainted with the living and generative principles of his art, but, on the contrary, to bring these principles home to his consciousness, to keep them constantly before his mind, and thus, in the midst of his pressing affairs, to enable him to act in novel circumstances with the security which the complete possession of principle alone can give him.

The observations we have hitherto made, from the inter-dependence of all the branches of our subject, have necessarily assumed something of an unsystematic character; but if we have succeeded in carrying the conviction of our readers along with us, we are now in a condition to derive from them the following conclusions :-

1st. That the highest instruction is indispensable to the political, social, and religious wellbeing of the community.

2d. That in no community, however enlightened, can the higher instruction, or the class which represents it, be self-supporting.

3d. That the tendencies of the present time in this country are unfavourable to their indirect support, in connexion with the professions, or the public service.

It is properly as a consequence of these

^{*} Article in last Number on Sheriff-Court Reform. † If you will have sciences flourish, you must ob-erve David's military law, which was, "That those who staid with the carriage should have equal part with those which were in the action," else will the carriages be ill attended. So Readers in sciences are the guardians of the stores and provisions of sciences, wherever men in active causes are furnished, and therefore right to have equal entertainment with them .- Bucon, Advancement of Learning, vol. ii. p. 94, ed. Montagu.

higher instruction to be indispensable, cut it off from all other means of support, that our former remarks on the inadequacy of the direct provision which is made for it in Scotland assume their true importance; and though we have no present intention of deluging our readers with statistics, we must take the liberty of reminding them of a few of the facts which we have brought under their notice in former articles, and of adding to them such as occur to us on the present occasion.

In our August Number of 1850,* we stated the historical grounds which had led us, most unwillingly, to the opinion that the provision which existed for the secular-spiritual wants of our people after the foundation of our Metropolitan University in 1852, far exceeded that of which, considering the increase of our population and our resources, the present times can boast. According to the calculation which we then made, Scotland in the sixteenth century did not possess a fourth of the population, or a tenth of the wealth which now belong to her, and before its termination she had her four Universities in a state of equal efficiency, and possessing endowments little if at all inferior to those which belong to them now. Even after the abolition of the monastic and cathedra schools, the ancient burgh schools remained. and were frequently taught by persons who, in the days of Erasmus and Turnebus, tenjoyed a continental reputation for scholarship. In addition to these provisions within the country itself, there was an organized system for the training of our youth abroad. Balliol College, Oxford, and the Scotch College in the University of Paris, were founded expressly for this purpose; and even where no such positive institution existed, there was scarcely a foreign university to which a Scottish youth of the sixteenth century could repair, at which he was not certain of receiving the assistance of his own countrymen, in the character not only of fellow-students, but of university teachers. The fact, that there is now scarcely an instance of a Scotchman holding a learned position in any other coun-

conclusions which, whilst they pronounce the, try, and the small number of names of living Scotchmen known throughout Europe for eminence in literature and science, is of itself sufficient to shew to how great an extent the present race of Scotchmen have lost the position which their ancestors held in the commonwealth of European letters.

When we search into the causes of the present condition of Scottish learning, we are struck with the fact, that whereas other countries have vastly increased their provision for their learned class, Scotland has remained nearly stationary. Since the date of the foundation of the University of Edinburgh, no less than six Universities have sprung up in the North of Germany, and there are nine which date from the Reformation. We subjoin in a note their names, with the dates of their foundation.

In the number immediately preceding that to which we have referred, two contrasted the staff of the University of Berlin with that of Edinburgh; but, as in applying to the latter the sub-divisions of the former, we may seem to have committed an inaccuracy, we may mention again, that whilst the whole number of professors in Berlin averages about 150 or 152,† that in Edinburgh is 31. But it may be said that Berlin is the metropolitan university of a country, vastly greater in extent and population than Scotland. Let us take then the smallest of the Prussian universities-Greifswalde-and we shall find that even there the number (which is 34) exceeds that to be found in the largest of ours. The other Universities are on a similar scale. Bonn has somewhere about 70 professors, Halle 60, Breslau 80, Königsberg 53; even quitting Prussia, in the smaller German States we find a corresponding state of mat-ters. Tübingen in Wirtemberg has 62 professors, Leipsie has 97, Munich (which ranks very low among the German Universities) 66, Göttingen 88, Heidelberg 62, Jena 60, Erlangen 47, Würzburg 39, Giessen 47, Marburg 50, Freiburg 39; every one of them thus surpassing in numbers the largest Universities in Scotland.

^{*} The Scottish Universities.

^{*} The Scottish Universities.

† "Nunquam sails laudatus vir Andreanus Turnebus."—Jos. Scaliger. "Sol ille Galliæ Turnebus."

—Lipaius, &c v. Tyller's Life of Craig. The grandfather of this "totius Europe ornamentum" was a Scotchman, and his own name, being interpreted, was Andrew Turnbull.

t "As the proficience of learning consisteth much," says Bacon, "in the orders and institutions of universities in the same states and kingdom, so it would be yet more advanced, if there were more intelligence mutual between the Universities of Europe than now there is."—Advancement of Learning, ed. Montagu, p.

^{*} Dates of German Universities :-

^{1.} Marburg, - 1527. 6. Breslau, 1702 2. Könisberg, 1543. 7. Göttingen, 1737. 1558. 8. Berlin, 1809.

^{3.} Jena, 4. Kiel, - - 1665. 9. Bonn, 5. Halle, 1694.

The two latter were established and endowed by Frederic William III., father of the present King of

[†] Lord Cockburn's Letter to the Lord Provost, Feb-

ruary 1850, † The precise number varies from year to year, because the privatim docentes, being candidates for extraordinary professorships, are continually changing from one University to another; and their places are frequently not filled for some time after their departure.

try as to the extreme poverty of these institutions altogether well founded. In Prussia, where, in the hands of a native, money goes at least one-third farther than it does in this country, we find that, apart altogether from their other sources of revenue, (which in the case of such small Universities as Halle and Greifswalde, are stated at £4400 a-year for the first, £7528 for the second, exclusive of fees), the government grant amounts to the sum of £53,440,* a sum exceeding by several thousands a year the whole revenues of the Scotch Universities from all sources whatsoever.

But sincerely as we admire the learned institutions of Germany, and much as we love a people whose true vocation seems to be the search after abstract truth, it is impossible that the political results which their intellectual life has brought forth during the last four years should not, for the present at all events, prejudice us even against that side of their activity to which we ourselves are so deeply indebted, and we therefore turn our eyes in a direction where no such objection meets us.

In a litt'e work before us,† there is a table from which, as it seems to correspond with the more recent information of the University Commissioners, we extract the following facts :- In Oxford there are 593 professorships, lectureships, and fellowships; in Cambridge 482; in Durham 34; and in London there are 52 professors. From other sources we learn that, in Queen's College, Birmingham, there are 16; in New College, Manchester, 9; and in St. David's, Lampeter, 4 professorships, or similar positions-making in all 1190 persons in England who live, or may live, as men of letters, without being dependent on the exercise of a profession for their subsistence. To this number falls to be added not only the temporary scholarships and bursarships, but the College and University offices; and if we wish to exhaust the resources of England for learned purposes, we must farther take into account the stalls in cathedrals, and other livings in the Church to which active ministerial duties are not attached, as well as a considerable number of positions connected with the richly endowed public schools, re.g., the Professor-

But let us consider these 1190 literary positions of England. From the occupancy of these. Scotchmen have hitherto been all but excluded. To far the greater number of the fellowships, especially in Oxford, conditions of local birth, descent, &c., are attached, which amount to a total exclusion of all but Englishmen; and in the cases where such restrictions do not occur, an English education and English degrees, which, from the expense which attends them, are at present within the reach of only a very limited number of Scotchmen, are still requisite. Both of these causes of exclusion. however, we are probably destined to see removed in a very few years. Of the changes recommended in the Statutes of the Universities both of Oxford and Cambridge, that which the Commissioners urge with greatest earnestness is the throwing open of the fellowships.

"Of the changes required," say the Oxford University Commissioners, p. 149, " perhaps the most important is that of removing restrictions on the elections to fellowships. These restrictions are of various kinds. The most injurious are those which confine the fellowships to natives of particular localities, to members of particular families, and to those who are, or have been scholars in the College. The result of these various limitations, whether imposed by statutes or the practice of Colleges, is, that of 540 fellowships, there are scarcely 20 which are open to general competition, and of these, few, if any, can be considered as absolutely free from statutable restrictions. Every other recommendation we propose depends, in a greater or less degree, on the removal of these restrictions."

The Cambridge Report contains similar recommendations, though comparatively speaking, the fellowships in Cambridge are

Then, as to the expense of University edu-In speaking of the present state of matters in this respect, the Commissioners say :- "On the whole, we believe that a parent who, after supplying his son with clothes, and supporting him at home during

Statistical Clerk to the Council of Education, and C R. Weld, Esq., Assistant Secretary to the Royal Society. 1848.

Nor are the ideas prevalent in this coun- ship of Law at Haileybury, lately held by the lamented Professor Empson. In Scotland, when we have said that there are 105 professors and lecturers in our four Universities, we have mentioned every learned position within the land,

^{*}There is, for the Gymnasia and Progymnasia, another grant of £127,648, making in all £181,088, which is voted annually for the higher instruction in Prussia.—Perry, p. 143.
† The Statistical Companion, by T. C. Banfield, Esq.,

In speaking of Germany, we also excluded from our computations the Gymnasial professorships, sire to go over to the Universities,

though these are often held by persons of the highest accomplishments, and do not always imply that amount of drudgery which is laid upon every one in Scotland who embraces the occupation of a teacher. Some of the greatest scholars of Germany, Matthia, Butmann, Meinicke, Nægilsbach, Carl Passow, &c., have found their positions in the Gymnasia so congenial to their tastes, that they have manifested no de-

the vacation, has paid for him during his position of present and prospective honour and University course not more than £600, and is not called upon to discharge debts at its close, has reason to congratulate himself." At p. 41, the usual cost of graduation at Oxford is stated at "£800 at least," and we believe those of our readers who know the subject best will agree with us in raising this sum to £1000. By adopting a system of residence without the Colleges, and other changes, the Commissioners tell us (p. 50) that they "see no reason why the degree should not be taken for £200, even if the student resided for 84 weeks during the four years. This estimate includes all that would be necessary for his support, except board during the vacations, with clothes and pocket-money for the whole year." Now to make all possible allowance for those financial frailties by which the generous natures of ingenuous youths are so frequently beset, let us double the sum of the Commissioners. £400 is probably about the sum which a gentleman's son spends during his four years' course, at a Scotch University, and if travelling expenses and other extras are taken into account, we do not see how a three years' residence at Oxford could cost him less.

Let us take the sum then of £400, as that which a Scottish father will in future have to set apart for the education of his son at Oxford. Greatly under this sum he certainly cannot procure him an university education, and indeed cannot support him anywhere, except perhaps in his own family. Now, if he sends him to Oxford, it is not unlikely that, immediately on his arrival, he may gain an open scholarship, which will go far towards defraying his whole expenses; and even if he should fail in this, at the termination of three years he will be entitled to compete in one university for any one of the 540 fellowships which may fall vacant, every one of which greatly exceeds in value the expense to which he has hitherto been subjected. As to his chances the following paragraph from the Oxford Report is instructive :-

" It is calculated that the present length of the tenure of a Fellowship is about ten years. Supposing that such changes in the distribution of the incomes of the Colleges as we shall presently recommend should take place, it is probable that even then not fewer than 35 will become vacant, and be thrown open to competition every year. . The University would thus be enabled to offer a sufficient provision to one-eighth of its graduates, in case their present number should not increase; and, even if the increase should be as great as can reasonably be expected, it may be calculated that still a large proportion of those who graduated would, at the close of their career, be placed in a p. 60.

emolument. No other place of education in the world can offer such incentives to industry."

Suppose our Scottish youth, at the age of twenty-two, to gain a fellowship of £300 ayear, there can be no difficulty, in case of necessity, of his paying back to his father, in the course of four years, the whole sum which he expended on his university education: Now as the chance of this occurrence can be raised by previous preparation almost to a certainty, and as parental partiality is likely to view it at all times as quite as great as it is, it is impossible to conceal from ourselves the fact, that as soon as the Oxford and Cambridge fellowships are thrown open, a migration of our most hopeful students to the South, by which our Scottish Universities and our Scottish nationality must suffer a heavy loss, is likely to be the consequence.

We are perhaps freer from anti-English prejudices than some of the more patriotic of our countrymen might think desirable; but we do confess that we could not see without regret the whole youth of Scotland cast in the mould of the English Universities, We are persuaded that these institutions, from their very completeness, exercise on second-rate minds an influence unfavourable to originality and freedom of thought.* Such, as it seems to us, is peculiarly the case with Oxford. Her pupils are struck, as it were, with one mental die, and on every subject which is presented to them, the opinions to which they give utterance, in place of being the results of their own individual thinking, are too frequently nothing more than an expression of Oxford views. But if there be one peculiarity in the intellectual character of our countrymen, as developed in their native academical institutions, that we specially prize, it is that openness and freshness of mind which is ready to receive new truth whencesoever it may come. Of this, many instances, past and present, might be mentioned. The philosophy of Newton was taught in the Universities of Scotland, long before it was substituted for the Cartesian hypotheses, in Newton's own University of Cambridge. In the present century, the modern philosophical opinions which originated with Kant, Coleridge endeavoured to introduce into England in vain; but even at his hands they were received without prejudice in a country, the national peculiarities of which, during his whole life,

^{*} See Macaulay's observations on the effect which the elaborate drill of the Jesuit Colleges had in suffocating original genius .- History of England, vol. ii.

had been the favourite subject of his ridicule; and through Scottish channels they are now daily influencing English thought. We have already mentioned the claim which Scotland has to the origin of those economical doctrines which, during the last fifty years, have been slowly working their way into England, and to the same source is to be attributed, not only the mechanical inventions which signalized the commencement of the present century, but the medical, and even the legal reforms, which are now running riot smong our English neighbours. How greatly, too, is the systematic and scientific agriculture of the age indebted to the free experimental research of Scotland during the present century.

In proposing that something should be done, not only for the preservation, but for the development of an intellectual nationality which has been so fruitful in results in the past, we propose only what has already been, or is about to be, effected in other parts of the empire. Any one who will look at the dates of foundation of the chairs and lectureships in the two ancient seats of English learning, will be convinced that even there, (before the days of the Commissioners, in whose report University extension holds so prominent a place,) more has been done towards meeting the increased requirements of modern society than in all our Scottish colleges. At Oxford, eight professorships and one readership have been founded during the present century; and at Cambridge, in the same time, six University teachers have been added. The London University, with its Colleges, the University of Durham, and the the smaller establishments at Birmingham, Manchester, Lampeter, and St. Bees, all fall within the same period. cording to the numbers which we have given above, somewhere about 130 new learned positions have been created in England during the last fifty years. In Scotland, during the same period, great additions have no doubt been made to the medical faculties in the three Universities which possess them; but as regards the faculties of Arts, the additions have been few; and even where new foundations are mentioned, they will be found on inquiry generally to be adaptations (sometimes very unwise ones) of formerly existing chairs. Where, for example, is our equivalent for the chair of public law in the University of Edinburgh, which was abolished at the suggestion of that sagacious body the Scottish University Commissioners ?

It is with reference to Ireland, however, that statesmen in recent times have most unequivocally expressed their sense of the importance of a learned class, by providing new means for its support. By the Act passed in 1845,* for establishing new Colleges in Ireland, the Lords of the Treasury were authorized to issue the sum of £100,000 for purchasing land, and an annual sum of £7000 to any one College, but not to exceed £21,000 in all, for salaries of professors, and for premiums and exhibitions. In pursuance of this Act, as is well known, charters have been granted to three Colleges, called the Queen's College of Belfast, Cork, and Galway. The buildings were completed in 1848, and the Colleges were opened in November 1849. In connexion with these Colleges, the Queen's University in Ireland, for conducting examinations and granting degrees, was established. By another Act of the same Session of Parliament, (c. 26,) the Roman Catholic College of Maynooth, which had already for fifty years drawn liberally on imperial resources, was placed on a new footing, and permanently endowed for the maintenance of 500 junior and 20 senior students: the Act vesting besides £30,000 in the Commissioners of Public Works for the erection of new buildings. By the institution of the Queen's Colleges alone upwards of seventy new positions for learned men were erected in Ireland at one "coup." the increase in this respect which took place at Maynooth we cannot speak with accuracy, nor is it important otherwise than as showing the liberality with which the Legislature sometimes makes use of the public purse, for the advancement even of a very questionable form of the higher instruction.

Will it not be a want of all true patriotism if Scottish members of Parliament fail to urge the claims of Scotland for a liberality corresponding to that which has thus been already extended to the other portions of the empire? That provisions for a learned class are wanting in Scotland, we have greatly deceived ourselves if we have not already abundantly shewn. Before finally taking leave of the statistical portion of our article, however, there is one consideration to which we must call attention. In stating the whole number of professorships in Scotland at 105, we left out of view that this number includes the professional Chairs, and that those in the Faculty of Medicine are very numerous. We must take the Faculties of Arts alone if we wish to judge of what can properly be called learned positions in Scot-

[·] By the new buildings which have been erected since 1812, one hundred and seventy new rooms have been obtained.—Appendix E. p. 56.

† In the preceding and following calculations, we

leave out of account the Non-conformist Colleges and Academies of England and Scotland.

^{*8 &}amp; 9 Vic., c. 66.

land, and by this means the number is at | minent recommendations of the Oxford When we put this number against those of the other Universities, English, Irish, and foreign, where the medical Chairs, are not at all more numerous than with us, our deficiency comes out in its true light. Often in a single College at Oxford, the Fellowships alone greatly exceed in number the whole learned positions in Scotland; and we have already called attention to the statement of the Commissioners, that even should their recommendations be adopted, "it is probable that not fewer than 35 Fellowships will become vacant and be thrown open to competition every year." We shall thus, not in England, but in Oxford alone, have nearly as great a number of learned positions open to competition every year as exist in Scotland altogether!

But what is to be done? By what means, and in what manner are we, in our poor and barren north, so to increase the efficiency of our Universities as to enable them to rival institutions which for ages have been gathering around them the riches of England, and which are now on the eve of a great renova-The difficulty, we admit, is a grave one, but our present business is not with practical suggestions. Let the existence of these defects be once fairly recognised by the public, and the determination to supply them houestly and resolutely embraced. been gained.

In the few hints with which we shall conclude our present article, we are far from wishing to assume the confident tone which land are really of sufficient national importa strong conviction has forced upon us in the preceding part of it, and our object in throwing them out is rather to commence than to end discussion.

The defects of our Scottish Universities ought to be supplied in a manner consistent with their existing spirit and genius. tells us that in such cases the first consideration is "direction;" and though we have neither the "amplitude of reward." nor the "conjunction of labours" of which he speaks, there are two reasons which induce us to think that the cardinal point of direction has been correctly fixed. Of these the first is the results which, with means so inadequate, these institutions have already produced; and the second is, that one of the most pro-

once reduced to somewhere between 35 and Commissioners is the introduction of the professorial system to a greater extent in that University. It is by a combination of the system which has hitherto prevailed in England, with that of the Scottish and Foreign Universities, unquestionably, that a complete academical system can alone be attained; but we believe that, to the people of Scotland, in the meantime, the institution of new Chairs, and the better endowment of old ones, will be more acceptable than the introduction of fellowships, scholarships, or even tutorships, to any very great extent, Fifty new chairs, with half a dozen tutors to each University, would place the Scottish Universities in a tolerably efficient state on the present system; but fifty fellowships would, we fear, by no means produce all the benefits which the public would conceive itself entitled to demand I As to the extent of endowment requisite for a Chair, Bacon has fixed its measure once for all. must have a proportion answerable to that mediocrity or competency of advancement which may be expected from a profession."

The commendable attempt of the Senatus Academicus of Edinburgh to procure Parliamentary representation for the Universities of Scotland, if successful, will unquestionably have the effect of raising the character of their Degrees, and of answering in some measure the cui bono with which students and the first great vantage-ground will have have hitherto met those who urged on them the propriety of submitting to the examination. In their present state, however, we question whether the Universities of Scot-

* For the improvements which we propose we

conceive that an addition of from £10,000 to £15,-

ance here of a more serious kind than one which has

recently been running the round of the press,

† "The opinion of plenty, is amongst the causes of want."-Bacon.

⁰⁰⁰ a year to the present revenues of the Universities would suffice. On grounds of common justice it seems to us that no very unreasonable demand would be made, even if the whole of this sum were to be claimed by our Scottish Members from the Imperi-al Exchequer. We learn from the newspapers that, in the estimates for the civil service of the year ending March 1851, which were recently laid on the table of the House of Commons, for purposes of education, science, and art, an increase is asked of no less than £127,661. Of this sum £100,000 are for the New Education Scheme for England, £17,496 for the National Education system in Ireland, £11,636 for Autonal Education System in Treiand, £17,050 for the Board of Trade Department of Science and Art, £4847 for the British Museum, and £1768 for the National Gallery. The sum doled out to the Scottish Universities, including the Observatory, Muse-um, and Botanic Gardens at Edinburgh, is £7010, 3s. 4d.; and this poor pittance is this year shorn of £150, the amount of a special grant enjoyed by the Lio, the amount of a special grant enjoyed by the late Dr. Mearns, as Professor of Divinity in King's College, Aberdeen. Against this reduction all that we have to set is a vote of £616, to buy up the feuduty of the official residence of the Astronomer Royal at Edinburgh. Surely there is a Scottish griev-

^{*}There are several chairs of a general scientific, and general theological character, which we scarcely know whether to regard as belonging to the Faculty of Arts, or as referable to their professional departments of medicine and theology.

ance to merit a separate representation. from a speech which the Earl of Carlisle re-Scotland have never been productive of the benefits which have been derived from them elsewhere, one method of introducing uniformity and giving value to them, would be to combine the Colleges of Scotland into one University, resembling the Queen's University in Ireland, or the University of London, with a General Board of Examiners.

But our first object must be to increase the efficiency of our academical establishments, to widen their range, and render them more and more the nucleus of a learned class. Why should not their teaching, like that of the German Universities, be made to include History, in its various departments, and in separate courses, and the History of Philosophy, ancient and modern? In accordance with the often expressed opinion of Sir William Hamilton, we might have a class of Metaphysics, apart from Logic and Ethics; a Chair of Political Economy, which Lord Jeffrey was willing to have endowed at his own expense, should now be endowed from other sources; the Chair of Public Law, which the wisdom of our ancestors founded, might be revived; the Philosophy of Government might be taught; we might have a Chair for Ethnology, for the English Language and Literature, for Modern Continental Literature, Teutonic and Romanic; for Esthetics, and such other subjects, both literary and scientifie, as are represented in the Universities of other countries.

· But the root of the whole matter is to increase and multiply our provisions for a learned class. If this can be effected, ulterior arrangements for enabling us to avail ourselves of their labours* will not be wanting. If our richer neighbours will not help us, our poverty will be indeed a reproach to us, if we cannot, in some measure, help ourselves. That the adequate supply of the requirements of the higher educational institutions of our country, must ultimately depend, to a large extent, on the liberality of individuals within the country itself, is an opinion which we ourselves have long held and expressed. There are no opera basilica in our day, except in Ireland, and we cannot better express our own convictions, or say a word more in season on this subject, than by quoting a single sentence

ART. X .- The Private Journal of F. S. Larpent, Esq., Judge-Advocate-General of the British Forces in the Peninsula, tached to the Head Quarters of Lord Wellington during the Peninsular War, from 1812 to its close. Edited by SIR GEORGE LARPENT, Bart. 3 vols. London, 1853.

This is not merely a very amusing book, it is also a very suggestive one. It has the peculiar merit, too, of having been written by the only person who could have written it, or anything nearly resembling it. It is the private journal of an English lawyer, suddenly transplanted from the Inns of Court to the theatre of war, and brought, in his professional capacity of Judge-Advocate-General, into close connexion with the great Captain of the age, who was then fast rising to the zenith of his reputation. No other man saw Wellington as Mr. Larpent saw We have had many pictures of the chief, hastily sketched or elaborately executed, by soldiers who served under him; but Mr. Larpent approached him as a civilian, and his communications with the leader of that great and varied army related chiefly to a subject on which greater reserve would have been maintained before any other officer-the morale of his force.

It must be admitted that in one respect a Judge-Advocate stands in an unfortunate

As regards University Degrees, which in cently delivered to an Edinburgh audience. " Of one thing we may be sure, that whatever the government may consent or undertake to do, it will only be in aid and furtherance of individual exertion and liberality, and farther, that whatever government may have done, there will still be a great deal that will be left undone unless individuals take it up." It is to the growth of an enlightened public opinion, and to the formation of streams of private munificence, directed towards our national foundations of learning, guided and, when needful, increased by a patriotic government, that we look for that instauration of these noble institutions which the necessities of modern civilisation, -the social and religious interests of the nation, so urgently demand. We do not know any Scottish question of the day more fitted to call forth the efforts of the best, most patriotic, and most enlightened members of the community, than the one which has suggested the present article.

^{*} Though not bearing directly on our present subject, we cannot refrain from expressing the gratification which we have felt in perusing "The Rationale of Discipline, as exemplified in the High School of Edinburgh," by Professor Pillans. From the same veteran hand, a similar work on University Discipline would be invaluable.

and invidious position as a narrator. He, sees the worst side of the army; and the experiences of no man, except the Provost-Marshal, contain so many painful and humiliating pictures of war. He sees all the criminality without the excitement and without the glory. He sees the soldier out of the battle-not as a hero, but as a ruffian and a depredator. He has to tell not how gallantly the regiments bore themselves in action, but how pitifully they behaved in the stagnant camp, or on the line of march. These are things of which home-staying people, who only look at the national results of a successful campaign, do not care to take any account. They are hidden behind the spangled curtain, and few men will intentionally draw it aside. But it is well that we should see both sides of the great picture of "glorious war," and we cannot help thinking that, in some respects, this, the most unattractive point of view in which Mr. Larpent's journal can be regarded, is that which best develops its importance. In this point of view it is as suggestive and improving, as, in others, it is interesting and amusing.

Mr. Larpent was an English barrister, going the Western Circuit, who, "in 1812, was tempted by the Right-Hon. C. Manners Sutton, then Judge-Advocate-General, to leave his profession, and to accept the situation of Judge-Advocate-General to the armies in Spain under the command of the late Duke of Wellington, to remain at headquarters with his Grace, and to manage the Courts-martial throughout the army." In September he sailed from Portsmouth, and early in November reached the head-quarters of the army at Rueda, where he presented his credentials to Lord Wellington. "I was introduced to Lord Wellington this morning," writes Mr. Larpent, on the 5th of November, "and delivered my letters. He was very courteous. We conversed for half-an-hour, and I am to dine there to-day, in full uniform. He is to send me fifty cases against officers to examine, in order to see if any can be made out on evidence, which is the great difficulty."

"Fifty cases against officers!" This was a pleasant beginning,—not likely to impress the new Judge-Advocate with a very favourable opinion of the discipline of the troops, or of the leisure that he was likely to enjoy. If there were fifty cases against officers, how many, on a moderate computation, were there likely to be against the rank and file of the arny,—cases to be tried, for the most part, by inferior military tribunals, and not within the immediate cognizance of the Judge-Advocate-General?

At Frenada, Mr. Larpent for the first time transacted business with the General. The result of the inquiry into the fifty cases was beginning slowly to appear. All that the Judge-Advocate says on this occasion is, "The next person I met was Lord Wellington, and I asked him whether he wished to see me, and whether he had any objection to my moving here. He said I might choose, and take the best of the bad quarters. He then asked if I had my papers about me. I said 'All.' He then said, 'Come up;' and in ten minutes he looked over my papers, four sets of charges against officers, and they were all settled, with a few judicious alterations, in which I entirely agreed. I then came out and wrote them fair in the Adjutant-General's office, and two went to Lisbon that day." At this rate it would have taken nearly a year to get through the fifty cases if they had all been valid.

But it would seem that Mr. Larpent spoke in "round numbers," and that the stock with which he was set up in business at starting was in reality only thirty-two, and that these he was able to dismiss after two months of unceasing exertion. On the last day of the year he wrote:—

"I really for the last month have been too busy to write. During the last week, before Lord Wellington went away, he kept me hard at work, and left directions to try and clear off and get rid of all the cases pending for Courtsmartial. About therty-two cases were made over to me, some of two years' standing. We have now a Court sitting at Lisbon, one in the second division at Coria, one in the seventh at Govan, and one here, which I attend myself, four niles off at Fuentes d'Onore. I have sent six to Lisbon, five to the seventh division, five to the second, and intended taking seven myself to Fuentes d'Onore; the rest have in seme way been arranged?"—Vol. i. p. 52.

We shall not follow Mr. Larpent into the details of his business, which he appends upon this occasion, though some of them are very suggestive. The great difficulty was the supply of evidence. The witnesses were continually falling sick, and the prisoners were following their example. Some indeed of the latter were summarily putting an end to all proceedings against them, and slipping through the Judge-Advocate's hands. "I have nine here," wrote Mr. Larpent, "in the Provost's hands for trial, and five are in the hospital—one just dead."

These repeated Courts-martial brought Mr. Larpent into frequent communication with Wellington. He speaks highly of the prompt and decisive manner in which the chief transacted business with him:—

"Lord Wellington, whom I saw every day question. The unsuccessful attempts to for the last three or four days before he went, I bring offenders to justice always weaken the like much in business affairs. He is very gready lauthority of the law. It would seem that and decisive, and civil, though some complain a little of him at times, and are much afraid of him. Going up with my charges and papers for instructions, I feel something like a boy going to school. I expect to have a long report to make on his return."-Vol. i. p. 56.

After a little time, during which the pressure of business continued to increase, something of this awe on the one side, and reserve on the other, began to wear away; and Mr. Larpent writes that he felt more at home :-

"There never were known so many Courtsmartial in this army as at this moment; and as I have the whole direction of them all, I really scarcely know where to turn, and my fingers are quite fatigued, as well as my brains, with the arrangements and difficulties as to witnesses, &c. I sent out seventeen letters yesterday; and to-day I have one case of thirteen prisoners, who have been committing every sort of outrage on their march here. Lord Wellington is now much more easy with me, and seems to trust to me more; and yesterday I was pleased when he said, 'If your friends knew what was going on here, they would think you had no sinecure. And how do you suppose I was plagued when I had to do it nearly all myself? He seemed to feel relieved, and of course I could not but feel gratified."-Vol. i. p. 84.

The General soon began to feel confidence in the Judge-Advocate-General, who seems to have been a man of unpretending manners, and sound good sense; for a little way further on we find this entry in his journal :-

"Two or three days ago I was somewhat puzzled, when upon my pointing out the sen-tence of a Court-martial as illegal, Lord Wellington said, 'Well, do write a letter for me to the President, and I will sign it, and it shall be sent back for revision.' I did not know his sent back for revision.' style, but the letter was fortunately approved of. I had yesterday a visit from Colonel of the Engineers, begging for a favourable report upon the case of a complaint against a captain of artillery; I suppose people think that I have some weight in Lord Wellington's decisions, but that is by no means the case. He thinks and acts quite for himself; with me if he thinks I am right, but not otherwise. I have not, however, found what Captain — told me I should—that Lord Wellington immediately determines against anything that is suggested to him. On the contrary, I think he is reasona-ble enough, only often a little hasty in ordering trials when an acquittal must be the consequence. This, I think, does harm, as I would have the law punish almost always when it is put in force."—Vol. i. pp. 91, 92.

authority of the law. It would seem that the result of the haste with which trials were ordered, bore the expected fruit. There were frequent acquittals and recommendations to mercy. These exasperated the Duke :-

"I now see Lord Wellington almost daily on business; he one day fell into a passion about the Courts-martial for not doing their duty, by acquitting, and recommending to mercy, &c. acquirting, and recommending to mercy. So. He has always been civil to me, though at times quick and hasty in business; I nearly got into a scrupe by saying a good word for Captain —, merely from his good character, as I did not personally know him. However, Lord Wellington so far acquiesced, that he said | need not describe the beauty see and | Wellington | Wellingt draw the charge as yet."-Vol. i. p. 93.

A little further on, Mr. Larpent says :-

"The Courts will not do their duty; Lord Wellington was quite angry. He swore and said his whole table was covered with details of robbery and mutiny, and complaints from all quarters, in all languages, and that he should be nothing but a General of Courts-martials. He has given some broad hints to the Courts in general orders."-Vol. i. p. 101.

We cannot say that we are surprised at the unwillingness of the members of the Courts-martial to pass sentence upon their comrades. That sentence being, in most instances, ignominious hanging, or the cruel torture of the lash. There are at all times great temptation to excess on the line of march. Brave soldiers, ay, and good soldiers, may step aside from the plain path of duty to help themselves in a strange country to the necessaries of life, which the commissariat so scantily bestows upon them. The army was at this time insufficiently fed; and there was a good deal of plunder. The necessity of suppressing it is not to be denied, but we hardly think that the natural leniency of the Courts ought to have evoked the bursts of passion of which Mr. Larpent speaks. Anger is not the feeling that it should have elicited. We admit the force of all that Sir Digby Neave says upon this subject :- " For the salvation of the army-for the lives' sake of an innocent unarmed population; and last not least, to keep the veterans' consciences in their wellearned retirement free from the memory of brutal excesses, such examples were made; but it is not less painful to think, that the flush of the morning's victory on the cheek of the bravest of the brave, has been changed at even by the gripe of the provostmarshal into the paleness of death, con-Here Mr. Larpent was right, beyond trasted with the black smear of the cartridge

still round his mouth, evidence of that good service that had called forth the admiration of his officer;" and it is not less natural that the officer should shrink from the duty of doing the enemy's part by depriving the brave soldier of life, or fearfully wounding him with the terrible cat—it is not less natural that, sometimes bearing in mind the truth,—

"What's done we partly may compute, But know not what's resisted;"—

they should be willing to acquit or to pass light sentence on men who have yielded, perhaps under the pressure of sore temptation, to the temptations which beset them on the march.

The story to which Sir Digby Neave alludes is so much to the purpose, that we must lay aside Mr. Larpent's volume for a moment, whilst we extract this very striking anecdote:—

"This horror, incident to glorious war, took place after the battle of Orthez. Early the next morning, Colonel Weldman of the 7th Hussars, marching out with his regiment and a large part of the army, saw a man hanging by the road-side, his mouth black with cartridges. He was recognised as a private of the line who had done good duty during the action. The poor fellow was carrying a sack out of a deserted mill, when the Duke rode by. 'Provost, do your duty,' was the order passed, and the soldier suffered for the good of his comrades; for it was owing to the repression of pillage, and payment for provisions in an enemy's country, that our camp was supplied when the French troops were in want."*

But the question that naturally suggests itself is, "Did these summary punishments repress pillage?" At a subsequent period of the war, as we see, the soldiery were plundering as recklessly as ever. It was found necessary, therefore, to give increased powers to the lower military tribunals. It required at first thirteen officers to hang a man; afterwards, seven sufficed. A police corps was also established; and Mr. Larpent, thinking prevention better than cure, exhorted the chief to introduce some cautionary passages into the general orders. He tells us that offenders were sometimes sentenced to receive 2000 lashes, but that 700 were considered the maximum of endurance.

It would appear that in those days, a man sentenced to 1200 lashes was supposed almost to escape:—

"I have now got a Court-martial in the fourth division, the only one which has been hitherto free, to try three fellows for going out at night and stealing seven sheep, keeping sentry as a guard over the two shepherds, whilst they skinned the sheep and divided the meat. Two other men were with them, of better characters, and they are therefore to be admitted as witnesses against the three. The Court at Coimbra has let my two worst fellows almost escape with twette hundred lashes. They ought to have been hung, as they are desperate fellows—both Irishmen. They have been most mutinous and insolent whilst under trial, and one of them, a few days since, said he did not know whether he was to be hung or flogged this time; but if the latter, he would take care next time there should be no witnesses to tell of what he had done."—Vol. 1, pp. 143-144.

There is something painfully suggestive It would seem that, if a man "almost escaped" with 1200 lashes for sheep-stealing, instead of determining to steal no more, he determined, on the next occasion, to murder as well as rob. Such. declarations do not go far to prove the virtue of the severe discipline which it was thought necessary to enforce. Yet a little way further on, we find Mr. Larpent saying, "we have flogged and hung men into a little better order;" and again-"The statement of Courts-martial, which I shall present to Lord Wellington to-morrow, satisfies me that we are mending, and that we have not tried fifty cases, hung eight, transported eight or ten, flogged about sixty severely, and broken several officers, for nothing, It is to be hoped that such discipline was not "for nothing," though the effects are not very apparent; for we do not proceed very much further into the heart of Mr. Larpent's narrative, before we find that the men were plundering and deserting as recklessly as ever. Sir Digby Neave says, in the passage which we have quoted above, that if it had not been for Wellington's severe discipline, the conduct of our army on the march would have been as bad as that of the French. Mr. Larpent in one passage says that it was worse.

It appears, however, that other measures than the lash and the platoon were sometimes tried. Here is a cheering proof of the good effects of moral influence. It may have been as Mr. Larpent says, "an odd thing," but it seems to have been success-

"We are as quiet here as at Frenada. Desertion is terrible. I think, however, Lord Wellington must stop it. We have only as yet tried five out of sixteen on trial. They are all sentenced to death, and all short! This will, I think, at least have a good effect on our new reinforcements. One of our officers did an odd thing to

^{*} Four Days in Connemara, by Sir Digby Neave. London, 1852.

stop it, and it answered, or has so hitherto. He erring son or brother had utterly disgraced called his men together, and addressing them, said,-'I want no men who wish to go to the French, and if any now will say they wish to go, I promise to send them in with a flag of truce.' No one stirred, nor has any one stirred No one stirred, nor has any one stirred since."-Vol. ii. p. 74.

The severer remedies, it seems, were not always successful. The Provost was sometimes outwitted, and criminals escaped after conviction.

"Here we are still quiet and very busy; Courts-martial all at work, &c. In these hills, however, our Provosts are not the most secure; and common precautions will not do against men who know they are probably to be shot in a day or two. I told you previously of a man who was to have been hung the next day, but escaped overnight. Another Court is just cut short for the same cause. They adjourned till yesterday morning for a witness for the priso-ner, and in the night he was off. Another man under sentence of death near Maya, and three other deserters just taken as they were going over to the French, were put foolishly under the care of a man and a lad armed to convoy them a little way. They rose on them, took away their arms, and went over with them to the French post. I am sorry to say, however, that we have still enough to hang."—Vol. ii. p. 75.

Still the old story,-" we have enough to hang !"

These are very painful matters to write of, and we shall be glad to quit the subject. Such things may be inseparable from war under the best of circumstances. They were certainly inseparable from the military system which obtained forty years ago. The morale of the British army was very low, and pains were not taken to improve it. The old system of enlistment for life had a tendency to draw into the ranks only the scum and refuse of English society. Few men took the shilling in those days except under the influence of liquor, or desperation, or both. Military service was not looked to as an honourable profession. It was deemed by the outside world not ennobling, but degrading. It was a service into which men were to be deluded and betrayed; for no one would voluntarily seek it who could follow the plough, or tend the loom, or earn ten shillings a week after any other fashion, in shirt sleeves and a round hat. It was altogether a reprobate profession. The stamp of the outcast was upon it. The soldier quitted his home-enlisted, perhaps under a false name. His friends seldom heard of him again. Perhaps they did not wish to hear. He had "gone for a soldier."

It is true that at this time men, who lived at home and looked eagerly for the Gazette. were stirred ever and anon into a great enthusiasm when glad tidings came from the seat of war, and they heard how victory dogged the heels of victory, until England was well-nigh drunk with fame. They had a keen sense of military glory in the abstract, and a true appreciation, perhaps, of the army in the concrete; but there always was, and there still is, a remarkable disproportion between the public estimate of the British army and of the British soldier. The British army is something which wins great battles and raises the national renown and the national prosperity to the highest pitch attainable by any nation under heaven: but the British soldier is something to be hanged, to be shot, to be flogged, under the remorseless hand of the Provost, if he escapes the bullets and the sabres of the enemy. It must be admitted that we have never sufficiently considered the indi-vidual manhood of the British soldier. In Mr. Larpent's time, we fear, it was not considered at all. Army reform has recently made considerable strides; and under the present Commander-in-Chief, who was always highly esteemed as a military reformer, we doubt not it will make still more satisfactory progress. But within a very recent period all the environments of military life have been only such as fatally tended to brutalize the common soldier. The system of enlistment-the want of sufficient barrack accommodation-the absence of schools and soldiers' libraries-of the means of healthful recreation and innocent amusement-the frequency of corporal punishment-the apathy and exclusiveness of the officer, all tended to keep the soldier down in the scale of manhood. And then there was often, on service, a total want of religious instruction -a general desecration of Sabbath. Hear what Mr. Larpent says of this :-

"There has been no chaplain here for these last eight or nine months, or any notice taken in any manner of Sunday. It used to be, I hear, a very regular and imposing thing to attend divine service performed out of doorshats off-but the people must now think we have no religion at all, as every business almost (public at least) goes on nearly as usual. The English soldiers however, keep it as a holiday, though the Portugese will many of them work. -Vol. i. p. 75.

One would have thought, that in that im-It was enough. Honest men looked upon mense camp a Chaplain would have been as it as a sort of moral death, and shrunk from useful an officer as a Judge-Advocate. But all allusion to the subject, as though the in those days, in civil no less than in mili-

of prophylactic measures. Perhaps a few ministers of the gospel might have diminished the work of Mr. Larpent and the Provost.

There is some consolation, however, in the thought that such are the progressive tendencies of the age towards good, that the state of things here represented could hardly exist in the present day. There is infinitely more morality and religion in the army than there was fifty years ago. Indeed, we are inclined to think, that among the officers of the British army, under which designation we include Queen's and Company's officers alike, there are as many really religious men as in any other class of English gentlemen. In these days, if there were no chaplains with the army, many an officer's quarters would be thrown open for domestic worship on the Sabbath. We remember with what plea-sure we read in Major Edwards' "Two Years on the Punjaubee Frontier," how, far beyond the outskirts of civilization, among a savage people in a dreary country, a young English officer, Lieutenant Taylor, exhorted his comrade to join with him in divine worship on the Sabbath, though the congregation was only to consist of those two young officers, one of whom was to officiate, and a third of doubtful Christianity. We do not believe that in the present time, any number of British officers, thrown together on service, would fail to preserve, except in a critical conjunction necessitating action, the solemnity of the Christian's day of rest.

We turn now to the more agreeable part of our duty. We have seen what were the materials of that army with which Wellington achieved his victories on the Peninsula. We have seen the worst side of the British soldier-the worst side of war. It is to be remembered that the work is the journal of a Judge-Advocate, or rather, a series of letters written to a near relation, never intended for publication, and not published until forty years after they were written. It was not that Mr. Larpent turned aside to speak of such things, but that it was his business to contemplate them, and that such records naturally belonged to the annals of his daily A Judge-Advocate's view of an army is not the pleasantest that can be taken-but it is one of the most instructive. What the lessons to be learnt from it are we have cursorily indicated. But what we now wish to say is, that this picture of the British army enhances the extraordinary merit of the commander who led it on to victory. To the general reader the interest of Mr. Larthe general reader the interest of Mr. Lar-pent's book will centre in "Lord Welling-riving at St. Estevan at five, the day he left here." ton." . These volumes overflow with anec- -Vol. i. p. 289.

tary life, the system was rather to punish dotes of the great Duke. There is a genthan to prevent crime. We thought little uineness about them beyond all suspicion. The letters have been published as they were written: and there is in every page a Boswellian minuteness of detail more valuable than bolder writing. The future historian will find in them much to illustrate both the character of the man and the annals of the war; and the most careless reader will find in them more amusing matter than in any work the " season " has put forth up to the present time.

We have not as yet fairly represented the characters of the book before us. We believe that this can best be done by taking at random a few brief passages containing traits of individual portraiture—principally the portraiture of Wellington himself. It is probable that some who do not take just account of the qualities which go to make up the military character, may think that Mr. Larpent's picture of the Duke is not a very flattering one-that its tendency is less to elevate than to degrade. But this is altogether a mistake, as we hope presently to show. Here are some illustrations of the activity of the man-a fête is given at Ciudad Rodrigo, " of which he is Duke." "A grand dinner, ball, and supper."

"Lord Wellington was the most active man of the party; he prides himself on this; but yet I hear from those about him that he is a little broken down by it. He stayed at business at Frenada until half-past three, and then rode full seventeen miles to Rodrigo in two hours, to dinner, dressed in all his orders, &c., was in high glee, danced himself, stayed supper, and at half-past three in the morning went back to Frenada by moonlight, and arrived here before day-break at six, so that by twelve he was ready again for business, and I saw him amongst others, about a Court-martial, when I returned at two the next day."-Vol. i. p. 114.

Here is another example of the same quality :-

" Not to lose a day, Lord Wellington, the first day he was here, rode all about St. Schastian, to see it in all directions, examine, &c., and was provoked at the Spaniards parading for him, when his object was to be incog. The second day he went to Irun, on the frontier, on the Bidasson, to see how things were going on there. The day before yesterday, having waited till eight o'clock (morning,) just to receive the Gazette, with his battle despatches, and his appointment of Field-Marshal, away he went nine leagues over the mountains for St. Estevan. He is going to see more of the mountain passes that way, and says he shall be back the fourth day, if possible, though many think it impossible. We have heard of him

But with all this activity, it would seem, ing, that at the battle of Fuentes d'Onore that at this period he was not habitually an Wellington narrowly escaped with his life; early riser. According to Mr. Larpent's account, he did not like to take time by the forelock :-

"Lord Wellington and all his party went off at eight this morning for St. Sebastian to see how things are going on. He intends returning to dinner-a late one, I think it will be, though they all have fresh horses on the road. Lord Wellington is not as easily roused from his bed as he used to be. This is the only change in him; and it is said he has been in part encouraged to this by having such confidence in General Murray. I understand he was always naturally fond of his pillow. He had rather ride like an express for ten or fifteen leagues, than be early and take time to his work. On the whole, this may fatigue him less as being a less time on horseback." Vol. ii. p. 7.

We are inclined to think that this was rather an accident than a propensity. following seems to be more characteristic of the man as he is now known to us :-

"You ask if Lord Wellington has recollected with regard. He seems to have had a great opinion of him, but has scarcely ever named him to me. In truth, I think Lord Wellington has an active, busy mind, always looking to the future, and is so used to lose a useful man, that as soon as gone he seldom thinks more of him. He has too much of everything and everybody always in his way to think much of the absent."-Vol, ii. pp. 48-49.

This we can readily believe. People who are very full of business, in war or in peace, have little time to think of the absent or the dead.

Mr. Larpent speaks with becoming praise of Wellington's simplicity of character. He

"I have no doubt that -- plays the great man very well, and puts on all the dignity of a Jack in office. He likes the thing and has a turn for humbug, of which there is so much all his position. Lord Wellington, when he came over the world in every line, and which is often back, only said, 'I am glad to see you safe, of such infinite use to those who can adopt it. Crawford.' The latter said, 'Oh! I was in no I think it very tiresome, and I only rejoice that danger, I assure you.' But I was, from your it is not the fashion here at head-quarters. From Lord Wellington, downwards, there is mighty little. Every one works hard, and does his business. The substance and not the form is attended to; in dress, and many other respects, I think, almost too little so. The warring four third is that controlled to the contro maxim of our chief is, 'Let every one do his duty well, and never let me hear of any difficulties about anything;' and that is all he cares about."—Vol. ii. p. 212.

"Lord Wellington, the other day, was again talking of the battle at Fuentes d'Onore; he said he was obliged to ride hard to escape; and thought at one time, as he was on a slow horse. he should have been taken. The whole of head-quarters, general and all, he said, English dragoons and French dragoons, were all galloping away together across the plain; and he more than once saw a French dragoon in a green coat, within twenty yards of him. One Frenchman got quite past them all, and they could not knock him off his horse. At last they caught his bridle and stopped him."-Vol. i. р. 145.

At Orthes he was wounded 'slightly. How it happened is not generally known. Mr. Larpent says :-

"I walked down to the bridge with Lord Wellington yesterday, and found him limp a little, and he said he was rather more pained than usual, but it was nothing. At dinner, yesterday, he said he was laughing at General Alava having had a knock, and telling him it was all nonsense, and that he was not hurt, when he received this blow and a worse one on the same place himself. Alava said it was to punish him for laughing at him."-Vol. iii.

The next and last scrap which we have marked, contains an anecdote illustrative of the characters both of Wellington and Crawford :-

"I have heard a number of anecdotes of General Crawford. He was very clever and knowing in his profession all admit, and led on his division on the day of his death in the most gallant style; but Lord Wellington never knew what he would do. He constantly acted in his own way contrary to orders; and as he commanded the advanced division, at times perplexed Lord Wellington considerably, who never could be sure where he was. On one occasion, near Guinaldo, he remained across a river by himself, that is, only with his own division, nearly a whole day after he was called in by Wellington. He said he knew he could defend conduct,' said Wellington. Upon which Crawford observed, 'He is - crusty to-day.'"-Vol. i. p. 133.

We think that these passages will exhibit both sides of those interesting volumes, and show how varied are their contents. There is much grave and suggestive matter in them; much that is light and anecdotical. The book is a contribution to the genuine One or two more personal anecdotes and history of the Peninsular War, as welcome we have done. We learn from the follow- as it is unexpected. We have laid it down

with a feeling of gratitude for hours of the past as a guide to the ameliorations of our shelves with a certainty that we shall often refer to them again for the materials of authentic history which they so abundantly contain.

ART. XI .- Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon. With Travels in Armenia, Kurdistan, and the Desert, being the Result of a recent Expedition undertaken for the Trustees of the British Museum. By Atsten H. LAYARD, M.P., Author of "Nineveh and its Remains." Svo. pp. 700. London, 1853.

In our former review of Mr. Layard's "Ninevel and its Remains,"* we looked forward with eager anticipation to a more careful and extended scrutiny of the mounds of Assyria and Mesopotamia, but without any ground of hope that these anticipations would be so quickly and amply realized. Sanguine, however, as we were, we were not prepared to expect that while Mr. Layard was disinterring the slabs, and obelisks, and antiquities of the East, instinct with the history and customs of the countries that produced them, Providence should be raising up learned and sagacious interpreters to decypher the handwriting of the ancient sculptors, and read to us the history of sovereigns and rulers that were chiefly known from the pages of holy writ. These individuals were Colonel Rawlinson and the Rev. Dr. Hincks, whose discoveries resemble more the results of inspiration than of research, and hold out to us the gratifying hope that we shall soon know more of the heathen nations contemporary with the people of Israel, than we do of less ancient communities, and of races attaching so peculiar an interest to researches relating to the localities of Scripture history, we do not mean to insinuate that their religious bearing is the only measure of their value. To the Christian, indeed, this must ever be the principal source of his gratification; but he shares also in the pleasure with which the philosopher and the antiquary study the records of the past, and trace the history of thei. species through its recurring cycles of barbarism and civilization. With them he ponders over the monuments of ancient life which preceded the creation of man.

pleasant reading, and placed the volumes on the future, and even in the blackest records of ignorance, and cruelty, and ambition, he sees the dawn of a better age, rejoices in the advancement of civilization, and pants for the final emancipation of his race.

But while the volume of Mr. Layard must be thus interesting to various classes of its readers,-now casting a light on the scenes of Old Testament history-now adding a fresh buttress to our faith-now displaying to us the rude grandeur of primeval civilization, and reading aloud to the Western world the carliest histories of the East,-it is, at the same time, a book of travels, in which the author describes his journies in Armenia, Kurdistan, and various parts of Assyria, with that copiousness and accuracy which could be expected only from a traveller familiar with the language and customs of the people, and admitted to the closest intimacy with the semi-barbarous natives, and the rulers that oppress them. In this respect Mr. Lavard enjoyed privileges which had never before been conceded to travellers in the East. His reputation preceded him in all his journies, and he was everywhere received as a friend and benefactor. The information, therefore, which he acquired, whether domestic, social, or political, was of the most authentic character, and relating as it does to the most interesting regions of the globe, it possesses a value of no ordinary kind. The vast territory of Asiatic Turkey, bordering on the birth-place of man,-basking under a temperate sun and an azure sky,-the seat of early civilization and of glorious enterprise, is at this moment arresting the attention of the Christian, the statesman, and the philanthropist. Lying between the civilization of the Western world and the dawning intelligence of the East, -between the Christian influences of Free America, and Europe about to be free, and the Anglo-Saxon sympathies of our Indian Empire, the vast conmore closely connected with our own. In tinent which has Babylon and Nineveh in its centre will doubtless be the theatre of those great events which prophesy foreshadows, and whose mirage the statesman now deseries in the distance. Already has the schoolmaster begun to ply his preliminary labours -the first and the surest steps of civilization. Already does the missionary diffuse the aroma of his heavenly me-sage, and already have justice and mercy been wrested from the oppressor by the benign influence of the traveller and the diplomatist. The schools and churches of the Armenian people are now laving the foundations of a vast Protestant With them he lingers over the experiences of community, which alone can regenerate the benighted nations of the East. These high expectations will, we trust, be justified by a

^{*} North British Review, vol. x. p. 111.

great truths which we have ventured to enunciate.

After a few months' residence in England in 1848, for the recovery of his health, Mr. Layard returned to his post at the British journey to Erzeroom on the following day; Embassy in Turkey. The great interest and by one of the earayan routes which conwhich was felt and expressed in England re- neet Persia with the Black Sea, they reachspecting the important discoveries which he ed Erzeroom on the 8th September. Achad made, induced the Trustees of the British companied by Mr. Brant the British Consul, Museum to propose to him the superintendence of a second expedition into Assyria. In of the Turkish Forces in Anatolia, Reshid reply to this invitation Mr. Layard drew up Pasha, known as the "Guzlu," or "Wearer a plan of operation, which he considered best of Spectacles," who had just returned from fitted to obtain interesting and important information. The plan, as he himself observes, who had partial to admit of performance or warrant adoption," and he was therefore "merely directly to return to knowledge of the French language a tasto the site of Ninavah, and continue the return to knowledge of the French language a tasto the site of Nineveh, and continue the re-for European literature, they were idolaters, searches commenced among its ruins." With worshipping venerable oaks, great trees, this view, "arrangements, hasty and inade-quate, were made in Eugland." Mr. F. Cooper was selected as the artist, and Mr. Layard was joined at Constantinople by Dr. Sandwith, an English Physician on a visit to direct road between Trebizond and Mesopothe East, and by Hormuzd Rassam, who had tamia once passed through their district, but aided him in his first discoveries. On the from a remote period no traveller durst 28th August 1849, Mr. Layard and his par- venture among tribes so notorious for their ty left the Bosphorus by an English steam- lawlessness and cruelty. The Pasha spoke er, bound for Trebizond, accompanied by of re-opening the road, and Mr. Layard Cawal Yusuf, the head of the preachers of the thinks it probable that the district may con-Yezidis, and four chiefs of the districts in the tain the remains of ancient races, monuneighbourhood of Diarbekir, who had been ments of antiquity, and natural productions sent to Constantinople, as a deputation to of sufficient importance to merit the atten-Mr. Layard, to obtain his assistance in the tion of the traveller in Asia Minor. redress of grievances which had been recently imposed upon them by the Turkish Government.

After Mr. Layard's departure from Mosul in 1847, the military conscription was, in defiance of the general law in the Koran, extended to the Yezidis, and to the Christian innabitants of the Pashalic. The duties of a soldier were incompatible with the rites and observances of the faith of the Yezidis, to whom the customs and the very food of the Turkish soldier were an abomination. Their children, too, were still lawful objects of pub-Stratford Canning, now Lord Stratford de ard :-Redcliffe, who obtained from the Porte an!

careful perusal of Mr. Layard's volume, and illegal impositions, forbidding the sale of we shall be glad if, in our brief analysis of it, their children as slaves, securing to them the the reader shall find some evidence of the full enjoyment of their religion, and placing them on the same footing as the other sects of the empire.

Having reached Trebizond on the 31st August, the party commenced their land Mr. Layard visited the Commander-in-Chief

In his journey from Erzeroom to Mosul Mr. Layard's caravan, furnished with seventeen horses and mules, took the direct route but recently opened to caravans, which passes by the lake of Wan, Bitlis, and Jezirch. He rested the first night at Guli, whose owner was Shahan Bey, a descendant of one of the Derch-Beys, or "Lords of the valley," who resided in their fortified castles or villages, and who, though yielding only a nomiual allegiance to the Sultan, generally accompanied him in a great national war against the Infidels. Having been apprized lic sale, and their parents were subject to of Mr. Layard's visit, Shahan Bey received persecution, and even to death on account him with the warmest hospitality, which of their religion. Under these circumstan- was extended to the whole of his large com ces, the chiefs of the Yezidi nation having pany. The race of military chieftains who learned that Mr. Layard was at Constanti- were extirpated under the centralizing sys nople, requested his influence in obtaining tem of Sultan Mahmoud, and of whom Shan access for the deputation to the Minister of Bey was at once the descendant and the rep-State. Mr. Layard introduced them to Sir resentative, are thus described by Mr. Lay-

"It is customary to regard these old Turkish imperial order freeing the Yezidis from all lords as inexorable tyrants-robber chiefs who lived on the plunder of travellers and of their in the rock, and a square entrance generally this description cannot be denied; but they were, I believe, exceptions. Amongst them, were some rich in virtues and high and noble feeling. It has been frequently my lot to find a representative of this nearly extinct class in Asia Minor or Alba nia. I have been received with affectionate warmth, at the end of a day's journey, by a venerable Bey or Agha, in his spacious mansion, now fast crumbling to ruin, but still bright with the remains of rich yet tasteful oriental decoration; his long beard, white as snow, falling low on his breast; his many-folded turban shadowing his benevolent yet manly countenance, and his limbs enveloped in the noble garments rejected by the new generation; his hall open to all comers, the guest neither asked from whence he came nor whither he was going, dipping his hands with him in the same dish; his servants standing with reverence before him, rather his children than his servants; his revenues spent in raising fountains on the wayside for the weary traveller, or in building caravanserals on the dreary plain; not only professing but practising all the duties and virtues enjoined by the Koran, which are Christian duties and virtues too; in his manners, his appearance, his hospitality, and his faithfulness, a perfect model for a Christian gentleman. The race is fast wearing away. and I feel grateful in being able to testify, with a few others, to its existence once, against prejudice, intolerance, and so-called reform."-Discoveries, pp. 12, 13,

We regret that our limits will not permit us to follow Mr. Lavard in his jonrney to Mosul-to describe the threshing-floors which he met with in every village, "the threshing sledges* armed with teeth," mentioned by Isaiah, and the "unmuzzled" oxen and horses, driven over the scattered sheaves by the boys and girls to whom the duty is assigned, and to accompany him in his ride through the vast Tartar limits of the ancient city of Akhlat, a perfect forest of upright stones seven or eight feet high, of the richest red colour, delicately and tastefully carved, with arabesque ornaments and inscriptions. In the midst of these rise, here and there, a conical turbeh, or mausoleum of beautiful shape, covered with exquisite tracery, carved in relief in the red stone. "These ornaments of the dead still stand, and have become the monuments of a city long crumbled into dust." One of these turbehs, surpassing the rest in beauty, with its fine conical roof resting on columns and arches, contained in its basement chamber the dust of the Sultan Baiandour. In the vicinity was a deep ravine flanked with lofty perpendicular rocks, literally honeycombed with entrances to artificial caves, ancient tombs, These tombs are freor dwelling places. quently approached by flights of steps cut

subjects. That there were many who answered to leads to a spacious chamber. Mr. Layard observed no traces of the method of closing these entrances, but he believed that, as in other parts of the East, it was by stones turning on a rude hinge, or "rolling on rollers," as when the "stone was rolled away from the sepulchre in which Christ was laid." The forest of tombs which we have already mentioned surrounds Akhlat like a broad belt, containing the accumulated remains of successive generations. "The triumph of the dead over the living," as Mr. Layard says, " is, perhaps, only thus seen in the East. In England, where we grudge our dead their last resting place, the habitations of the living encroach on the burial-ground; as in the East it is the grave-yard which drives before it the cottage and the mansion. massive head-stones still stand erect long after the dwelling places of even the descendants of those who placed them there have passed away."

At the long, straggling town of Bitlis, Mr. Layard's party were seized with fever and ague, "that curse of eastern travel," and he availed himself of the day's rest to assist Cawal Yusuf in obtaining out of the property of the late Sheriff Bey the restoration of the personal effects of two Cawals of the Yezidis who had been murdered at his instigation. Mr. Layard had received from Reshid Pasha an official order for this purpose, and was assisted by the Mudir or

governor in accomplishing his object. Of the three roads which lead from Bitlis to Jezireh, Mr. Layard chose the circuitous one which winds through the valley of the eastern branch of the Tigris, as it enabled him to visit the Yezidi villages of the distriet of Kherzan. Passing through a tunnel about twenty feet long, cut through a mass of calcareous rock, they reached, at sunset, the Yezidi village of Namki. Returning from their threshing-floor, the peasants were alarmed at the large company of horsemen whom they saw in the distance, whom "they took for irregular troops, the terror of an eastern village." Cawal Yusuf, conecaling all but his eyes with the Arab kerchief which he then wore, rode into the midst of them, demanding peremptorily quarters and provisions for the night. The alarm thus given was instantly removed. The Cawal and his party were welcomed with the warmest affection. A report. which his long silence had confirmed, had gone abroad that he had been put to death by the Sultan. He was received with general rejoicing as the "dead who was alive again," and as "the lost who was found."

"Yusuf," says Mr. Layard, "was soon seated

[.] Sledges stuck full of sharp flints in the under part, and drawn by oxen.

in the midst of a circle of the elders. He told the power that imposed it. Lord Stratford his whole story with such details and illustrations as an Eastern alone can introduce, to bring every fact vividly before his listeners. Nothing was omitted; his arrival at Constantinople, his reception by me, his introduction to the ambassador, his interview with the great ministers of state, the firman for the future protection for the Yezidis, prospects of peace and happiness for the tribe, our departure from the capital, the nature of steamboats, the tossing of the waves, the pains of sea-sickness, and our journey to Kherzan. Not the smallest particular was forgotten; every person and event were described with equal minuteness; almost the very number of pipes he had smoked and coffees he had drunk, was given. He was continually interrupted by exclamations of gratitude and won-der, and when he had finished, it was my turn to be the object of unbounded welcomes and salutations.

" As the Cawal sat on the ground, with his noble features and flowing robes, surrounded by the elders of the village, eager listeners to every word which dropt from their priest, and looking towards him with looks of profound veneration, the picture brought vividly to my mind many scenes described in the sacred volumes. Let the painter who would throw off the conventionalities of the age, who would feel as well as portray the incidents of holy writ, wander in the East, and mix, not as the ordinary traveller, but as a student of men and of nature, with its people. He will daily meet with customs which he will otherwise be at a loss to understand, and be brought face to face with those who have retained, with little change, the manners. language, and dress of a patriarchal race."-Discoveries, &c., pp. 40, 41.

This interesting scene, so well described by Mr. Layard, was only the commencement of a series of ovations presented to him on passing through the Yezidi territory on his way to Mosul. Messengers on foot and on horseback announced to the surrounding villages the arrival of their benefactor, and the grateful inhabitants flocked to his tent to offer their congratulations. The joyous throng accompanied him from village to Their drums and their bells anvillage. nounced his arrival, and sheep were slain, and libations of raki poured out in his honour. Never were the conquerors of Assyria, or the Assyrian conquerors, received with such heartfelt rejoicing, as was the English traveller, who had conquered from their oppressors the inestimable boons of justice and of mercy. There is no part of Mr. Layard's successful labours that the reader will envy more than the triumph which he achieved for the grateful Yezidis. Let future travellers learn, that while they are exploring the territory, and studying the manners of semi-barbarous and oppressed communities, they may be able to lighten the yoke which they bear, without offending 49; 2 Kings vii. 1, and 18.

and Mr. Layard are, we venture to say, not less esteemed by the Sultan and his government, that they have successfully interposed in the cause of humanity.

Before leaving the house of Nazi, the chief of the whole Yezidi district, Mr. Layard availed himself of the occasion to obtain a sight of the Melek Taous,* or copper bird, which he ascertained to be a symbol or banner of the house of Hussein Bey. It was placed in a dark room, under a red coverlet. The cawals drew near with every sign of respect, bowing and kissing the corner of the cloths upon which it was placed. A stand of bright copper or brass, in shape like the candlesticks generally used in Mosul and Baghdad, was surmounted by the rude image of a bird in the same metal, and more like an Indian or Mexican idol than a cock or peacock.

Leaving Nazi's house, followed by a large company of Yezidis, with a party of Christians with the Kiayah at their head, Mr. Layard reached Tilleh, where he crossed the united streams of the Bitlis and Sert, which join the western branch of the Tigris. It was at this spot that the 10,000 Greeks forded these united streams, called by Xenophon the Centritis. The deep ford was disputed by the enemy on the opposite eminence. Xenophon dreamed that he was in chains, and that his fetters burst suddenly and spontaneously. His dream was fulfilled when two youths pointed out to him a better ford, across which he led his army in safety.

At the Yezidi village of Semil, Mr. Layard found the Yezidi chieftain, Abde Agha, seated "in the gate" of his mud-built castle, where business is generally transacted during the day. His reception was most hospitable; the lamb was slain, and the feast prepared; but, in the very midst of their inutual greetings, a messenger, in breathless haste, announced an attack of the Bedouins upon the village of Pashai, belonging to Abde Agha's tribe. The chieftain instantly mounted his high-bred mare, galloped off in the direction of the enemy, and left the hospitalities of his castle to be performed by his wife. On his return from the fight, in which he slew five Arabs with his own hand, he advised his guests to make the best of their way to Tel Eskeff, and apologized for not giving them an escort, as he was obliged to return to the battle with every man that could bear arms. They had scarcely got three miles from Semil,

^{*} See this Review, vol. xi. p. 125. † See 2 Samuel xix. 8; 2 Chron. xviii. 9; Dan. ii.

when a large body of horsemen appeared on taining the remains of bas reliefs .- Mr. a rising ground to the cast. The momentary fear that they might be the victorious Bedouins was quickly dissipated by the appearance of Hussein Bey and Sheik Nasi, who, with the cawals and Yezidi elders, had ridden nearly 40 miles through the night, to escort them, if needful, to Mosul. rode with Mr. Layard as far as Tel Eskoff, where there was no longer any danger to be apprehended from the Arabs. Here he met with many old friends, and with crowds of Jebours, who were anxious to be again employed at the excavations. At Tel Kef, his old superintendants of workmen met him at the roadside. Mr. Rassam, the vice-consul; Mr. Layard's old groom, with his horse ready to be mounted, and even the greyhounds that had been brought up under his roof, were all assembled to grace his entrance into Mosul. "Hastening over the creaking bridge of boats, we force our way through the crowded bazaars, and alight at the house I had left two years ago. Old servants take their places as a matter of course, and uninvited, pursue their regular occupations as if they had never been interrupted."

Upon Mr. Layard's return to Europe in 1847, Mr. Ross had continued the researches in the mound at Kouyunjik, and had discovered several interesting bas-reliefs, but as he had left Mosul the excavations had been carried on by Mr. Rassam, whom the Trustees of the British Museum had authorized to employ a small number of men, rather with the view of keeping possession of the spot, than of carrying on extensive operations. The sculptures hitherto discovered in the mound had been reached by digging down from the surface, but the earth having accumulated to such a degree, frequently to the height of thirty feet, the workmen now tunnelled along the wall, sinking shafts for light and air, and propping up the narrow subterranean passages, either by leaving columns of earth, or by wooden "These long galleries, dimly lighted, lined with the remains of ancient art, broken urns projecting from the crumbling sides, and the wild Arab and the hardy Nestorian wandering through their intricacies, or working in their dark recesses, were singularly picturesque."

After examining the sculptures discovered in his absence, - namely, a series of bas-reliefs, recording the subjection by the Assyrians of a people inhabiting the banks of a river, probably in Southern Mesopotamia; a pair of gigantic human-headed bulls, forming the portal to the hall containing the basreliefs; and a well cut through the large pavement slab between the bulls, and con-

Layard made arrangements for continuing the excavations, and after propitiating with a little civility the new Pasha, the sixth occupant of the office since he left, his workmen entered upon the task of making fresh excavations by the tunnelling process.

Mr. Lavard was scarcely settled in Mosul when a deputation of the Yezidi Cawals, on the part of Hussein Bey and Sheikh Nasr, came to invite him to their annual festival. He found it difficult to refuse so earnest an invitation, and accompanied by Mr. Ross, one of his own party, he set off for Baadri, and was entertained for the night by the young chief who came to meet him with a large company of Yezidi horsemen. At the tomb of Sheikh Adi various ceremonies were performed,* in honour, or in propitiation of the evil spirit. Sheikh Jindi, who had never been known to smile, was the Peesh-namaz, or "Leader of prayer" in these ceremonies, where hymns, with music and the Tableel, in favour of the evil deity, were followed by others in honour of Melek lsa and Sheikh Adi, The public, private, and domestic affairs of the sect were then discussed, and various reforms proposed: One of these, chiefly in reference to the mode of contracting marriage, was adopted, and in conformity with it several betrothals, in the midst of great mirth and applause, were made on the spot. At this festival the following ancient and curious ceremony was witnessed by Mr. Layard, and performed by the Kaidi, a powerful Yezidi tribe, who alone used to send 600 matchlock men to the festival :-

"In company with all those that have firearms they ascend the rocks overhanging the temple, and placing small oak twigs in the muzzle of their guns, discharge them into the air. After having kept up a running fire for nearly half an hour, they descend into the outer court, and again let off their pieces. When entering the inner court, they go through a martial dance before Hussein Bey, who stands on the steps of the sanctuary, amidst the assembled priests and elders. The dance being ended, a bull, presented by the Yezidi chief, is led out from the temple. The Kaidi rush upon the animal with shouts, and, seizing it, lead it off in triumph to Sheikh Mirza, one of the heads of the sect. from whom they also receive a present yearly consisting of sheep. During these ceremonies the assembled crowd of men, women, and children form groups on the steep sides of the ravine, some standing on the well-wooded terrace, others on projecting rocks and ledges, whilst the boys clamber into the high trees, from which they can obtain a view of the proceedings. The women make the tableel without ceasing, and the valley resounds with the deafening noise. The long white gar-

^{*} See this Review, vol. xi. p. 123. † Ib., p. 124.

ments fluttering amongst the trees, and the gay costumes of some of the groups, produce a very beautiful and novel effect."—Discoveries, &c., pp. 88, 89.

Mr. Layard had obtained a promise from Cawal Yusuf that he would shew him on the occasion of the festival the sacred book of the Yezidis. It consisted of a few tattered claves, containing a poetical rhapsoly on Sheikh Adi, who is identified with the Deity. The following are the last ten lines of the eighty of which it consists:—

- "70. I create and make rich those whom I will.
- 71. Praise be to myself, and all things are by my will.
- 72. And the universe is lighted by some of
- my gifts.
 73. I am the King who magnifies himself;
 74. And all the riches of creation are at my
- 74. And all the riches of creation are at my bidding.
- 75. I have made known to you, O people, some of my ways.
- 76. Who desireth me must forsake the world.
- 77. And I can also speak the true saying. 78. And the garden on high is for those who
- do my pleasure.

 79. I sought the truth, and became a confirming truth;
- 80. And by the like truth shall they possess the highest place like me."

The Yezidis believe that Christ will come to govern the world; that punishments are not eternal; and that all who go to heaven must pass an expiatory period in hell. Circumcision is optional; infant baptism the custom. One person in a family may fast for the rest. Polygamy is unlawful; and flussein Bey is the religious as well as the political head of all Yezidis wherever they reside. Nadir Shah is only the chief of the Sheikhs of the district of Sheikhan !

The excavations at Kouyunjik having been commenced, Mr. Layard went to Nimroud on the 18th October. He resumed his work there at the singular ruin called the Pyramid, a high conical mound, forming the northwest corner of Nimroud, and into the base of it, in the western face, he ordered a tunnel to be cut. On ascending the mound next morning, he saw a group of travellers on its summit, and found in an excavated chamber Colonel Rawlinson, "deep in sleep, wearied by a long and harassing night's ride." For the first time, says Mr. Layard, we met in the Assyrian ruins, and besides the greeting of old friendship, there was much to be seen together, and much to be talked over. The fatigues of the journey, however, had brought on fever, and we were soon compelled, after visiting the principal

the sun in the mud huts of the village. The attack increasing in the evening, it was deemed prudent to ride into Mosul at once, and we mounted our horses in the middle of the night. During two days Colonel Rawlinson was too ill to visit the excavations at Kouyunjik. On the third we rode together to the mound. After a hasty survey of the ruins we parted, and he continued his journey to Constantinople, and England, to reap the laurels of a well earned fame."

By the end of November they had explored the magnificent halls, no less than 124 feet long, by 90 wide. In the centre of each side was a grand entrance, guarded by colossal human-headed bulls. had been completely covered with the most elaborate and highly finished sculpture, but these, as well as the gigantic bulls, had suffered from the fire which had destroyed the edifice. The long gallery to the west of the great hall had been occupied by a continuous series of bas-reliefs, "representing the different processes adopted by the Assyrians in moving and placing various objects used in their buildings, and especially the humanheaded bulls, from the first transport of the huge stone, in the rough from the quarry, to the raising of these gigantic sculptures in the gateways of the palace temples." It would appear, from the minute description of the process given by our author, that cables, ropes, levers, and rollers, were the instruments by which these enormous masses were transported. An officer appears to be clapping his hands, "probably beating time," that the workmen may apply their strength at one and the same moment; another officer holds to his mouth what "resembles the modern speaking trumpet." In raising the massive sculptures, sometimes 20 feet square, and therefore weighing 40 or 50 tons, no other auxiliary to manual strength seems to have been used than the levers and rollers, and wedges for varying the height of the fulcrum. Mr. Layard used "almost the same means" for moving from the ruins to the banks of the Tigris the winged bulls and lions now in the British Museum. Great as these weights are, they are even far exceeded by those moved by the Egyptians. According to Sir Gardner Wilkinson, the granite colossus of Rameses II. at the Mennonium, weighed 887 tons when entire; and the stupendous monolith in the temple of Latona at Buto, must have weighed upwards of 5000 tons.4

The king who is represented in these basreliefs, as superintending the placing of the

nowever, nad prought on lever, man we were soon compelled, after visiting the principal excavations, to take refuge from the heat of

from the short epigraph upon the bas-reliefs describing the subject. One of these, according to Dr. Hineks, runs thus,-"Sennucherib, king of Assyria, the great figures of bulls, which in the land of Belad were made for his royal palace at Nineveh, he transported thither?" In a fragment of another epigraph, mention is made of objects of wood "brought from Mount Lebanon and taken up (to the top of the mound) from the Tigris." Mr. Layard supposes that these may have been beams of cedar which were extensively used in the Assyrian palaces; and he adds, that "it is highly interesting thus to find the inhabitants of Nineveh fetching these rare and precious woods from the same spot whence king Solomon had brought the choicest wood-work of the temple of the Lord, and of his own palaces,"

The excavations at the great pyramid of Nimroud, which we have already mentioned, were most successful. The edifice covered by this high mound, was originally built upon the natural rock, and had been a square tower, and not a pyramid, probably terminating in a series of three or more gradines. As the ruin is 140 feet high, the building must have been 200 at least. Mr. Layard supposes that it was the tomb of Sardanapalus, which stood at the entrance of the city; but he failed in his attempts to discover any trace of the royal remains.

In the month of December, discoveries of great interest and importance were made, both at Kouyunjik and Nimroud. Kouyunjik the façade of the south-east side of the palace, apparently the grand entrance, had been discovered. Ten colossal bulls, with six human figures of gigantic proportions, were here grouped together, and the length of the whole was 180 fect. Mr. Layard ascribes to some convulsion of nature the overthrow and injury of the bulls, and the scattering of their fragments among the ruins. Notwithstanding, however, this misfortune, the lower parts of the statues, and consequently the inscriptions, have been more or less preserved; and to this fact. says Mr. Layard, "we owe the recovery of some of the most precious records with which the monuments of the ancient world have rewarded the labours of the antiquary." These records contain the annals of six years of the reign of Sennacherib, besides many particulars respecting the religion, the temples, and the gods of the Assyrians. Mr. Layard had identified the builder of this palace with Sennacherib; but Dr. Hincks, in June 1849, was the first to detect the name of the king in the arrow-headed

bulls, is Seunacherib himself, as appears character of the inscriptions. This identification was subsequently confirmed; but it was not till August 1851, "that the mention of any actual event recorded in the Bible, and in ancient profane history, was detected on the monuments." Colonel Rawlinson, who had seen Mr. Layard's copies of these inscriptions, announced* "that he had found in them notices of the reign of Sennacherib, which placed beyond the reach of dispute his historic identity;" and he gave a recapitulation of the principal events, of which we know the greater part either from sacred or profane history. Dr. Hincks has more recently examined these inscriptions, which he has translated independently of Colonel Rawlinson; and it was by his assistance that Mr. Layard has been able to give an abridgment of their contents. We, of course, cannot find room for even an epitome of this most interesting abridgment; but we cannot resist giving a single specimen of it, referring to Hezekiah, king of Judah; and we shall add Colonel Rawlinson's version of the same portion of the inscription, in order to shew the confidence which may be placed in the two processes of interpreta-

" Dr. Hinck's Version.

"' Hezekiah, King of Judah,' says the Assyrian king, 'who had submitted to my authority fortysix of his principal cities, and fortresses and villages depending upon them, of which I took no account, I captured and carried away their spoil. I shut up (?) himself within Jerusalem, his capital city. The fortified towns, and the rest of his towns which I spoiled, I severed from his country, and gave to the kings of Ascalon, Ekron, and Gaza, so as to make his country small. In addition to the former tribute imposed upon their countries I added a tribute, the nature of which I fixed.' The next passage is somewhat defaced, but the substance of it seems to be, that he took from Hezekiah the treasure he had collected in Jerusalem, '30 talents of gold, and 800 talents of silver, the treasures of his palace, besides his sons and his daughters, and his male and female servants, and slaves, and brought them to Nineveh."

" Colonel Rawlinson's Version."

" 'Because Hezekiah, King of Judah, did not submit to my yoke, forty-six of his strong-fenced cities, and innumerable smaller towns which deended upon them, I took and plundered; but left to him Jerusalem, his capital city, and some of the inferior towns around it. And because Hezekiah still continued to refuse to pay me homage, I attacked and carried off the whole population, fixed and nomade, which dwelled around Jerusalem, with 30 talents of gold, and 800 talents of silver, the accumulated wealth of the nobles of Hezekiah's Court, and

^{*} Athenaum. August 23, 1851.

of their daughters, with the officers of his the Sheikh of the Tai tribe, and having palace, men slaves and women slaves. I returned to Nineveh, and I accounted their spoil for the tribute which he refused to pay me."

" Scripture Statement.

" 'Now in the fourteenth year of King Hezekiah, did Sennacherib King of Assyria come up against all the fenced cities of Judah, and took them. And Hezekiah King of Judah sent to the King of Assyria to Lachish, * saving, I have offended; return from me: that which thou puttest on me will I bear. And the King of Assyria appointed unto Hezekiah King of Judah 300 talents of silver, and 30 talents of gold."-2 Kings xviii. 13, 14.

The difference of 500 talents in the amount of silver, between the statements in the inscription and in Scripture, is satisfactorily explained by Mr. Layard. silver was taken in fragments from "the house of the Lord," and it is probable that the 300 talents was the amount paid in money to Sennacherib, while the whole amount, as estimated by the Assyrian king, was 800. Although it can scarcely admit of a doubt that the palace of Kouyunjik was built by the Sennacherib of Scripture, yet Mr. Layard has thought it right to adduce. in the conclusion of his Sixth Chapter, all the corroborative evidence in his possession,-evidence derived chiefly from a fine series of bas-reliefs representing the siege and capture of a city of great extent and importance. That the besieged were Jews is evident from their physiognomy, and that the city was Lachish is proved by the following inscription over the head of the king, scated on his throne :-

"Sennacherib the mighty King, King of the country of Assyria, sitting on the throne of judgment, before (or at the entrance of) Lachish, (Lakhisha.) I give permission for its slaughter."

While the Jebour workmen were engaged in their excavations at Nimroud, they were suddenly attacked by the Arab tribe of Tai, from whom some Jebours had carried off a number of camels. Disturbed by the reports of firearms, and the shouts and shricks of the people, Mr. Layard rushed from his house, and found the Tai horsemen driving off the cattle and sheep of the villagers, while the men were firing at the invaders, and the women, with poles and pitchforks, trying to rescue their cattle. Mounting his horse, Mr. Layard rode to the chief, who turned out to be Saleh, the brother of Howar,

learned the cause of the attack, he promised to do his best to rescue the camels, and thus induced Saleh to restore the property of the villagers. Having concluded a truce with the Tai, Mr. Layard paid a visit to their chief, Sheikh Howar, the head of one of the most ancient and renowned tribes of Arabia, though now reduced to two small branches. During his absence a new chamber was discovered in the north-west palace of Nimroud, and in one corner of it was a well, the mouth of which was inclosed by brickwork about 3 feet high. In the chamber there were discovered a great variety of the most interesting relics which have been recovered from the ruins of Assyria. The description of them occupies a whole chapter. They consist of large copper cauldrons, containing bronze bells, cups, dishes and other objects in metal, and several hundred studs and buttons in mother-of-pearl and ivory. Beneath the cauldrons were heaped lions' and bulls' feet of bronze, and near them two eircular flat vessels, about 6 feet in diameter and 2 feet deep, which Mr. Layard likens to the brazen sea that stood in the temple of Solomon. There were also bronze bowls, cups, and dishes curiously embossed, large bronze shields, arms and armour, saws and iron picks, part of an ivory sceptre, bronze cubes inlaid with gold, glass and alabaster vases bearing the name of Sargon. Along with the glass bowls a round disc of rock crystal, which Sir David Brewster, upon examining it, considered to have been a magnifying and burning glass, and therefore the earliest specimen of such an article. The following is his account of it :-

"This lens is plane convex, and of a slightly oval form, its length being 1 6-10 of an inch, and its breadth 1 4-10 inch. It is about two-tenths of an inch thick, and a little thicker at one side than the other. Its plane surface is pretty even, though ill polished and scratched. Its convex surface has not been ground or polished on a spherical concave disc, but has been fashioned on a lapi-dary's wheel, or by some method equally rude. The convex side is tolerably well polished; and though uneven from the mode in which it has been ground, it gives a pretty distinct focus at the distance of about 4½ inches from the plane side. There are about twelve cavities in the lens that have been opened during the process of grinding These cavities doubtless contained either naphtha, or the fluids which I discovered in topaz or other minerals. As the lens does not shew the polarized rings at great obliquities, its plane surface must be greatly inclined to the axis of the hexagonal prism of quartz, from which it must have been taken. It is obvious from the shape * Colonel Rawlinson identifies Al...ku, which he reads Alakis, with Lachish the city besieged by have been intended as an ornament. We are ensembled to the colon and the colon intended as an ornament. We are ensembled to the colon and the colon intended as an ornament.

lens, to be used either for magnifying, or concentrating the rays of the sun, which it does, however, very imperfectly."—Discoveries, &c., Note on cach side of these two tablets are eleven p. 197.

Sir David Brewster examined also some of the interesting specimens of decomposed glass found along with the preceding article, and has given an account of them in the Appendix, pp. 674-676, to which we must refer the reader.

The gigantic human-headed lions which Mr. Layard had discovered in the north-west palace of Nimroud, had been chiefly covered up with earth previous to his departure in 1848, and were still standing in their original position, having been carefully protected both from the weather and the Arabs. The Trustees of the British Museum, desirous of adding these magnificent sculptures to the national collection, directed Mr. Layard to have them removed entire. The operation of cutting a path for them through the mass of earth and rubbish, sometimes to the depth of 15 or 20 feet, occupied the workmen from the beginning of December till the end of January, when, "by still simpler and ruder means than those adopted in Mr. Layard's first expedition," though with very great difficulty, they were conveyed to the banks of the Tigris, and now stand universally admired in the British Museum.

Having been invited to the marriage of the niece of Cawal Yusuf at Baashiekhah, Mr. Layard availed himself of the occasion to visit the rock tablets at Bavian, a small Kurdish hamlet, which lay in the same direction. These sculptures he regards as the most important that have yet been discovered in Assyria.* They are engraven in relief in the limestone face of a narrow rocky ravine on the right bank of the Gomel, near the supposed scene of the great battle of Arbela. The principal tablet contains four figures in relief on the smoothed face of the limestone eliff. They are inclosed by a kind of frame, 28 feet high by 30 wide. Two of the figures are gods, standing on mythic animals like dogs; and the other two are kings,-the king doubly pourtrayed being in the act of adoration. The dress of the king resembles that of Sennacherib, with whom the inscriptions identify him. In this immense tablet there are four sepulchral chambers, round the walls of which are the usual troughs for the bodies of the dead. To the left of this great bas-relief, and nearer the mouth of the

bas-relief, of a horseman at full speed. On each side of these two tablets are eleven smaller ones, each arched recess containing a figure of the king, 5 feet 6 inches high, across three of these tablets are inscriptions, which Mr. Layard copied, lowered by ropes and standing on a ledge 6 inches wide, overlooking a giddy depth. These inscriptions, occupying sixty-three lines, have been partly translated by Dr. Hincks. They contain the name and titles of Sennacherib, and describe various great works for irrigation which he undertook, no fewer than eighteen canals to Nerissur, and a canal from Kisri to Ninevel, called the canal of Sennacherib. The army which defended the workmen are said to have been attacked by the king of Babylon, who was defeated in the neighbourhood of Khalul. Sennacherib then mentions his advance to Babylon, which he plundered, " bringing back from that city the images of the gods which had been taken by Merodachadakhe(?) the king of Mesopotamia, from Assyria 418 years before, and put them in their places. The inhabitants of Babylon appear to have been transported to Arakhti (? the river Araxes.) A name imperfectly decyphered is given as that of the king of Assyria of that day, (that is, of 703 s. c.+418 = 1121 s.c.) Dr. Hincks reads this name Shimishti-Pal-Bithkira, admitting the last element to be very doubtful. Colonel Rawlinson makes it Anakbar-beth-hira, agreeing nearly in the last element with Dr. The same name is figured on the Hincks. slabs from the temple in the north of the mound at Nimroud as that of a predecessor of the builder of the north-west palace, as also in an inscription of the time of Tiglath-Pileser or Pul, but Mr. Layard thinks that the earlier king is probably intended, and he accordingly places it in his chronological table with the approximate date of 1130 B.c., there being in that table only two earlier kings, namely, Divanuke* 1200 B.c., and Derceto 1250 B.C. After his return from this expedition, at the mouth (?) of the river he had dug, he set up six tablets, and beside them he put up the full length images of the great gods."

This inscription is considered by Mr. Layard as very important, for, if rightly interpreted, it proves that at that remote period the Assyrians kept an exact computation of time. He therefore expects that chronological tables may be discovered, which will prove the precise epoch of im-

^{*} They were first visited by M. Rouet, French Consul at Mosul, and afterwards briefly described by Mr. Ross. "They are the rock tablets which have been recently described in the French Papers as a new discovery by M. Place, and as containing a series of portraits of the Assyrian kings."

^{*} According to Dr. Hincks Divanurish, who is mentioned in the standard inscription from Nimroud; Derecto occurs on the pavement slab in the British Museum.

inscriptions.

pent up stream forms dangerous whirlpools, bathing in 1851. They still bear the re- in triumph to the banks of the Indus. mains of sculpture : One, which is broken in

occupied the same room with the Sheikh, Hussein Bey, and a large body of Yezidi interminable tale about the prophet Moham. med and a stork, which, when we had all lain down to rest, a Yezidi priest related with the same soporific effect upon the whole party."

Having failed to induce his Jebour Sheikh to accompany him to a re-examination of the mound of Kala Shergat, owing to the Bedouins being in the neighbourhood, Mr. Layard visited the ruins of Mokhamour and Shamamoh in the country of the Tai. At Mokhamour the principal mound is of considerable height ending in a cone. It stands in the centre of a quadrangle of lower mounds about 480 paces square, but he found no remains of masonry or sculpture. Shamamoh, called the Kasra Palace, is large and lofty, bisected by a ravine, and containslabs. The inscriptions on some of the name of Sennacherib, and a castle or palace chiefs who usually ate with Mr. Layard's which he could not interpret. Crossing the plain to the Mound of Abou Sheetha, Mr.

portant events in Assyrian history, and he Layard found himself near the very spot anticipates also important details from the where, after the treacherous seizure of restoration of the whole of the Bavian Clearcus, Proxenus, Menon, Agias, and Socrates, Xenophon was elected commander Beneath these tablets are two enormous of the Greek auxiliaries, and commenced fragments of rock torn from the cliff above, the celebrated retreat of the 10,000. Here, and hurled by some mighty convulsion of too, Darius, a fugitive, urged his flying nature into the torrent below, where the horse through the Zab, pursued by the Macedonian monarch, who, a few hours afterin which Mr. Bell, the young artist sent out wards, crossed the stream at the head of by the British Museum, was drowned while those warrior legions which he was leading

After describing some interesting bastwo pieces, represents the Assyrian Hercules reliefs, found in several new chambers that strangling the lion, between two winged had been opened at Kouyunjik, Mr. Layard human-headed bulls back to back. Above set out on a journey to the banks of the this is the king worshipping between two Khabour, (the Chaboras of the Greeks, a deities. The height of the whole sculpture river which, rising in the north of Mesopois 24 feet, that of the bulls 8 feet 6 inches. tamia, falls into the Euphrates near the site After remaining two days at Bavian of the ancient city of Carchemish," or Circopying the inscriptions, Mr. Layard paid a cesium,) under the protection of Sheikh visit to the Yezidi chiefs on his return to Suttum of the Boraij tribe, with fifty Arab Mosul. "We passed the night," he says, workmen, and twelve Nestorians, and sup-"in the village of Esseeayah, where Sheikh plies for two months. He left Mosul on Nasr had recently built a dwelling-house. I the 19th of March. The Sheikh Sutturn, who knew every spring and pasture of the Mesopotamian desert, superintended and Cawals, and was lulled to sleep by an directed the march, and, with the exception of a violent hurricane and thunder-storm which disturbed their tents, the journey to the Khabour was an interesting and successful one, occupying in its description five chapters of Mr. Layard's volume. In these chapters we have full details respecting the manners and customs of the Arab tribes with whom he associated, and of the various chiefs by whom he was hospitably entertained. Upon reaching Arban, the principal object of his journey, Mr. Layard found that the ruins consisted of a large artificial mound of an irregular shape, washed, and, indeed, partly carried away by the river, which was gradually undermining the perpendicular cliff left by the falling earth. He pitched One of the principal artificial mounds at his tents in a recess like an amphitheatre, facing the stream. In the centre of his encampment facing the river was pitched a tent ing chambers lined with bricks and limestone large enough to hold 200 persons, and intended as a museef, or place of reception bricks stated that Sennacherib had here built where the wayfarer and the Arab visitor a palace, the name of which Mr. Layard might receive that hospitality which it is the could not read. From the summit of this first duty of a traveller in that country to mound he took bearings of twenty-live con- exercise. To the right were the tents of the siderable mounds, the remains of ancient Cawals and servants-to the left those of his Assyrian population. At one of these, Abd- fellow-travellers, and about 200 yards beul-Azeez, he found sepulchral urns and pot- youd, and near the excavations, his own pritery apparently not Assyrian, and at Gla, vate tent, to which he retired during the or the "Castle," a natural stronghold 100 day, and to which the Arabs were not adfeet high, he found inscribed bricks, with the mitted. The following account of the two

^{* 2} Chron. xxxv. 20.

party will interest the reader, namely, of would appear that the sculptures belonged Suttum, already mentioned, and of Moham- to the palace of a king, whose name has been med Emir, the Jebour sheikh, whose tents found on no other monument. The title of were pitched under the ruins of Arban :-

"Suttum and Mohammed Emir usually eat with us, and soon became reconciled to knives hind the bulls, and on the surface of the and forks, and the other restraints of civilized life. Suttum's tact and intelligence were, indeed, remarkable. Nothing escaped his hawklike eye. A few hours had enabled him to form a correct estimate of the character of every one of the party, and he had detected peculiarities which might have escaped the notice of the tion as the first pair, was discovered. In a most observant European. The most polished few days, a lion with extended jaws, cut in most observant rangeau.

Turk would have been far less at home in the the same antique style, out of the same society of ladies, and during the whole of our limestone, was excavated. It had five legs, society of lames, and during the speach of man-journey he never committed a breach of man-ners, only acquired after a few hours' residence Ninevch bas-relief. Among the other artifull of anecdote, of unclouded spirits, acquainted with the history of every Bedouin tribe, their politics and their wars, and intimate with every part of the desert, its productions and its inhabitants. Many happy hours I spent with him, seated, after the sun went down, on a mound overlooking the great plain and the winding river, listening to the rich flow of his graceful Bedouin dialect, to his eloquent stories of Arab life, and to his animated descriptions of forays, wars, and single-combats. Mohammed Emir, the Sheikh of the Jebours, was a good-natured portly Arab, in intelligence greatly inferior to Suttum, and wanting many of the qualities of the pure Bedouins. During our intercourse I had every reason to be satisfied with his hospitality, and the cordial aid he afforded me. Always willing to give, he was equally ready to receive. In this respect, however, all Arabs are alike, and when the habit is understood, it is no longer a source of inconvenience, as in a refusal no offence is taken. The Jebour chief was a complete patriarch in his tribe, having no fewer than sixteen children, of whom six sons were

Mr. Layard now proceeded to examine the same waters." sculptures. The recent floods having worn away the mound, left uncovered a pair of sketches of Arab life, and descriptions of a winged human headed bulls, about six feet region which had not previously been visitabove the water's edge, and fifty beneath the ed by European travellers, the reader will level of the river. The fore-feet of these follow Mr. Layard with much interest. He figures only were exposed to view, and Mo- will be instructed and amused with the hammed Emir would not allow any of the spirited description of the domestic econosoil to be removed till Mr. Layard's arrival. my, the pasturages, the horses, the diseases, Upon clearing away the earth they were the legislature, the warfare, the amusefound to be of coarse limestone, not exceed. ments, and the traditions of that remarkable ing 5½ feet high, by 4½ in length. There nation—a nation which the late Mr. Burckwas a pavement slab of the same material hardt regards as one of the noblest with between them, and though they resembled which he ever had an opportunity of being the well known winged bulls of Nineveh, acquainted, distinguished above all others there was a considerable difference in the by cheerfulness, wit, softness of temper, style of art. In their outline and treatment good-nature, and sagacity, and, in short, as they were bold and angular, conveying the truly amiable, when there was no question impression of great antiquity. Above the *2 Kings xvii. 6; Ezek i. 1. In Kings the river figures was an inscription, from which it is called Khabour, in Ezekiel Kebar.

"king" is not attached to it, nor the name of any country over which he reigned.

Tunnels and trenches having been cut bemound, various Assyrian relics were found, a copper bell, bricks, with arrow-headed characters, glass, and pottery. After five days' digging, a similar pair of winged bulls, having the same size, and the same inscripcles discovered at Arban was half of a human figure in relief, grasping a sword, a bottle with Chinese characters, a large copper ring, a bull's head in terra cotta, and several Egyptian scarabei. Several tombs were also disinterred, consisting of boxes of sarcophagi, of terra cotta, similar to those found in Mesopotamia.

Mr. Layard is of opinion, that the monuments on the Khabour, the Chebar of Scripture, convey the impression of greater antiquity than any hitherto discovered in Assyria. "A deep interest," he adds, "attaches to these remains from the site they occupy. To the Chebar were transported by the Assyrian king, after the destruction of Samaria, the captive children of Israel, and on its banks 'the heavens were opened' to Ezekiel,* and 'he saw visions of God,' and spake his prophecies to his brother exiles. Around Arban may have been pitched the tents of horsenien, and the owners of mares."—Disco-the sorrowing Jews, as those of the Arabs veries, &c. pp. 274-5. were during my visit. To the same pastures they led their sheep, and they drank of the

Through his three chapters containing

of profit or interest. Mr. Layard confirms immemorial custom allowed to the fugitives bethis view of the social character of the Arabs, but regrets that, since Mr. Burckhardt's time, "a closer intercourse with the Turks and Europeans has much tended to destroy many good features in the Arab character.'

It is with great reluctance that we are obliged to leave our author without following him through these important chapters, We shall, therefore, confine our notice to a few of the most interesting topics which he discusses, to the remarkable custom of the Thar or Blood-Revenge, and the laws of Dakheel, which regulate the relation between the protector and the protected :-

"One of the most remarkable laws in force amongst the wandering Arabs, and one, proba-bly, of the highest antiquity, is the law of blood, called the Thar, prescribing the degrees of consanguinity within which it is lawful to revenge a homicide. Although a law, rendering a man responsible for blood shed by any one related to him within the fifth degree, may appear to members of a civilized community one of extraordinary rigour, and involving almost manifest injustice, it must nevertheless be admitted, that no power vested in any one individual, and no pun-ishment however severe, could tend more to the maintenance of order and the prevention of leges of humanity and mercy, which are bloodshed amongst the wild tribes of the Desert. As Burckhardt has justly remarked, 'this salutary institution has contributed in a greater degree than any other circumstance to prevent the warlike tribes of Arabia from exterminating one another.'

"If a man commit a homicide, the Cadi endenvours to prevail upon the family of the victim to accept a compensation for the blood, in money or in kind, the amount being regulated according to a stranger, or a woman, can arrest the custom in different tribes. Should this offer of avenging arm of a friend. 'blood-money' be refused, the 'Thar' comes into operation, and any person within the 'Khomse,' or the fifth degree of blood of the homicide, may be legally killed by any one within the same degree of consanguinity to the victim.

"This law is enforced between tribes remote from one another, as well as between families, and to the blood revenge may be attributed many of the bitter feuds which exist among the Arab condition, and has a marked influence upon their habits, and even upon their manners. Thus, an Arab will never tell his name, especially if it be blood-revenge.

fore they can be pursued. Frequently they never return to their friends, but remain with those who give them protection, and become incorporated into the tribe by which they are adopted. Thus, there are families of the Harb, Aneyza, Dhofyr, and other great clans, who for this cause have joined the Shammar, and are now consider-ed part of them. Frequently the homicide himself will wander from tent to tent over the desert, or even ride through the towns and villages on its borders, with a chain round his neck and in rags, begging contributions from the charitable, to enable him to pay the apportioned bloodmoney. I have frequently met such unfortunate persons, who have spent years in collecting a small sum."-Discoveries, d.c., pp. 305-307.

In strange yet agreeable contrast with this unchristian law of blood-revenge is the peaceful and humane legislation of the Dakheel, which regulates the mutual relation of the protector and the protected. While an Arab is authorized by law to take with impunity the life of his fellow-countryman, whom he never even saw, and who never injured him, he is on other occasions restrained in the exercise of his power, and in the indulgence of his passions, by certain priviconceded to an enemy, and even to a crimi-If in a civilized age we shudder at the inheritance of revenge, and at the right over human life which is bequeathed to a wide circle of heirs, we may learn a lesson of humanity from those merciful provisions of the Dakheel, in which new ties are created by the exercise of hospitality, and in which

"No customs," says Mr. Layard, "are more religiously respected than those of the Dakheel. which regulate the mutual relations of the protector and protected. 'A violation of this law would be considered a disgrace, not only upon the individual but upon his family, and even upon his tribe, which never could be wiped out. No greater insult can be offered to a man, or to his clan, clans. It affects, in many respects, their social than to say that he has broken the Dakheel. A disregard of this sacred obligation is the first symptom of degeneracy in an Arab tribe; and when once it exists the treachery and vices of the Turk rapan uncommon one, to a stranger, nor mention idly succeed to the honesty and fidelity of the that of his father or of his tribe, if his own name true Arab character. The relations between the be ascertained, lest there should be Thar between land them. Even children are taught to observe this protected, arise from a variety of circumstances, custom, that they may not fall victims to the the Hence the extreme suspicion bread, and claiming his protection by doing cerwith which a Bedouin regards a stranger in the tain acts, or repeating a certain formula of words. open country, or in a tent, and his caution in disdwelling place of his friends. In most encamp-held by his enemy, he immediately becomes his ments are found refugees, sometimes whole fami- Dakheel. If he touches the canvass of a tent, or lies, who have left their tribe on account of a homilied for which they are answerable. In heel of its owner. If he can spit upon a man, or case, after a murder, persons within the "Thar" loot hay article belonging to him with his teeth, take to flight, three days and four hours are by he is Dakheel, unless, of course, in case of theft, it be the person who caught him. A woman can great strength and courage, and he heard that protect any number of persons, or even of tents. If a horseman ride into a tenthe and his horse are Dakhal. A stranger who has eaten with a Shammar can give Dakheel to his enemy; for instance, I could protect an Aneyza, though there is blood

between his tribe and the Shammar.

"The Shammar never plunder a caravan within sight of their encampment, for as long as a stranger can see their tents, they consider him their Dakheel. If a man who has eaten bread and slept in a tent steal his host's horse, he is dishonoured, and his tribe also, unless they send back the stolen animal. Should the horse die, the thief himself should be delivered up, to be treated as the owner of the stolen property thinks fit. If two enemies meet and exchange the 'Salam Aleikum,' even by mistake, there is a peace between them, and they will not fight. It is disgraceful to rob a woman of her clothes, and if a female be found amongst a party of plundered Arabs, even the enemy of her tribe will give her a horse to ride back to her tents. If a man be pursued by an enemy, or even be on the ground, he can save his life by calling out 'Dakheel,' unless there be blood between them. It would be considered cowardly, and unworthy of a Shammar, to deprive an enemy of his camel or horse when he could neither reach water or an encampment. When Bedouins meet persons in the midst of a desert, they will frequently take them within a certain distance of tents, and, first pointing out their site, then deprive noblest of all. them of their property.

"An Arab who has given his protection to another, whether formally, or by an act which con-fers the privilege of Dakheel, is bound to protect his Dakhal under all circumstances, even to the risk of his own property and life. I could relate many instances of the greatest sacrifices having been made by individuals, and even of whole tribes having been involved in war with powerful enemies, by whom they have been almost utterly destroyed, in defence of this most sacred obliga-Even the Turkish rulers respect a law to which they may one day owe their own safety, and more than one haughty Pasha of Baghdad has found refuge and protection in the tent of a poor Arab Sheikh, whom, during the days of his prosperity, he had subjected to every insult and wrong, and yet who would thus defy the Government itself, and risk his very life, rather than surrender his guest. The essence of Arab virtue is a respect for the laws of hospitality, of which the Dakheel, in all its various forms, is but a part."-

Discoveries, &c., pp. 317-319.

esting pages to the subject of Arab horses colt is a public event. fine proportions, joined to wonderful powers Bedouin. of endurance. Their average height is from standing their small size, they often possess reliefs of Dagon, or the Fish-god.

a celebrated mare had carried two men in chain armour beyond the reach of their Aneyza pursuers. Their great quality, however, is their power of performing long and arduous marches on the smallest possible allowance of food and water. Even the mare of the wealthy Bedouin subsists on 12 handfuls of barley once in 24 hours. The saddle is rarely taken from their backs, and they are never cleaned or groomed. Though docile as a lamb, and requiring no guide but a halter, the Arab mare is roused at the sound of the war-cry, and the sight of its rider's spear. "Her eyes glitter with fire, her bloodred nostrils open wide, her neck is nobly arched, and her tail and mane are raised and spread out to the wind." According to the Bedouin proverb, a high-bred mare at full speed should hide her rider between her neck and her tail. The Arab horses sometimes get large quantities of camels' milk, and they are said sometimes to eat raw flesh.

There are five breeds called the Kamse, from which alone entire horses are chosen to propagate the race. The Saklawi breed, not derived from the Kamse, is considered the It is divided into three branches, of which the Suklawi Jedran, now almost extinet, is said to be the most valued. The Viceroy of Egypt was particularly anxious to purchase mares of this breed. A Sheikh was offered £1200 for a mare, and refused it, and £1000 has been given to the Sheikhs of the Aneyza for well-known mares. Such sums as these are often refused by an Arab who has not even bread to feed himself and his children. The Bedouin, indeed, as Mr. Layard informs us, is entirely dependent on his mare for his happiness, his glory, and indeed, his very existence. With a horse of unrivalled speed, an Arab is his own master; no one can catch him. He may rob and plunder at his will. Without his mare, he could only keep his gold by burying it, and thus it would be of no value to one who is never two days in the same spot. The Bedouins attach a high value to the pure blood of their horses. The descent of a horse is Mr. Layard has devoted some very inter-ting pages to the subject of Arab horses colt is a public event. Written evidence of and their breeds. The Arab horse is not so their descent is given before "the cadi of much distinguished for its extraordinary the horses," and implicit confidence is, in speed, as for its exquisite symmetry and these matters, placed on the word of a true

During Mr. Layard's absence, important 14 to 143 hands. Their colour is generally discoveries were made at Kouyunjik. On 14 to 13 mands. Their colour is generally discoveries were made at Nouyunjik. On white, light or dark grey, light chestnut, and by, with white or black feet. Black is extended, there were two doorways leading ceedingly rare, and Mr. Layard never saw into separate apartments, and each of the one either dun, sorrel, or dapple. Notwithelentranees was formed by two colossal basehead of the fish formed a mitre above that ders has been deposited in the British from the middle downwards, with the feet cuneiform character." and hands of a man.* When the ark was cuneiform inscriptions,

destroyed. Mr. Layard calls these apart- of the bad spirit driven out by the good ments "the chambers of records;" for like deity. To the right of the same entrance "the house of rolls," which Darius ordered there was discovered, outside of the temple, to be searched for the decree of Cyrus and isolated from the building, an entire respecting the building of the temple, they slab, 8 feet 8 inches high, 4 feet 6 inches appear to have contained the decrees of the broad, and 1 foot 3 inches thick. It was Assyrian kings, as well as the archives of fixed on a square pedestal, with a stone pass an epitoine of the great inscriptions, relief, and is covered with an inscription in exhibiting the events of each reign chronol arrow headed characters, which, when entire, largest being about 9 by 6½ inches, and the After an invocation to the god Ashur, there smaller, which were slightly convex, not occur the names of the twelve great gods, above an inch long, and containing but one Then comes the name of the founder of the or two lines of writing. Dr. Hincks has north-west palace, which Dr. Hincks reads detected on one of them "a table of the Assuracbal, and Colonel Rawlinson Sardaby different alphabetical signs, according to various modes of using them,"—a discovery of the king's campaigns and wars. that Mr. Layard thinks a most important one. He has found on another "apparently feet by 31, ending in a recess paved with a list of the sacred days in each month," and an enormous slab, 21 feet by 16 feet 7 inch-

of the man, while its scaly back and ex- Museum, and are considered by Mr. Layard panded tail fell as a cloak behind, leaving as of high value "for the complete decythe human limbs and feet exposed. Mr. pherment of the eunciform character, for Layard identifies this mythic form with the restoring the language and history of Assy-Oannes, or sacred man-fish, which, according ria, and for inquiry into the customs, scito the traditions preserved by Berosus, ences, and literature of its people." "These issued from the Erythmean Sea, instructed documents," he adds, "probably exceed all issued from the Erythican Sea, instructed documents, he awas, probably access and the Chaldreans in science, and was afterwards that have yet been afforded by the monu-worshipped as a god in the temples of ments of Egypt. But years must elapse Babylonia. The Dagon of the Philistines before the innumerable fragments can be was worshipped under the same form. In put together, and the inscriptions transcribed his Commentary on Samuel, Abarbanel for the use of those who in England and informs us that Dagon had the form of a fish elsewhere may engage in the study of the

About 30 feet to the north of the lion brought into the great temple of the idol at gallery there was found a second entrance, Ashdod, and the statue fell a second time flanked by two singular figures, one a monupon its face before the ark of the Lord, ster with a hideous head, long pointed ears, "the head of Dagon, and both the palms of and extended jaws armed with hage teeth. his hands, were cut off upon the threshold, It was covered with feathers, had the foreonly the stump" (the fishy part in the mar- feet of a lion, the talons of an eagle, the tail gin) "of Dagon was left to him." Colonel of a bird, and spreading wings. Behind the Rawlinson has found the name of Dagon monster was a winged man, with a garment among the gods of the Assyrians in the of fur, an under robe with tassels, and the sacred horned hat. He was in the attitude The first doorway guarded by the fish of hurling a double trident, the thunderbolt gods led into two small chambers opening of the Greek Jupiter, against the monster, into each other, and pannelled with bas- who turned furiously towards him. Mr. reliefs, the greater part of which was Layard considers this as the representation the empire. The floor of these chambers altar in front, supported on lions' feet. This seems to have been covered to the height of slab is one of the finest specimens of Assya foot or more with tablets and cylinders of rian sculpture brought to this country. It baked clay, which contain in a small com- represents the early Nimroud king in high logically. Some of these were entire, the must have contained several hundred lines. value of certain cunciform letters, expressed napalus. After an exordium not yet satis-

on a third "what seems to be a calcudar," es, and 13 inches thick. The surface of this A large collection of these tablets and cylin great monolith, as well as the side facing • Mr. Layard does not mention that Diodrus culus describes Dagon "as baving the head of Situlus describes Dagon "as having the head of a scovered with three columns in the cunciscomes united to the body of a fish."

Covered with three columns in the cunciscomes united to the body of a fish."

For an account of these inscriptions, which Dr. Hincks has transla-

^{† 1} Samuel v. 4.

[‡] Ezra vi. 1.

ted, we must refer the reader to Mr. Lay- Khorkhor. They are considered by Dr. ard's volume. As usual, they contain an Hincks* as the records of a king whose account of the wars and campaigns of the name is Arghistis, and who celebrates his king on the borders of the Euphrates, and in conquests in a region which seems to read Northern Syria. The forms of expression Mana. The other inscriptions are on the in these chronicles differ from those in later northern face of the rock. ble women and children.

ins of Nineveh.

tions in and near the city of Wan, or Van. | ined in Constantinople and the provinces. After examining the rock sculptures at the mouth of a spacious natural cavern above Gundah, passing the spot where the traveller Schulz was murdered, in 1827, by a stands at the foot of an insulated rock on the borders of the large and beautiful lake of the same name. The inscriptions of Wan, first published by Schulz, are of two distinct periods, and in the cuneiform writing. The earliest are on two square stones built into a wall near the western gateway Asiatic Society, vol. ix. p. 387.

of the city: but the most important are | † Colonel Rawlinson, in his valuable Memoir, of the city; but the most important are carved on the southern face of the isolated rock, and round the entrance to a set of excavated chambers called the Caves of ther Darius's visit to Wan.

monuments. The king declares that the Having copied the inscriptions, and examount of spoil "exceeds the stars of hea- amined numerous remarkable monuments ven," and he likens the destruction of the of antiquity, which occupied him a week, enemies' cities to "the burning of stubble." Mr. Layard, on the invitation of the Arme-He celebrates also the burning of innumera- nian bishop, visited the principal schools, of which there was one in the town, and four About 100 feet to the east of the building in the suburbs. More than 200 children, last described, Mr. Layard discovered a se- of all ages, were assembled. Books were cond temple, the gateway of which, about so scarce, that there was scarcely a score in 8 feet wide, was formed by two colossal the whole school. The first class had a few lions with extended jaws, and paved with elementary works on Astronomy and Hisone inscribed slab. The lions were 8 feet tory, but only one copy of each. Owing to high and 13 long, with an inscription carved the zealous exertions of the American misacross them. One of them is now in the sionaries, great and beneficial changes are British Museum. The lion portal led into a taking place in the Armenian Church. chamber 57 feet by 29, at the end of which About fifteen years ago these excellent men was a recess like that in the opposite tem-opened in Constantinople the first instituple, paved with an inscribed alabaster slab tion for Christian instruction on Protestant 19½ feet by 12. The inscription was nearly (independent) principles. They selected the same as on the other monolith. In the from different parts of the empire a number earth above the great inscribed slab was of young men, of ability and character, found a regal statue 3 feet 4 inches high, re- whom they sent as teachers into the promarkable as the only statue "in the round" vinces, and who, from their knowledge of of this period hitherto discovered in the ru- the language and manners of the people, were better fitted than strangers to sow After enjoying the society of a large party among them the seeds of truth and knowof English travellers, and moving and pack- ledge. The Armenian clergy stigmatized ing the sculptures of both ruins, the heat of these persons as "evangelists," and by calsummer, and the ague consequent upon it, mmny and misrepresentation, enlisted against drove Mr. Layard to the mountains, and them the Turkish authorities. The Reformed gave him an opportunity of examining some Armenian Church having no acknowledged parts of Central Kurdistan which had not head, suffered cruel persecution. Many fell been visited by any European traveller. victims to their opinions, and some were He accordingly took this route on his way tortured even in the house of the patriarch, to study the ruins and cuneiform inscrip- while others were imprisoned or utterly ru-

"Sir Stratford Canning," says Mr. Layard, "at length exerted his powerful influence to protect the injured seet from these wanton cru-elties. Through his exertions and those of Lord Kurdish chief, and visiting a Jewish cheampment, he arrived at Wan, escorted into the city by a party of irregular cavalry sent by cheat the Pasha to welcome him. The city, containing from 12,000 to 15,000 inhabitants, or agent, through whom it could apply directly

^{*} On the Inscription at Van, Journal of Royal

without a Protestant community, and in most of vases, innumerable bells jingling discordthe principal cities the American Mission has opened schools, and is educating youths for the priesthood. Fortunately for the cause, many men of irreproachable character, and of undoubted sincerity from the Armenian nation, have been associated with it, and its success has not been endangered, like that of so many other movements of the same kind, by interested or basty conversions. Those who have watched the effects that this desire for improvement and for religious freedom is gradually producing upon a large and important section of the Christian population of Turkey, may reasonably hope that the time is not far distant when it may exercise a marked influence upon other Christian China. sects, as well as upon those who surround them: preparing them for the enjoyment of extended political privileges and for the restoration of a pure and rational faith to the East."-Discoveries, &c., pp. 405, 406.

rounding villages. lish language has been planted in the heart 18 feet high, and the smallest about 12." of Asia, and the benefits of knowledge are "It would be difficult," he adds, "to conwas almost unknown even by name to Europe."

On his return to Mosul, through an interesting country, Mr. Layard visited a remarkable church at Martha d'Umra, in the valley of Jelu. It is said to be the oldest in the the temple of Solomon, with gold." The Nestorian mountains, and having been the bas-reliefs found in these chambers were put only one that escaped the ravages of the up in fragments, regularly arranged and Kurds, it contained all its ancient furniture numbered and occupied nearly a hundred and ornaments. Both the church and the cases. Under the superintendence of Mr.

scarcely a town of any importance in Turkey | vestibule were so thickly hung with China antly when set in motion, porcelain birds and animals, grotesque figures in bronze, fragments of glass chandeliers, two or three pairs of old bullion epaulets, that the ceiling was completely concealed by them. He was assured that the China bowls and jars had been brought from the distant empire of Cathay by those early missionaries of the Chaldwan Church that carried the gospel to the shores of the Yellow Sea, thus referring them to the sixth and seventh centuries, when the Nestorian Church flourished in

New and important discoveries were made at Kouyunjik during Mr. Layard's absence. In a long room, two of whose sides were 140 and other two only 126 feet long, its four entrances were formed by colossal Unable to control the schism occasioned human-headed bulls, and the bas-reliefs on by the abuses in their own Church, the the paneling were particularly interesting. Armenian clergy have been obliged to adopt They represented as usual a campaign and measures of reform, and to creet schools in a victory, in a country traversed by a great most of the large towns of Asia Minor, in river filled with crabs and fish of various opposition to those of the American estab- kinds. On one side of the river, Sennachelishments. The American mission has now rib, in his gorgeous war chariot, received the native agents all over Turkey, and Mr. Lay- captives, and "it is remarkable," says Mr. ard speaks in the highest terms of their ad- Layard, "that this was almost the only figure mirable establishment among the Chaldwans of the king which had not been wantonly in Ooroomiyah in Persia, under the able mutilated." There is no inscription to idendirection of the Rev. Mr. Perkins. He tify the country, but Mr. Layard thinks that regrets that he was obliged to give up his the river is the Shattel-Arab, formed by the "plan of visiting that small colony from the junction of the Euphrates and the Tigris. New World," and of bearing witness, as the In one of the other adjacent chambers, the Rev. Mr. Bowen, a member of the English sculptured walls had been burned to lime, Church, has done, to the enlightened and while in another the sculptures had partly liberal spirit in which their labours are car-escaped the general wreck. On the western ried on. "Forty or fifty schools have been side of the great hall already mentioned, opened in the town of Ooroomiyah and sur-there were three entrances, the centre one The abuses that have being formed by a pair of winged bulls in crept into this primitive and highly inter- fossiliferous limestone. Behind this central esting Church are being reformed, and the one there were other two similar entrances ignorance of its simple clergy gradually leading into separate rooms. "There were dispelled. A printing press, for which type thus," says Mr. Layard, "three magnificent has been purposely cut, now publishes for portals, one behind the other, each formed general circulation the Scriptures, and works by winged bulls facing the same way, and of education in the dialect and character all looking towards the great hall; the peculiar to the mountain tribes. The Eng-largest colossi, those in front, being above extended to a race which a few years ago ceive any interior architectural arrangement more imposing than this triple group of gigantic forms as seen in perspective by those who stood in the centre of the hall, dimly lighted from above, and harmoniously coloured or overlaid, like the cherubims in

Sumsion they were admirably put together, thor is thus led to give a very interesting and now stand in the British Museum.

Kouyunjik, Mr. Layard determined upon devoting the winter to researches among the Easterns take most delight, is that of the gazelle. great mounds of Southern Mesopotamia, and the particular examination of Babylon. In and greyhound must be trained to hunt together, order to avoid any collision with the Arabs, he engaged a Bedouin chief to protect his party, and and he accordingly set out on the 18th October, in one of the primitive vessels by which the trade of the country is carried on. Crossing the foaming rapids of Awai, the great dam which stretches across the Tigris, they floated in their rafts through the greyhound is now loosed upon the gazelle, the great alluvial plains of Chaldrea. At Eski, animal is seized, which of course soon takes or old Baghdad, they saw the singular tower, about 200 feet high, which rises above the eastern bank of the river, and round which, on the outside, there winds an ascending hound is declared to be complete. The chief art way like the spiral of a serew. Near the same place, and abutting the west bank of the river, is the wall or rampart of Nimroud. Farther down the river they descry the two gilded domes and four stately minarets of the mosque of Kathimain. The Tigris widens as they advance, and its current becomes al- flies steadily and near the ground towards the remost motionless. A pine-shaped cone of treating gazelles, and marking one, soon sepasnowy whiteness rising to the right, marks rates it from the herd. It then darts at the head the tomb of the lovely Zobeide, the Queen of Haroun-al-Reshed. A mosque cut in two houd rarely comes up before the blow has been next appears. Coloured cupolas and mine more than once repeated. The falconer than rets rise on all sides above the palms. The hastens to secure the quarry. Should the dog trees are succeeded by a long line of mud-built houses. The palace of the Governor been struck for the third or fourth time, the next arrests the eye, and passing through a crazy bridge of boats, the rafts bearing the records of ancient Assyria, and the distin-horseman succeeded in spearing the animal. The guished traveller who discovered them, flectness of the gazelle is so great, that, without British flag, opposite a handsome building, it, unless the ground be heavy after rain. not crumbling into ruins like its neighbours, but kept in repair by European residents,the dwelling of the English Consul-General, and political agent of the East India Comoany at Baghdad,—the residence of Colonel Rawlinson, then in England.'

After spending a week at Baghdad, Mr. Layard left it on the 5th December. Owing to the overflowing of the river, the whole country round the city was a swamp; and after fording ditches, wading through water and deep mud, and crossing wide streams by crazy bridges of boats, Mr. Layard, then struggling with intermittent fever, reached Khan-i-zad, the first habitable caravanserai on the road. In the middle of the spacious court-yard, reclining on carpets upon a raised platform, he found Timour Mirza, one of the exiled Persian princes, surrounded by hawks on perches, and by numerous attendants, have given a full description of the Mujelibé and Birs each bearing a falcon on his wrist. Our au- Nimroud.

account of the falconry of the East, of which Having done so much at Nimroud and that of the gazelle will interest the reader:

"The falconry," says Mr. Layard, "in which For this very noble and exciting sport, the falcon by a process unfortunately somewhat cruel. In the first place, the bird is taught to eat its daily ration of raw meat fastened on the stuffed head of a gazelle. The next step is to accustom it to look for its food between the horns of a tame gazelle. The distance between the animal and the falconer is daily increased, until the hawk will seek its meat when about half a mile off. A place, its throat is cut, and the hawk is fed with a part of its flesh. After thus sacrificing three gazelles, the education of the falcon and greyin the training is to teach the two to signal out the same gazelle, and the dog not to injure the falcon when struggling on the ground with the quarry. The greyhound, however, soon learns to watch the movements of its companion, without whose assistance it could not capture its prey.

"The falcon, when loosed from its tresses, of the affrighted animal, throws it to the ground, or only checks it in its rapid course. The greyhawk will generally sulk and refuse to hunt any longer. I once saw a very powerful falcon be-longing to Abde Pasha hold a gazelle until the anchor beneath the spreading folds of the the aid of the hawk, very few dogs can overtake

> " The pursuit of the gazelle with the falcon and hound over the boundless plains of Assyria and Babylonia is one of the most exhilarating and graceful sports, displaying equally the noble qualities of the horse, the dog, and the bird."—
> Discoveries, pp. 481-3.

> Mr. Layard spent the following day at the encampment of Abde Pasha, who entertained him with a hawking party, and gave him letters to the principal chiefs of the southern tribes. After leaving the camp, and resting about four hours amid dry canals and ancient mounds, they saw to the south a huge hill, with flat top and perpendieular sides, rising abruptly from an alluvial plain. This was the mound of Babel, the Mujelibé (the Kasr of Rich) or "overturned."* To this vast mound succeeded long

^{*} See this Journal, vol. xi. pp. 111 et seq. where we

undulating heaps of earth, bricks, and pottery, undulating heaps of earth, bricks, and pottery, leaving the first banuary, Mr. Layard left hideous waste. "Owls start from the labylou to visit the great ruins of Niffer, hideous waste. "Owls start from the and others, in the south of Mesopotamia. seanty thickets, and the foul jackall skulks Mr. Loftus had visited the most important through the furrows. Truly 'the glory of of them, and had brought home from Wurka kingdoms, and the beauty of the Chaldees' a highly interesting collection of antiquities, excellency, is as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah. Wild beasts of the Mr. Layard first visited, consists of a collection of the constant of t desert lie there; and their houses are full tion of mounds of unequal height and irreof doleful creatures; and owls dwell there, gular form. The high cone at the northand satyrs dance there. And the wild east corner he considers as the remains of a beasts of the islands cry in their desolate square house constructed of sun-dried bricks. houses, and dragons in their pleasant places;' It is called by the Arabs the Bint-el-Ameer, for her day has come."*

8000 or 9000 inhabitants, and having a few king, and of a city which Colonel Rawlinson half-ruined mosques and public baths for its reads Tel Anis, the Telano of geographers. principal buildings, Mr. Layard placed work- The only discoveries which were here made men on the two most important mounds, the were cells of brick-work containing human and the Mujelibé, (the Kasr of the same tra- glazed and plain, and a pottery sarcophathe disturbed state of the country. In the ard did not even attempt to visit the ruins great mound of Babel, Mr. Layard found at Wurka, which had been partially examined less entire, glass bottles, glazed earthenware, visiting on his way the ruin of Zibbliyah, and remains of solid masonry with the super- which rises from a heap of rubbish in the ecription of Nebuchadnezzar. At the Kasr centre of the desert, and passing the great he was equally unsuccessful. He found only ruin of Ctesiphon, a palace of the Persian a fragment of limestone, on which were kings, consisting of "a vaulted hall 150 feet parts of two figures, undoubtedly gods, with in depth, and about 106 feet high, forming a few rudely engraved gems and enamelled the centre of the building." The last ruin which our author examined was a mound of great extent, called found that four new chambers had been dis-Jumjuma, and by others Amran. In various covered to the north of the central hall. In trenches which he opened he could find no two of the bas-reliefs found in the chambers trace of an edifice of any kind. Along with on the northern side of the same edifice is some specimens of glass, terra cotta figures, represented a battle in a marsh, and in others lamps and jars of the time of the Seleucidee, is represented the conquest of a nation, Mr. Layard found "five cups or bowls of where "the Assyrians had plundered their earthenware, and fragments of others covered temples, and were now carrying away their on the inner surface with letters written in a idols," as asserted in holy writ.* "Of a kind of ink." The characters resemble the truth, Lord, the kings of Assyria have laid Hebrew, and have been decyphered by Mr. waste all the nations, and their countries, Thomas Ellis of the British Museum. Mr. and have cast their gods into the fire, for Layard has given fac-similes of the originals, they were no gods, but the work of men's with Mr. Ellis's translations of these books, hands, wood and stone; therefore they have which are Jewish relies relating to the Jews destroyed them." in the captivity of Babylon, and therefore

especially interesting to biblical students. edifice. "No seulptures or inscribed slabs beside the so-called tomb of the prophet were discovered, and scarcely a detached Jonah, which forms part of the great group dug out of the vast heaps of rubbish." unto the ground."

On Mr. Layard's return to Mosul, he

After describing several interesting Assyrian relies, some of them Greek and Roman, In these excavations Mr. Layard was not found in other chambers at Kouyunjik, Mr. able to trace the general plan of any one Layard gives an account of his excavations figure in stone, or a solitary tablet, has been of ruins at Nebbi Yunus, opposite Mosul, and like Kouyunjik, in the line of the en-"Babylon is fallen, is fallen; and all the closed walls. The sanctity of the place made graven images of her gods He hath broken it dangerous to excavate openly, but Mr. Layard having heard that the owner of one of the

On the 15th January, Mr. Layard left or the "Daughter of the Prince." The On arriving at Hillah, a town with about bricks are inscribed with the name of a Babel of the Arabs, (the Mujelibé of Rieh,) remains-many earthenware vases, jars veller,) having abandoned his plan of exea- gus of a rich blue colour. On account of vating in the Birs Nimroud on account of the disturbed state of the country, Mr. Layseveral entire coffins with skeletons more or by Mr. Loftus, and he returned to Baghdad,

^{*} Isaiah xiii. 19-22. See Jeremiah i. 39.

^{*} Isaiah xxxvii. 18. 19...

largest dwellings in the village wished to as they are calculated "to increase our acmake serdaubs, or under-ground apartments, quaintance with the history of Assyria, and for summer, offered, through his agent, to to illustrate the religion, the arts, and the dig them for him, on condition that he should manners, of the inhabitants." These results have all the objects discovered during the have been obtained by the united researches excavation. In this way he was enabled to of English scholars, Colonel Rawlinson, Dr. examine a part of the mound, but he found Hincks, and Mr. Lavard himself. Mr. De only the walls of a chamber panelled with Sauley, and other distinguished foreign writinscribed but unsculptured alabaster slabs, ers, have contributed their labours; but we containing the name of Esarhaddon. Since are not able to give any notice, nor was Mr. Layard's return to England an inhabi- Mr. Layard, of their particular discoveries. tant of the village, in digging the founda- Mr. Layard has purposely omitted giving tions of his house, uncovered a pair of any account of the various processes adoptcolossal human-headed bulls, and two figures ed in decyphering these ancient monuments, of the Assyrian Hereules slaying the lion, and has confined himself to a brief notice of similar to those in the Louvre. Rival anti- the chronological and historical facts which quaries having quarrelled about their claims they sanction. These facts are given in to these sculptures, they were seized by the three tables. The first contains the English Turkish authorities.

ruins, it appears that a palace was erected cal student.

jasper, serpentine, stentte, oriental alabaster, rollows, on grounds which we camer segmen felspar, and hematite. The subjects here, that the date of the reign of the early are religious or historic, and belong to several distinct periods. The most ancient are palace at Nimroud, and whose son erected those of the ethices discovered at Nimevelh, obelisk, must be about 1121 nc. The following is a conv of the first of the preceddecessors of the early Nimroud king.

Having thus described the monuments affixed to Colonel Rawlinson's readings, and and relics discovered in Assyria and Baby- II. to those of Dr. Hineks: lonia, Mr. Layard devotes his twenty-sixth * Dr. Hincks has found in the same obelisk the or concluding chapter to a general account of the results of the excavations, in so far Elijah to anoint king of Syria.

version of the royal names hitherto discov-At the village of Shereef Khan, three ered, according to Colonel Rawlinson and miles north of Kouyunjik, Mr. Layard found Dr. Hineks, the principal monuments on the remains of a building with inscribed which they were found, and the approximate bricks, containing the names of Sargon and date of the reign of the several kings. The Sennacherib. Other bricks mention a tem- second contains the most important proper ple dedicated to Mars, or some other As and geographical names which have been syrian deity, or, according to Colonel Rawlidentified with those in the Bible, their nison, to Neptune, or Noah. From two inscribed limestone slabs found among the letters, being given for the use of the bibli-The third table contains the on this spot by Esarhaddon for his son, and names of the thirteen great gods of Asthat the name of the place was Tarbisi. Mr. Layard concludes the twenty-fifth Dr. Hincks. The Assyrian chronology in Mr. Layard concludes the twenty-fifth Dr. Hincks. The Assyrian chronology in chapter of his work with an interesting the first of these tables, which we give benotice, illustrated by many drawings, of a large collection of engraved cylinders, or son of Omri, mentioned in the grand obelisk genns, from 4th of an inch to 2 inches. Their in the British Museum with Jehu, king of size varies from 4th of an inch to 2 inches. Their form is either circular or barrel-shaped, and their material lapis-lazuli, rock-crystal, first published by Dr. Hincks. 4 Jehu ascornelian, amethyst, chalcedony, agate, onyx, jasper, serpentine, sicnite, oriental alabaster, follows, on grounds which we cannot detail green felsivar, and hematite. The subjects here, that the date of the reigm of the early Colonel Rawlinson had found on one from lowing is a copy of the first of the preced-Shereef Khan the names of two of the pre- ing tables, omitting the names of the kings in cuneiform characters. The letter R. is

Names of Assyrian Kings in the Inscriptions from Nineveh.

Conjectural Reading.	Where found.	Approximate Date of Reign
Decreto, (R.) Divanukha R. Divanurish, (H.) Anakbar-beth-hira, (R.)	Pavement slab, B. Museum. Standard inscription, Nimroud, &c. Slabs from temples in north of mound of	1250 B.C. 1200 B.C.
Shimish-bal-Bithkira, (H.) Mardokempad ? (R.) Mesessimordacus ? (R.)	Nimroud; Bavian tablets, &c. A cylinder from Shereef-Khan.	7100 2101
Adrammelech' I. (R.) Anaku Merodach, (R.)	Standard inscription, bricks, &c. from N. West Palace, Nimroud.	1000 в.с.
Shimish Bar, (H.) (Son of preceding.)	Idem.	960 в.с.
Sardanapalus I. (R.) Ashurakhbal, (H.) (Son of preceding.)	Standard inscription, bricks, &c. from N. W. Palace, Nimroud; Abou Maria, &c.	930 г.с.
Divanubara, (R.) Divanubar, (H.) Shamas Adar, (R.)	Centre Palace, Nimroud; obelisk, bricks; Kalah-Sherghot; Baashiekha.	900 в.с.
Shamsiyav, (H.) Adrammelech II. (R.)	Pavement slab, upper chamber, Nimroud. } Idem.	870 B.C.
Baldasi ? (H.) Ashurkish ! (H.)	Slab from tunnel of Negoub. Idem. (Payement slab, and slab built into the)	
Pul, or Tiglath-Pileser. Sargon.	S. W. Palace, Nimroud, Khorsabad; Nimroud; Karamless, &c.	750 в.с. 722 в.с.
Sennacherib. (Son of preceding.) Essarhaddon.	Kouyunjik, &c. S. W. Palace, Nimroud, Nebbi Yunus;	703 B.C. 716 (H.)
(Son of preceding.) Sardanapalus III. (R.)	Shereef-Khan.	690 в.с.
Ashurakhbal, (H.) Son of preceding) (Son of preceding.)	Kouyunjik; Shereef-Khan. South-east edifice, Nimroud.	1
Shamishakhadon ! (H.)	Black stone in possession of Lord Aberdeen.	

Owing, we presume, to the great length to owhich Mr. Layard's volume has extended, obtain accurate copies of the inscriptions he has "not given any account of the various inprocesses adopted in decyphering the inscriptions, and of the steps gradually made engraven at a height from the ground which in the investigation." We are unwilling to it was difficult, and often dangerous to reach, leave our readers in total darkness on this, branch of the subject and shall therefore endeavour to give a brief account of the means by which, to use Colonel Rawlinson's extended the process of standing for hours under a deavour to give a brief account of the means by which, to use Colonel Rawlinson's extended the process of standing for hours under a burning sun on the steps of a ladder, or on by which, the inscriptions of Nineveh and known language, sometimes nearly obliterated; and we have already seen that Mr. Layard experienced great difficulty in copying the Bavian inscriptions, lowered, as being the Bavian inscriptions, lowered, as she

Our readers are no doubt aware that it was by means of the Greek translation on the Rosetta stone that Young, Champollion, and others were led to deey pher the hierogly-sphic writing of Egypt. In like manner, it murdered in Armenia, obtained several of was by the Persian texts of the trilingual, and triliteral cuneiform inscriptions engraven on the rocks at Hamadan, Van, and Behistun, while Mr. Westerguard was content with or sculptured on the walls of the ancient palaces at Persepolis and Pasargade, that bankshi-Rustam, over antiquaries and philologists have been the rock-hewn sepulchre of Darius, the late enabled to interpret the Assyrian and Babylonian inscriptions. The first difficulty to summit of the cliff, copying the writing

cure the utmost accuracy for his work.

and Persian inscriptions, was taken by Pro- (since augmented to about 400) of cuneiform Royal Society of Göttingen in 1802. He Hystaspes."

succeeded in decyphering the names of From his lettered seclusion at Baghdad, Cyrus, Xerxes, Darins, and Hystaspes, and where Colonel Rawlinson was carrying on thus obtained the true determination of these interesting researches, he was suddennearly a third of the entire alphabet, thus ly called to an important office in Afghansupplying, in Colonel Rawlinson's opinion, a istan, where he remained till December, sure and ample basis for further research. 1843, when he found himself again at Baghleft by M. Grotefend, but added little to his from which he had been removed at the call labours. In 1826 Professor Rask discovered of his country. From Mr. Westergard, the the two characters representing M and N, celebrated Sanscrit scholar, who had visited palm of alphabetical discovery."

of Elwand furnished him with the native Babylon." forms of Arsames, Ariarannes, Teispes, Achemenes, and Persia, which enabled him cessors in this inquiry may be appreciated to construct an alphabet with eighteen in this country, Colonel Rawlinson contransmitted to the Asiatic Society his trans- of the Persian cuneiform alphabet according lation of the first paragraphs of the Behistun to the different systems of interpretation. inscription-paragraphs wholly inexplicable The following is a list of the different sysaccording to the systems of Grotefend and tems :-St. Martin. By means of M. Burnouf's memoir on the inscriptions at Hamadan, which Colonel Rawlinson received at Teheran in 1838, he found that he had been anticipated in many of the improvements which 1836. Professor Lassen. he had made in the system of M. St. Martin, and with the aid of the "luminous critique" and with the aid of the "luminous critique" 1839. Professor Lassen.
of M. Burnouf, and the examination of the 1845. Professor Lassen.
Persending the state of the 1845. Professor Lassen. Persepolitan inscriptions, he was soon afterwards enabled to complete the alphabet which he has employed in his translations of the cunciform inscriptions published in 1847.

Having done every justice to the labours of published spearately in 1850, but now forms Art z.

while "swinging in mid-air,"-a perilous his predecessors in the memoir on the subject position which he occupied for several hours which he drew up in 1839,* Colonel Rawlinduring five successive days, in order to se-son justly claims to have been the first "to present to the world a literal and correct The first step in decyphering the Assyrian grammatical translation of nearly 200 lines fessor Grotefend, in a memoir read to the writing, a memorial of the time of Darius

M. St. Martin took up the inquiry as it was dad, eager to resume the fascinating studies, which led to several important results. M. Persia in 1843, he obtained several new in-Bournouf, in 1836, added several interesting scriptions from Persepolis, from which he discoveries respecting the Hamadan inscrip- derived much assistance in his subsequent tions; and Professor Lassen in his work on inquiries. Jacquet and Beer had, in 1837-8, the Persepolis inscriptions, published at discovered two new characters, and Profes-Berne in 1836, supplied such an identification sor Lassen had, from the inscriptions given of at least twelve characters, as may almost to him by Westergard, published the whole entitle him, in Colonel Rawlinson's opinion, series, with an amended text and revised "to contest with Professor Grotefend the translation. Colonel Rawlinson's translations had been already completed when he While residing at Kermanshah on the received Professor Lassen's work, and they western frontier of Persia, Colonel Rawlin- are published in his celebrated memoir son, so early as 1835, undertook the investi- "On Cuneiform Inscriptions," illustrated gation of the cunciform character. All that with eight large engravings of the inscriphe then knew was, that Professor Grotefend tions themselves, occupying the whole of had decyphered the names of the early the tenth volume of the Journal of the Royal sovereigns of the house of Achaemenes, and Asiatic Society. Colonel Rawlinson has in submitting to analysis the Hamadan in since published "A Commentary on the scriptions, copied by himself, he obtained Cuneiform Inscriptions of Babylonia and the same results as Professor Grotefend, and Assyria, including Readings of the Inscripby a process of nearly the same kind. In tions on the Nimroud Obelisk, and a brief 1836 the Behistun inscriptions and the tablets notice of the ancient Kings of Nineveh and

> In order that the discoveries of his prede-In 1837 Colonel Rawlinson cludes his memoir with a comparative table

^{1824.} Grotefend, from Heeren's Researches.

^{1826.} Professor Rask. 1832. St. Martin, from Kloproth's Aperçu. 1836. Burnouf, from his Memoir, &c.

^{1837.} Jacquet and Beer.

^{1850.} Colonel Rawlinson.

In Colonel Rawlinson's commentary on of the Babylonian vocable, in the same manfore, these duplicate forms of writing the hitherto impregnable position. same names, and duly appreciating the phovalue of about 100 Babylonian characters, and thus laying a basis for a complete arrangement of the alphabet. His next step was to collate inscriptions, and to ascertain particularly the same geographical name, the homophones of each known alphabetical

"In this stage of the inquiry," says Colonel Rawlinson, "much caution, or it may be called critique, has been rendered necessary; for although two inscriptions may be absolutely identical in sense, and even in expression, it does not, by any means, follow that wherever one text may differ from the other, we are justified in supposing that we have found alphabetical variants. Many sources of variety exist besides the employment of homophones. Ideographs, or abbreviations, may be substituted for words expressed phonetically; sometimes the allocution is altered; sometimes synonyms are made use of; grammatical suffixes or affixes, again, may be employed or modified at option. It requires, in short, a most ample field of comparison, a certain familiarity with the language, and, above all, much experience in the dialectic changes, and in the varieties of alphabetical expression, before variant characters can be determined with any certainty. By mere comparison, however, repeated in a multitude of instances, so as to reduce almost infinitely the chance of error. I have added nearly fifty characters to the hundred which were previously known through the Persian key; and to this acquaintance with the phonetic value of about 150 signs is, I believe, limited my present knowledge of the Babyloni-an and Assyrian alphabet."—Commentary, &c.,

The same process which Colonel Rawlinson employed in identifying the signs of the Assyrian alphabet was applied to the language, duplicate phrases giving the meaning

the eunciform inscriptions, to which we have ner as duplicate names give the value of the already referred, he has briefly explained Assyrian characters. After having musthe process of decyphering the inscriptions, tered every Babylonian letter, and every and taken a cursory view of the nature and Babylonian word to which any clue existed structure of the alphabet employed in it. in the trilingual tablets, Colonel Rawlinson The necessity of addressing the population frankly confesses that so great was the diffiin three different languages spoken in the culty of applying the key thus obtained, Empire, led to the trilingual inscriptions on that he was tempted, more than once, to the Assyrian monuments. The inscriptions abandon the study altogether, in utter deat Behistun, Naksh-i-Rustam, and Persepo- spair of arriving at any satisfactory result. lis furnished a list of more than eighty prop- He considers the science of Assyrian deever names, of which the true pronunciation pherment as yet in its infancy; and he is of is fixed by their Persian orthography, and opinion that all that can be said of it is, that of which we have also the Babylonian a commencement has been made, and that equivalents. By carefully comparing, there- the first outwork has been carried in a

We regret that it is not in our power to netie distinctions peculiar to the two lan- give our readers much information respectguages, Colonel Rawlinson had the means of ing the discoveries made by the Rev. Dr. determining, with more or less certainty, the Hincks, in addition to those mentioned in the course of this article. In his first paper* on the subject, he explained the system of writing used in the Van inscriptions, and shewed the nature of the language in which they were composed. His second memoir was on the Khorsabad inscriptions; and in the addenda to the paper, he claims to be the discoverer of the almost perfect correspondence of the Median, as well as the Van, phonographs with the Assyrio-Babylonian: -of the fact that the primitive value of all of these are Indo-European syllables, and not Semitic letters; -of the existence of ideographic characters with various uses, which he has fully explained; and the consequent possibility of a character being read in two or more ways according as it was used as a phonograph or an ideograph. In the same addendum he has given two brief specimens of translations from the Khorsabad inscriptions, with a view to illustrate passages of Holy Scripture, such as those in the Second Book of Kings, respecting the deportation of conquered nations by the Assyrians, and the planting of other nations in the cities from which they were removed. Dr. Hincks has given a further account of his discoveries in a memoir "on the Assyrio-Babylonian Phonetic Characters," published in the same volume of the Irish Transactions. He was the first to detect the name of Sennacherib in the group of arrowheaded characters at the commencement of nearly all the inscriptions at Kouyunjik, and written on all the inscribed bricks from the same ruins. Dr. Hincks also discovered the names of Nebuchadnezzar and Babylon,

p. 401, of part 2d, vol. x. of the Journal above re-ferred to.

^{*} Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. ix. p. 387, March 1847.

† Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, vol.

xxii., part 2.

and in restoring to him the honour of this ment. When Earl Granville was made discovery, which he had erroneously as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, he signed to others, Mr. Layard adds, "that gave Mr. Layard the appointment of Underwe owe these discoveries, with many others Secretary, an office for which he was highly of searcely less importance, to the ingenuity and learning of Dr. Hincks."

We cannot conclude this article without referring also to Mr. Layard's own labours in the field of interpretation, which are respectively as the many state of throughout his volume; and it gives us much pleasure in being able to state, that the great services which he has trendered to literature by his Assyrian labours have been appreciated, and in a Lord Aberdeen.

certain degree rewarded, by the Govern-

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undertaken of old by Aristotle in one of his volume. treatises, and meddled with by Coleridge towards such a system, in as far as it is an Dallas. attempt at a science of poetry and of poetic VOL. XIX.-NO. XXXVIII. N. B.

ART. I .- 1. An Essay on Poetry. By E. son of one of her young metaphysicians, is thus philosophizing on poetry, Glasgow 2. Poems. By Alexander Smith. Lon- accomplishes the more difficult and more welcome feat of sending forth a poet. Verses signed with the unpromising name Scotland seems to be doing something of Alexander Smith had appeared from original at present in the way of literature. time to time in one or two London periodi-Here, at least, we have two new works, cals; and, on the faith of these verses, geneach by a young Scottish author, which crous and discerning critics, led by one who have already attracted as much attention, has been nobly the first, not in this case after their respective kinds, as it is usual to alone, hastened to proclaim the advent of a bestow on first publications of more than new poet—not, this time, in Cambridge or ordinary merit. Edinburgh claims the one in Lincolnshire, but in the city which had debutant; Glasgow the other. Mr. Dallas, given birth to Thomas Campbell. Glasgow a young man of thorough academic culture, was proud to find that, in one of her command an admiring pupil of Sir William Hamercial houses, she had so rare a possession milton, applies his native talent and the babits of philosophical investigation he has ment at hand and encouragement from a acquired under his illustrious teacher, to the distance, Mr. Smith has ventured to put his performance of no less a task than that claims to the test by publishing the present

We account it part of our duty, as our and others in modern times-the systematic readers know, to keep an eye open for the elaboration and exposition of a Theory of signs and appearances of literature in North Poetry. "To discover the laws of operabilities of a signs and appearances of literature in North Poetry. "To discover the laws of operabilities of a science," though it claims in small respect under the name of criticism, is not commonly considered the work of a science," Accepting this as true, but friends the honour of having "discovered" regretting that it is so, and maintaining that Mr. Smith. The best thing we can do, the very abundance of our criticism as ion, since we cannot have the credit of commond with that of the previous age, introducing either of our young comparatiots. elaboration and exposition of a Theory of signs and appearances of literature in North compared with that of the previous age, introducing either of our young compatriots, make the want of a system of critical docing the party, trine more felt—Mr. Dallas, with due modically offices his work as a contribution first for our Scottish theorist, on poetry, Mr.

There have been hundreds of disquisitions expression. While Edinburgh, in the per- on poetry in all ages-long and short, good, bad, and indifferent; and now-a-days, we men better than they are; Cleophon made them cannot open a magazine or a review without finding something new said about our friend " The Poet," as distinguished from our other friend "The Prophet," and the like. But cant cannot be helped, and, if we are to abandon good phrases because they have been used a great many times, there is an end to all reviewing. Much, too, as has been spoken about poetry and poets, we doubt if the world in its lucubrations on this subject, has got far beyond the antithesis suggested by what Aristotle said about it two thousand years ago, on the one hand, and what Bacon advanced two hundred and fifty years ago, on the other. At least, acuainted as we are, with a good deal that Wordsworth, and Coleridge, and Goethe, and Leigh Hunt, and now Mr. Dallas, have written about poetry by way of more subtle and insinuating investigation, we still feel that the best notion of the thing, for any manageable purpose, is to be beaten out of the rough-hewn definitions of it, from opposite sides, supplied by Aristotle and Bacon. In his Poetics, Aristotle writes as follows :-

" Epic poetry and the poetry of tragedy, as well as comedy and dithyrambic poetry, and most flute and lyre music, all are, in their nature, viewed generally, imitations (μιμηδεις); differing from each other, however, in three things -cither in that they imitate by different means, or in that they imitate different things, or in that they imitate differently and not in the same For, as some artists, either from technical training or from mere habit, imitate various objects by colours and forms, and other artists by vocal sound : so, of the arts mentioned above, all effect their imitation by rhythm, and words, and melody, employed either severally or in combination. For example, in flute and lyre music, and in any other kind of music having similar effect, such as pipe music, melody and rhythm are alone used. In the dance, again, the imitation is accomplished by rhythm by itself, without melody; there being dancers who, by means of rhythmical gesticulations, imitate even manners, passions, and aets. Lastly, epic poetry produces its imitations either by mere articulate words, or by metre superadded. . Since, in the second place, those who imitate copy living characters, it behoves imitations either to be of serious and lofty, or of mean and trivial subjects. The imitation must, in fact, either be of characters and actions better than they are found among ourselves, or worse,

or much the same; just as, among painters, Polygnotus represented people better-looking than they were, Pauson worse-looking, and Dionysius exactly as they were. Now, it is evident that each of the arts above-mentioned will have these differences, the difference arising from their imitating different things. In the dance, and in flute and lyre music, these diversities are visible; as also in word-imitations and simple metre. Homer, for example, really made things. Pictoribus atque Poetis, &c. It (Poetry)

such as they are; whereas Hegemon, the first writer of parodies, and Nicochares, made them worse. So also in dythyrambics and lyries, one might, with Timotheus and Philoxenus, imitate even Persians and Cyclopses. By this very difference, too, is tragedy distinguished from comedy. The one even now strives in its imitations to make men better than they are, the Still the third other worse. difference remains, namely, as to the manner or form of the imitation. For even though the means of imitation, and the things imitated, should be the same, there might be this difference, that the imitation might be made either in the form of a narration, (and that either through an alien narrator, as Homer does, or in one's own person without changing,) or by representing the imitators as all active and taking part. So that though in one respect Homer and Sophocles would go together as imitators, as both having earnest subjects. in another Sophocles and Aristophanes would go together, as both imitating dramatically. causes, both of them natural, seem to have operated together to originate the poetic art. first is. that the tendency to imitate is innate in men from childhood, (the difference between man and other animals being that he is the most imitative of all, acquiring even his first lessons in knowledge through imitation,) and that all take pleasure in imitation. Moreover, in the second place, just as the tendency to imitate is natural to us, so also is the love of melody and of rhythm; and metre is evidently a variety of rhythm. Those, therefore, who from the first were most strongly inclined to these things by nature, proceeding by little and little, originated poetry out of their impromptu faneies. Poetry, thus originating, was broken into departments corresponding to the peculiar characters of its producers; the more serious imitating only beautiful actions and their issues, while the more thoughtless natures imitated mean incidents, inventing lampoons, as others had invented hymns and eulogies. Homer we have no poem of any kind to be mentioned; though, doubtless, many existed."

Such, as indicated in those sentences of the treatise which seem to be of most essential import, is the general doctrine of Aristotle as to the nature of Poetry. With this contrast Bacon's theory, as stated, cursorily but profoundly, in the following sentences from the Advancement of Learning :-

"The parts of human learning have reference to the three parts of man's understanding, which is the seat of learning-History to his Memory; Poesy to his Imagination; and Philosophy to his Reason. . . . Poesy is a part of learning. in measure of words for the most part restrained, but in all other points extremely licensed, and doth truly refer to the imagination; which, being not tied to the laws of matter, may at pleasure join that which Nature hath severed, and sever that which Nature bath joined, and so make unlawful matches and divorces of

is taken in two senses-in respect of words, or | for the material, and its own phantasies and matter. In the first sense, it is but a character of style, and belongeth to the arts of speech, and is not pertinent for the present; in the latter, it is, as hath been said, one of the principal portions of learning, and is nothing else but feigned history, which may be styled as well in prose as in verse. The use of this feigned history hath been to give some shadow of satisfaction to the mind of man in the points wherein the nature of things doth deny it, the world being in proportion inferior to the soul; by reason whereof there is, agreeable to the spirit of man, a more ample greatness, a more exact goodness, and a more absolute variety than can be found in the nature of things. Therefore, because the acts or events of true history have not that magnitude which satisfieth the mind of man, Poesy feigneth acts and events greater and more heroical; because true history propoundeth the successes and the issues of actions not so agreeable to the merits of virtue and vice, therefore Poesy feigneth them more just in retribution, and more according to revealed Providence; because true history representeth actions and events more ordinary and less interchanged, therefore Poesy endueth them with more rareness, so as it appeareth that Poesy serveth and conferreth to magnanimity, morality, and delectation. And, therefore, it was ever thought to have some participation of divineness, because it doth raise and erect the mind. by submitting the shows of things to the desires of the mind, whereas Reason doth buckle and bow the mind unto the nature of things. . . . In this third part of learning, which is Poesy, I can report no deficience. For, being as a plant that cometh of the lust of the earth without a formal seed, it hath sprung up and spread abroad more than any other kind.'

Now, though it would be possible, we doubt not, so to stretch and comment upon Aristotle's theory of poetry as to make it correspond with this of Bacon's, yet, prima facie, the two theories are different, and even antithetical. If both are true, it is because the theorists tilt at opposite sides of the shield. Aristotle makes the essence of poetry to consist in its being imitative and truthful; Bacon, in its being creative and fantastical. According to Aristotle, there is a natural tendency in men to the imitation of what they see in nature; the various arts are nothing more than imitations, so to speak, with different kinds of imitating substance; and poetry is that art which imitates in articulate language, or, at most, in language elevated and rendered more rich and exquisite by the addition of metre. According to Bacon, on the other hand, there is a natural tendency and a natural prerogative in the mind of man, to condition the universe anew for its own intellectual satisfaction; to brood, as it were, over the sea of actual existences carrying

longings for the informing spirit; to be ever on the wing among nature's sounds and appearances, not merely for the purpose of observing and co-ordinating them, but also that it may delight itself with new ideal combinations, severing what nature has joined and, joining what nature has put asunder. Poetry, in accordance with this view, might perhaps be defined as the art of producing, by means of articulate language, metrical or unmetrical, a fictitious concrete, this being either like to something existing in nature, or, if unlike anything there existing, justifying that unlikeness by the charm of its own impressiveness.

Amid all the discussions of all the critics as to the nature of poetry, this antagonism, if such it is, between the Aristotelian and the Baconian theory, will be found eternally reproducing itself. When Wordsworth defined poetry to be "emotion recollected in tranquillity," and declared it to be the busi-ness of the poet to represent out of real life, and as nearly as possible in the language of real life, scenes and events of an affecting or exciting character, he reverted, and with good effect, to the imitation-theory of Aristotle. All Coleridge's disquisitions, on the other hand, even when his friend Wordsworth is the theme and exemplar, are subtle developments of the imagination-theory of Bacon. His famous remark that the true antithesis is not Poetry and Prose, but Poetry and Science, is but another form of Bacon's remark, that whereas it is the part of Reason "to buckle and bow the mind to the nature of things," it is the part of Imagination, as the poetical faculty, "to raise the mind by submitting the shows of things to its desires." And so with the definitions, more or less formal, of other writers.—Thus Leigh Hunt:-"Poctry is the utterance of a passion for truth, beauty, and power, embodying and illustrating its conceptions by imagination and fancy, and modulating its language on the principle of variety in uniformity." That this definition, notwithstanding that it is constructed on the principle of omitting nothing that any one would like to see included, is yet essentially a glimpse from the Baconian side of the shield. is obvious from the fact that its author afterwards uses as synonymous with it the abbreviations "Imaginative passion," "Passion for imaginative pleasure."-Lastly, Mr. Dallas, with all his ingenuity, does not really get much farther in the end. Beginning with an expression of dissatisfaction with all existing definitions of poetry, Aristotle's and Bacon's included, as being definitions of the thing not in itself, but in its accidents. on the work of creation with these existences he proceeds first, very properly to make a

general term Poetry for the poetical feeling, and to call the art which caters for that feeling Poesy. Then, taking for his clue the fact that all have agreed that, whatever poetry is, it has pleasure for its end, he seeks to work his way to the required definition Mr. Dallas conducts his investigation, and our relish for the many lucid and deep re-Leigh Hunt had, as we have seen, anticipatdifficulty, the very essence of the question, word imaginative. Had Mr. Dallas bestowafter having refused its shelter.

distinction between poetical feeling, which theory, which makes poetry to consist in all men have, and the art of poetical expres | imitative passion, and the Baconian theory, sion, which is the prerogative of those who which makes it to consist in imaginative are called poets. Both are usually included under the term Poetry; but to avoid conpresent in the kindred art of painting. Prefusion, Mr. Dallas proposes to use the Raphaelitism is in painting very much what the reform led by Wordsworth was in poet-ical literature. Imitate nature; reproduce her exact and literal forms; do not paint ideal trees or vague recollections of trees, ideal brick-walls or vague recollections of brick-walls, but actual trees and actual brickto work his way to the required definition brick-walls, but actual trees and actual brick-hrough a prior analysis of the nature of walls; dismiss from your minds the trash pleasure. Having, as the result of this of Sir Joshua Reynolds about "correcting analysis, defined pleasure to be "the harmonious and unconscious activity of the soul," he finds his way then clear. For Pre-Raphaelites, both with brush and with there are various kinds of pleasure, and poetry is one of these—it is "imaginative say, a return to the theory of Aristotle, say, a return to the theory of Aristotle, which makes the essence of art to consist pleasure;" or, writing the thing more fully which makes the essence of art to consist ont, it is the "imaginative harmonious and in Imitation, and a protest against that of unconscious activity of the soul," or that Bacon, which makes the essence of art to kind of harmonious and unconscious activity of the soul which consists in the exercise of the imagination. Poers, of course, is the corresponding art, the art of producing what "improving nature," and the like, the Pre-will give praginative releases. will give imaginative pleasure. Now, with Raphaelites may see looming behind him all our respect for the ability with which the more formidable figure of a man whose words no one dares to call trash, and whose definition of art was eouehed in expressions marks which drop from his pen in the course like these :- "There is, agreeable to the of it, we must say that, as respects the spirit of man, a more ample greatness, a main matter in discussion, his investigation more exact goodness, and a more absolute does not leave us much the wiser. "Peetry variety than can be found in the nature of is imaginative pleasure"—very well; but things;" "the use of feigned history is to variety than ean be found in the nature of Bacon had said substantially the same thing give to the mind of man some shadow of when he described poetry as a part of learn-satisfaction in those points wherein the ing having reference to the imagination; and nature of things doth deny it." The battle, we say, must be fought with these phrases. ed the exact phrase, defining poetry to be "imaginative passion," and the faculty of producing the poet to be the faculty of "producing Pre-Raphaelitism now making its way in the imaginative pleasure." In short, the whole miring the reality, the truthfulness of Thackconsists not in the word pleasure, but in the eray's delineations of life and society, there are men who will have nothing to do with ed one half the pains on the illustration of what they call the phantasies and caricatures what is meant by imagination, that he has of the Dickens school. The business of the bestowed on the analysis of what is meant novelist, they say, is to represent men as by pleasure, he would have done the science they are, with all their foibles as well as of poetry more service. This-the nature their virtues; in other words, to imitate real of the imaginative faculty-is "the vapor-life. Here again comes in the Baconian ous drop profound that hangs upon the thunder. "Because the acts or events of corner of the moon," and Mr. Dallas has true history have not that magnitude which not even endeavoured to catch it. His satisfieth the mind of man, poesy (and chapter upon the Law of Imagination is one Bacon's definition of poesy includes the of the most meagre in the book; and the prose-fiction) feigneth acts and events greater total result, as far as a serviceable definition and more heroical." Whether Dickens can of poetry is concerned, is, that he ends in take the benefit of this authority in those finding himself in the same hut with Bacon, cases where he is charged with unreality, we need not inquire; it evidently points, how-The antagonism between the Aristotelian ever, to a possible style of prose-fiction different from that of Fielding and Thackeray litation and art are held to be synonymous. and yet as legitimate in the view of art.

For ourselves, we hold the Imitation theory as applied to poetry or art to be so inadequate in essential respects that it would be time lost to try to mend it; and we find no suitable statement of what seems to us to be the very idea of poetry, except in some definition tantamount to that of Bacon. Only consider the matter for a moment. Take any piece of verse from any poet, and in what single respect can that piece of verse be said to be an imitation of nature? In the first place, that it is verse at all is a huge deviation in itself from what is, in any ordinary sense, natural. Men do not talk in good literary prose, much less in blank verse or rhyme. Macbeth, in his utmost strait and horror-Lear, when the lightnings seathed his white head-did not actually talk in metre. Even Bruce at Bannockburn did not address his army in trochees. Here, then, at the very outset, there is a breakdown in the theory of Imitation, or literal truth to nature. And all prose-literature shares in this break-down. Not a single personage in Scott's novels would have spoken precisely as Scott makes them speak; nay, nor is there a single character in Thackeray himself strictly and in every respect a fac-simile of what is real. Correct grammar, sentences of varied lengths and of various cadences, much more octosyllabic or pentameter verse, and still more rhymed stanzas, are all artificialities. Literature has them, but in real life they are not to be found. It is as truly a deviation from nature to represent a king talking in blank verse, or a lover plaining in rhyme, as it is, in an opera, as to make a martyr sing a song and be encored before being thrown into the flames. So far as truth to nature is concerned, an opera or even a ballet, is hardly more artificial than a drama. Supposing, however, that, in order to escape from this difficulty, it should be said that metre, rhyme, rhetorical consecutiveness, and the like, are conditions previously and for other reasons existing in the material in which the imitation is to take place, would the theory of imitation or truth to nature even then hold sible ingenuity, short of that which identigood? Let it be granted that grammatical and rhythmical prose is, as it were, a kind it be shewn to consist of imitation. of marble, that blank verse is as it were a be said that it is mimic creation, and that kind of jasper, and that rhymed verse is, as it this is the sense in which Aristotle meant were, a kind of lapis lazuli or opaline; that his imitation, or μμησις, to be understood, the selection of these substances as the we shall be very glad to accept the explanamaterials in which the imitation is to be ef- tion; but then we shall have to say, in refected is a thing already and independently ply, that as the essence of the business lies determined on; and that it is only in so far in the word "creation" as the substantive as imitation can be achieved consistently of the phrase, it is a pity the brunt of the

Will the theory even then look the facts in the face? It will not. In the time of Aristotle, indeed, when most Greek poetry was, to a greater degree than poetry is now, either directly descriptive or directly narrative, the theory might have seemed less astray than it must to us. Even then, however, it was necessarily at fault. The Achilles and the Ajax of Homer, the Œdipus and the Antigone of Sophocles were, in no sense, imitations from nature; they were ideal beings, never seen on any Ægean coast, and dwelling nowhere save in the halls of imagination. Aristotle himself felt this; and hence, at the risk of cracking into pieces his own fundamental theory, he indulges occasionally in a strain like that of Bacon when he maintains that poetry "representeth actions and events less ordinary and interchanged, and endueth them with more rareness," than is found in nature. "The poet's business," says Aristotle, "is not to tell events as they have actually happened, but as they possibly might happen." And again: "Poetry is more philosophical and more sublime than history." Very true, but what then becomes of the imitation? In what possible sense can there be imitation unless where there is something to be imitated? If that something is ideal, if it exists not actually and outwardly, but only in the mind of the artist, then imitation is the wrong word to use. And all this will be much more obvious if we refer to modern poetry. Here is a stanza from Spenserpart of his description of the access to Mammon's cave. He has just described Revenge, Jealousy, Fear, Shame, and other entities.

"And over them sad Horror with grim hue Did always soar, beating his iron wings; And after him owls and night-ravens flew, The hateful messengers of heavy things, Of death and dolour telling sad tidings; Whiles sad Celeno, sitting on a clift, A song of bale and bitter sorrow sings, That heart of flint asunder could have rift: Which having ended, after him she flieth

This is true poetry; and yet, by no posfied Jeremiah with pickled eucumbers, could with the nature of these substances, that im- disquisition should have been borne so long

by the adjective. Aristotle, we believe, did | ite idea of imitation or truthfulness, as if it mean that poetry was, in the main, fiction, or invention of fables in imitation of nature; but, unfortunately, even then he misleads by making unitation, which is but the jackal in the treatise, seem the lion in the definition. Nor even then will his theory be faultless and complete. Spenser's grim-hued Horror scaring aloft, beating his iron wings, and with owls and night-ravens after him, is certainly a creation; but in what sense it is a mimic creation, or a creation in imitation of nature, it would take a critic, lost to all reasonable use of words, to show. In short, and to close this discussion with a phrase which seems to us to fall like a block of stone crush through all our puny contemporary reasonings about art imitating nature, being true to nature, and the like-" Art is called art," said Goethe, "simply because it is not nature." This, it will be seen, is identical with Bacon's poesy "submitting the shows of things to the desires of the mind." Only in one sense can it be said that art itself comes under the denomination of nature. Thus, Shakespeare-

" E'en that art, Which, you say, adds to nature, is an art That nature makes."

True, as Goethe would have been the first to admit! In this sense, Spenser's grimhued Horror beating his iron wings was a part of nature, seeing that, in this sense, the poet's own soul, with that very imagination starting out of it, was involved and contained in the universal round. But in any sense in which the words art and nature are available for the purposes of critical exposition, Goethe's saying is irrefragable-" Art is called art simply because it is not nature." Dissolve the poet through nature, regard the creative act itself as a part of nature, and then, of course, poetry or art is truth to nature; but keep them distinct, as you must do if you talk of imitation, and then the poet is nature's master, changer, tyrant, lover, watcher, slave, and mimic, all in one, his head now low in her lap, and again, a moment after, she scared and weeping, that, though he is with her, he minds her not.

All this, we believe, is very necessary to be said. Pre-Raphaelitism in painting, like Wordsworth's reform in poetical literature, we regard, so far as it is a recall of art to truth and observation, as an unmixed good. But it is essentially, in this particular respect, a reform only in the language of art; and art itself is not language, but the creative use of it. We think the Pre-Raphaelites know this; for though, in theoriz-

were the sum and substance of art, yet in their practice, as Coleridge remarked of Wordsworth, they are as much imaginative artists as imitative. Take any of the higher Pre-Raphaelite paintings, and while the language of the painting-that is, the flowers, and grasses, and foliage, and brick-walls, and costumes-are more real and true imitations than are to be seen elsewhere, the thought which this language is used to convey is at least as ideal, as much a supposition, imagination, or recombination, as much a mere wish or utinam, as in the majority of other pictures. Still, in our theory of art at the present day, or at least in our theory of literary art, the notion of imitation is beginning to exist in excess. The very power of that most admirable of our novelists, Thackeray, is beginning to spoil us. We will have nothing but reality, nothing but true renderings of men and women as they are; no giants or demigods any more, but persons of ordinary stature, and the black and the white in character so mixed that people shall neither seem crows nor white doves, but all more or less magpies. Good, certainly, all this; but had the rule always been peremptory, as some would now make it, where had been our Achilleses, our Prometheuses, our Tancreds, our Lears, our Hamlets, our Fausts, our Egmonts; these men that never were, these idealizations of what might benot copied from nature, but imagined and full fashioned by the soul of man, and thence disenchained into nature, magnificent phantasms, to roam amid its vacancies? will it do to exempt the epic and the tragic muses, and to subject to the rule only the muse of prose fiction. Where, in that ease, had been our Quixotes, our Pantagruels and Panurges, our Ivanhoes and Rebeccas, our Fixleins and Siebenkaeses? These were sublimations of nature, not imitations; suggestions to history by brain and genius, and an inspired philosophy The muse of prose literature is very hardly dealt with. We see not why, in prose, there should not be much of that mighty license in the fantastic, that measured riot, that right of whimsy, that unabashed dalliance with the extreme and the beautiful, which the world allows, by prescription, to verse. Why may not one in prose chase forest-nymphs, and see little green-eyed elves, and delight in peonies and musk-roses, and invoke the stars, and roll mists about the hills, and watch the seas thundering through caverns, and dashing Why, in prose, against promontories? quail from the grand or ghastly on the one hand, or blush with shame at too much of ing, they naturally put forward their favour- the exquisite on the other? Is prose made

business as may be done within the limits of a soft sigh on the one hand, and a thin smile on the other, must it leave all finer and higher work of imagination to the eare of sister Verse? Partly so, perhaps; for prose soon gets ashamed of itself, and, when very highly inspired, lifts itself into verse. Yet it is well for literature that we have still such men among us as De Quincey and Christopher North; prose poets to us, as Richter was to the Germans; men avoiding nothing as too fantastic for their element, but free and daring in it as the verse poet in his; fronting the grisliest shapes, ascending to the farthest heights, descending to the lowest depths, pursuing the quaintest conceits; all the while, too, such masters of the element itself; now piling sound on sound into a great organ-symphony, now witching, as with harp-music, now letting the sense die away in cadence, like the echoes of a bugle blown among the hills. All honour to Thackeray and the prose fiction of social reality; but let us not so theorize as to exclude from prose-fiction, when we can get it, the boundless imagination of another Richter, or even the lawless zanyism of another Rabelais.

Poetry, then, we must, after all, define in terms tantamount, or thereabouts, to those of Bacon. With Bacon himself we may define it vaguely as having reference to the imagination, "which faculty submitteth the shows of things to the desires of the mind. whereas reason doth buckle and bow the mind unto the nature of things." Or we may vary the phrase, and, with Coleridge, call it "the vision and faculty divine;" or, with Leigh Hunt, "imaginative passion," the passion for "imaginative pleasure;" or, with Mr. Dallas, more analytically, "the imaginative, harmonious, and unconscious activity of the soul." In any case, IMAGINA-TION is the main word, the main idea. Upon this Shakespeare himself has put his seal.

"The lunatic, the lover, and the poet, Are of imagination all compact.

In short, poesy is what the Greek language recognised it to be-moingue, or creation. The antithesis, therefore, is between Poetry ent moment, lie under one like a sea, and dueing," "intellectual exercise." there are two ways in which it may be in- words are not needlessly inserted. It seems

of iron? Must it never weep, must it never | tellectually dealt with and brooded over. laugh—never linger to look at a buttercup, On the one hand, the intellect of man may never ride at a gallop over the downs? Al-brood over it inquiringly, striving to peneways at a steady trot, transacting only such trate beneath it, to understand the system of laws by which its multitudinous atoms are held together, to master the mystery of its pulsations and sequences. This is the mood of the man of science. On the other hand, the intellect of man may brood over it creatively, careless how it is held together, or whether it is held together at all, and regarding it only as a great accumulation of material to be submitted farther to the operation of a combining energy, and lashed and beaten up into new existences. This is the mood of the poet. The poet is emphatically the man who continues the work of creation; who forms, fashions, combines, imagines; who breathes his own spirit into things; who conditions the universe anew according to his whim and pleasure; who bestows heads of brass on men when he likes, and sees beautiful women with arms of azure; who walks amid Nature's appearances, divorcing them, rematching them, interweaving them, starting at every step, as it were, a flock of white-winged phantasies that fly and flutter into the heaven of the future.

> All very well; but, in plain English, what is meant by this imagination, this ereative faculty, which is allowed by all to be the characteristic of the poet? Dallas will tell you that psychologists differ in their definitions of imagination. Dugald Stewart, and others, he says, have regarded it solely as the faculty which looks to the possible and unknown, which invents hippogriffs and the like ideal beasts, in short, the creative faculty proper. Mr. Dallas properly maintains that this is not sufficient, and that the faculty unphilosophically called Conception, that is, the faculty which mirrors or reproduces the real, must also be included in the poetic imagination. And this is nearly all that he says on the subject.

Now, if we were to venture on a closer definition, such as might stand its ground, and be found applicable over the whole length and breadth of poetry, we should, perhaps, affirm something to the following effect :- The poetic or imaginative faculty is the power of intellectually producing a new or artificial concrete; and the poetic genius or temperament is that disposition of mind which leads habitually, or by preference, to this kind of intellectual exercise. There is and Science—ποίησις and νοησις. Let the much in this statement that might need exuniverse of all accumulated existence, inner planation. In the first place, we would call and outer, material and mental, up to the pres- attention to the words "intellectually pro-

are calculated sometimes to mislead. There is fire, there is passion in the poet; but that which is peculiar in the poet, that which constitutes the poetic tendency as such, is a special intellectual habit, distinct from the intellectual habit of the man of science. The poetic process may be set in operation by, and accompanied by, any amount of passion or feeling; but the poetic process itself, so far as such distinctions are of any value, is an intellectual process. Farther, as to its kind, it is the intellectual process of producing a new or artificial concrete. This distinguishes poetry at once in all its varieties, and whether in verse or in prose, from the other forms of literature. In scientific or expository literature the tendency is to the abstract, to the translation of the facts and appearances of nature into general intellectual conceptions and forms of language. In oratorical literature, or the literature of moral stimulation, the aim is to urge the mind in a certain direction or to induce upon it a certain state. There remains, distinct from either of these, the literature of the concrete, the aim of which is to represent the facts and appearances of nature and life, or to form out of them new concrete combinations. There are men who delight in things simply because they have happened, or because they can imagine them to happen-men, for example, to whom it is a real pleasure to know that at such and such a time a knight in armour rode along that way and across that bridge; who have an infinite relish for such a fact as that Sulla Athenian wit compared it to a mulberry dipped in meal; who can go back to that moment, ay, and re-arrest time there, as in fallen; men, to whom also the mere embodiments of their own fancy, or of the fancy and gaze on. These are the votaries of the concrete. Now, so far as that literature of the concrete whose business it is to gratify such feelings, deals merely with the actual facts of the past as delivered to it by ency to that kind of mental activity which memory, it resolves itself into the department of history; while so far as it remains say secretion, by the mind of an artificial unexhausted by such a subduction it is poetry concrete; and the poetic genius is that kind or creative literature. We speak, of course, or condition of mind to which this kind of

to us that the distinct recognition of what is two shade into each other, the historian implied in these words would save a great often requiring and displaying the imaginadeal of confusion. The phrases "poetic tion of the poet, and the poet, on the other fire," "poetic passion," and the like, true hand, often relapsing into the describer and and useful as they are on proper occasion, the historian. And here it is that one part of our definition may be found fault with. Seeing that the poet does not necessarily, in every case, invent scenes and incidents totally ideal, but often treats poetically the actual fields and landscapes of the earth and the real incidents of life; seeing, in fact, that much of our best and most genuine poetry is descriptive and historical, why define poesy to be the production of a new or artificial concrete? Why not call it either the reproduction of an old or the production of a new concrete? There is, we believe, no objection to calling it so, except that the division which would be thus established is not fundamental. In every piece of poetry, we believe, even the most descriptive and historical, that which makes it poetical is not the concrete, as furnished by sheer recollection, but the concrete as shaped and bodied forth anew by the poet's thought, that is, as in the strictest sense factitious and artificial. Shelley, indeed, very sweetly calls poetry "the record of the best and happiest moments of the best and happiest minds;" but then this only refers us farther back in time for the poetry, which certainly does not consist in the act of recording, if it be only recording, but already lay in the good and happy moments that are recorded. Thus, if it be said that the beautiful passage in Wordsworth describing a winter landscape, with the lake on which he skated with his companions in his boyhood, is a mere transcript of a seene from recollection, we reply, that, if it be so, (which we do not admit,) then the poetry of the passage was had a face mottled white and red, so that an transacted along with the skating, and the critic, instead of watching the man at his writing table must keep by the side of the boy on the ice. In short, in every ease a picture, when Manlius hung half-way down whatever, poetry is the production of an the Tarpeian rock, and had his death of artificial concrete-artificial either in toto, blood yet beneath him, or when Marie or in so far as it is matter of sense and Antoinette lay under the axe, and it had not memory worked into form by the infusion of a meaning. The word artificial, we know, has bad associations connected with it; but, of others, are visions they never tire to doat as Hazlitt said of Allegory, the word is really a harmless word, and won't bite you. It is only necessary to see what it means here to invest it with all that is splendid.

The poetical tendency, then, is the tendeonsists in the production, we might almost theoretically; in practice, as all know, the activity is constitutionally most delightful of such a mode of activity what need is there bring some of the more common of them to say anything? With some theorists, indeed, poets are little better than privileged liars, and poetry is little better than the art of lying so as to give pleasure. Even Bacon, with his synonyms of "feigned history" and the like, evidently means to insinuate a kind of contempt for poetry as compared with philosophy. The one he calls " the theatre," where it is not good to stay long; the other is the "judicial place or palace of the mind." This is natural enough in a man the tenor of whose own intellectual work must have inclined him, apart even from the original constitutional bias which determined that, to prefer the exercise which "buckled and bowed the mind to the nature of things," to the exercise which " elevates the mind by submitting the shows of things to its desires." But, recognising, as he did, that the one exercise is, equally with the other, the exercise of a faculty which is part and parcel of the human constitution, he was not the man to go very far with the joke about poets being a species of liars. That, we believe, was Bentham's fun. One can see what a good thing the old gentleman might have made of it. "Why was that poor fellow transported? Why, the fact is, at last assizes, he originated a piece of new concrete, which the law calls perjury." But the joke may be taken by the other end. When that deity of the Grecian mythology, (if the Greeian mythology had such a deity,) whose function it was to create trees, walked one sultry day over the yet treeless earth, big with unutterable thought, and when, chancing to lie down in a green spot, the creative frenzy came upon him, his thought rushed forth, and with a whirr of earthy atoms all round and a tearing of turf, the first of oaks sprang up completed; that also was the origination of a new piece of concrete, but one could hardly say that it was telling a lie. Had his godship been a philosopher instead of a poet—had he buckled and bowed his mind to the nature of things instead of accomodating the shows of things to his desires-the world might have been without oaks to this very day.

Poetical activity being defined generally to be that kind of intellectual activity which results in the production, or, as one might say, deposition by the mind of new matter of the concrete, it follows that there are as many varieties in the exercise of this activity as there are possible forms of an intellectual concrete. To attempt a complete enumeration of the various ways in which imaginative better stand as a type of that large departactivity may shew itself, would be almost ment of imaginative activity to which it

and easy. Of the legitimacy and nobleness | hopeless; an instance or two, however, may before the mind.

> " The sun had just sunk below the tops of the mountains, whose long shadows stretched athwart the valley; but his sloping rays, shooting through an opening of the cliffs, touched with a yellow gleam the summits of the forest that hung upon the opposite steeps, and streamed in full splendour upon the towers and battlements of a castle that spread its extensive ramparts along the brow of a precipice above. The splendour of these illuminated objects was heightened by the contrasted shade which involved the valley below."-Mrs. Raddiffe. " Almost at the root

> Of that tall pine, the shadow of whose bare And slender stem, while here I sit at eve, Oft stretches towards me, like a long straight

> Traced faintly on the greensward-there, be-

A plain blue stone, a gentle dalesman lies."-Wordsworth.

These are plain instances of that imaginative exercise which consists in the imagination of scenes or objects. A large proportion of the imaginative activity of men generally, and of authors in particular, is of this species. It includes pictures and descriptions of all kinds-from the most literal reproductions of the real, whether in country or town, to the most absolute phantasies in form and colour; and from the scale of a single object, such as the moon or a bank of violets, to the scale of a Wordsworthian landscape, or of a Milton's universe with its orbs and interspaces. It may be called descriptive imagination.

"And Priam then alighted from his chariot, Leaving Idaus with it, who remained Holding the mules and horses; and the old

Went straight in-doors where the beloved of

Achilles sat, and found him. In the room Were others, but apart; and two alone-The hero Automedon and Alcinous, A branch of Mars—stood by him. They had

At meals, and had not yet removed the board. Great Priam came, without their seeing him, And, kneeling down, he clasped Achilles'

And kissed those terrible homicidal hands Which had deprived him of so many sons." Homer.

This is the imagination of incident, or narrative imagination. The instance is plain even to baldness-it is direct Homeric narration; but for this very reason it will

all narrations of incidents whether historical and real, or ficticious and horribly supernatural; from the scale, too, of the single incident as told in a ballad, or incidentally as a link in a continuous story, up to the sustained unity of the epos or drama, as in Crusoe, Don Quixote, the Iliad, the Divine Comedy, the Facry Queene, Macbeth, or Paradise Lost. It is unnecessary to point out that the narration of incident always involves a certain amount of description of scenery.

" The Reve was a slender colerike man, His beard was shave as nigh as ever he can, His hair was by his ears round yshorne, His top was dockéd like a priest beforne, Full longe were his legges and full lean, Ylike a staff; there was no calf yseen."-Chaucer.

This may stand as a specimen of what is in reality a subvariety of the imaginative exercise first mentioned, but is important enough to be adverted to apart. It may be called the imagination of physiognomy and costume, under which head might be collected an immense number of passages from all quarters of our literature. This department, too, will include both the real and the ideal -the real, as in Chaucer's and Scott's portraits of men and women; the ideal, as in Spenser's personifications, in Ariosto's hippogriff, or in Dante's Nimrod in a pit in hell, with his face as large as the doine of St. Peter's, and his body in proportion, blowing a horn and yelling gibberish. Connected with this in practice, but distinguishable from it, is another variety of imaginative exercise, which may be called the imagination of states of feeling. Here is an example :-

" A fig for those by law protected! Liberty's a glorious feast; Courts for cowards were erected; Churches built to please the priest."
Burns' Jolly Beggars.

This stanza, it will be observed, and we have chosen it for the purpose, is, in itself, as little poetical as may be; it is mere harsh Chartist prose. But in so far as it is an innigined piece of concrete, that is, in so far as it is an imagination by the poet of a poetical. This is an important consideration, for it links the poet not only with what is poetical in itself, but with a whole, much The poet may imagine opinions, doctrines, on the eyebrow over the organ of colour. heresies, cogitations, debates, expositions—

The poetical tendency of the human

In this department are included there is no limit to his traffic with the moral any more than with the sensuous appearances of the universe; only, as a poet, he deals with all these as concrete things, existing in the objective air, and from which his own soul stands royally disentangled, as a spade stands loose from the sand it shovels, whether it be sand of gold or sand of silex. The moment any of the doctrines he is dealing with melts subjectively into his own personal state of being, (which is necessarily and nobly happening continually,) that moment the poet ceases to be a poet pure, and becomes so far a thinker or moralist in union with the poet. As regards the literary range of this kind of imaginative exercise,the imagination of states of feeling-it is only necessary to remember what a large proportion it includes of our lyric poetry, and how far it extends itself into the epic and the drama, where (and especially in the drama) it forms, together with the imagination of costume, the greater part of what is called the invention of character.

The foregoing is but a slight enumeration of some of the various modes of imaginative exercise as they are popularly distinguishable; and, in transferring them into Creative Literature at large, they must be conceived as incessantly interblended, and as existing in all varieties and degrees of association with personal thought, personal purpose, and personal calm or storm of feeling. It is matter of common observation, however, that some writers excel more in one and some more in another of the kinds of imagination enumerated. One writer is said to excel in descriptions, but to be deficient in plot and incident, nay, to excel in that kind of description which consists in the imagination of form, but to be deficient in that which consists in the imagination of colour. Another is said to excel in plot, but to be poor in the invention of character, and in other particulars. In short, the imagination, though in one sense it acts loose and apart from the personality, flying freely round and round it, like a sea-bird round a rock, seems, in a deeper sense, restricted by the same law as the personality in its choice and appreheusion of the concrete. The organ of ideality, as the phrenologist would say, is the organ by which mun freely bodies forth an ideal obstate of feeling of another mind, or of his jective, and yet, let ideality bulge out in own mind in certain circumstances, it is a man's head as big as an egg, it is of no use applying it, with Keats or Milton, in the direction of white pinks, pansies freaked with jet, sapphire battlements, and crimsonbigger world of what is poetical in itself. lipped shells, unless there is a little knot

mind being this tendency to the ideal concrete, to the imagination of scenes, incidents, physiognomies, states of feeling, and so on; and all men having more or less of this tendency, catering for them in the ideal concrete, very much in the same way, and to the same effect, as their senses cater for them in the real, (so that the imagination of a man might be said to be nothing more than the ghosts of his senses wandering in an unseen world)-it follows that the poet, par excellence, is simply the man whose intellectual activity is consumed in this kind of exercise. All men have imagination; but the poet is "of imagination all compact." He lives and moves in the ideal concrete. He teems with imaginations of forms, colours, incidents, physiognomies, feelings, and characters. The ghosts of his senses are as busy in an unseen world of sky, and eloud, and sea, and vegetation, and cities, and highways, and thronged markets of men, and mysterious beings, belonging even to the horizon of that existence, as his real senses are with all the nearer world of nature and life. But the notable peculiarity lies in this, that every thought of his in the interest of this world is an excursion into that. In this respect the theory which has been applied to the exposition of the Greeian mythology applies equally to poetie genius in general. The essence of the mythical process, it is said, lay in this, that the early children of the earth having no abstract longuage, every thought of theirs, of whatever kind, and about whatever matter, was necessarily a new act of imagination, a new excursion in the ideal concrete. they thought of the wind, they did not think of a fluid rushing about, but of a deity blowing from a cave; if they thought of virtue rewarded, they saw the idea in the shape of a visible transaction, in some lone place, between beings human and divine. And so, allowing for a certain obvious amount of difference, with the poetical mode of thought to this day. thought of the poet, about whatever subject, is transacted not wholly in propositional language, but for the most part in a kind of phantasmagorie, or representative language of imaginary scenes, objects, incidents, and circumstances. To clothe his feelings with circumstances; to weave forth whatever arises in his mind into an objective tissue of imagery and incident that shall substantiate it and make it visible; such is the constant aim and art of the poet. Take an example. The idea of life occurs to the poet Keats, and how does he express it?

"Stop and consider! Life is but a day; A fragile dew-drop on its perilous way From a tree's summit; a poor Indian's sleep, While his boat hastens to the monstrous steep Of Montmorenci. Why so sad a moan ? Life is the rose's hope while yet unblown; The reading of an everchanging tale; The light uplifting of a maiden's veil; A pigeon tumbling in clear summer air; A laughing school boy, without grief or care, Bidden the proper branches of an editor.

Riding the springy branches of an elm.' This is true ποίησις. What with the power of innate analogy, what with the occult suasion of the rhyme, there arose first in the poet's mind, contemporaneous with the idea of life, nay, as incorporate with that idea, the imaginary object or vision of the dewdrop falling through foliage-that imagined circumstance is, therefore, flung forth as representative of the idea. But even this does not exhaust the creative force; the idea bodies itself again in the new imaginary eircumstance of the Indian in his boat; and that, too, is flung forth. Then there is a rest; but the idea still buds, still seeks to express itself in new circumstance, and five other translations of it follow. And these seven pictures, these seven morsels of imagined concrete, supposing them all to be intellectually genuine, are as truly the poet's thoughts about life as any seven scientific definitions would be the thoughts of the physiologist or the metaphysician. And so in other instances. Tennyson's Vision of Sin is a continued phantasmagory of scene and incident representative of a meaning; and if the meaning is not plain throughout, it is because it would be impossible for the poet himself to translate every portion of it out of that language of phantasmagory in which alone it came into existence. Again, Spenser's personifications - his grim-hued Horror soaring on iron wings, his Jealousy sitting alone biting his lips, and the likeare all thoughts expressed in eircumstance, the circumstance in this case being that of costume and physiognomy. So, too, with such splendid personifications as those of De Quincey-the eldest and the youngest of the Ladies of Sorrow; the one, the Lady of Tears, with eyes sweet and subtle, wild and sleepy by turns, a diadem on her head, and keys at her girdle; the other, the Lady of Darkness, her head turreted like Cybele, rising almost beyond the reach of sight, the blazing misery of her eyes concealed by a treble veil of crape. In short, every thought of the poet is an imagination of concrete circumstance of some kind or other-circumstance of visual scenery, of incident, of physiognomy, of feeling, or of character. The poet's thought, let the subject be what it may, brings him to

"Visions of all places: a bowery nook Will be elysium—an eternal book Whence he may copy many a lovely saying About the leaves and flowers-about the

Of nymphs in woods and fountains, and the

Keeping a silence round a sleeping maid; And many of verse from so strange influence That we must ever wonder how and whence

this occultness, arising from the inscrutability of the law which connects one concrete phantasy of the dreaming mind with another. Regarding the poet, then, considered in his nature, we may sum up by saying, that the act of cogitation with him is nothing else than the intellectual secretion of fictitious circumstance—the nature of the circumstance in each case depending on the operation of those mysterious affinities which relate thought to the world of sense. In regarding the poet more expressly as a literary artist, all that we have to do is to vary the phrase, and sav-the intellectual invention of fictitions circumstance. This will apply to all that is truly poetical in literature, whether on the large scale or on the small. In every case what is poetical in literature consists of the emdodiment of some notion or feeling, or some aggregate of notions and feelings, in appropriate objective circumstances. Thus, in historical or biographical writing, the poetic faculty is shown by the skill, sometimes conscious and sometimes unconcious, with which the figures are not only portraved in themselves, but set against imagined objective backgrounds, and made to move amid circumstances having a pre-arranged harmony with what they do. The achievement of this, in consistency with the truth of record, is the highest triumph of the descriptive historian. In fictititous prose-narrative the same poetic art has still freer scope. That a lover should be leaning over a stile at one moment, and sitting under a tree at another; that it should be clear, pure moonlight when Henry is happy, and that the moon should be bowling through clouds, and a dog be heard howling at a farmhouse near, when the same Henry means to commit suicide - are artifices of which every ordinary novelist is master who knows his trade.

φλοισβοιο! It is the same throughout the whole literature of fiction-always thought expressed and thrown off in the language

of representative circumstance. Goethe's theory of poetical or creative literature was, that it is nothing else than the moods of its practitioners objectivized as they rise. A man feels himself oppressed and agitated by feelings and longings, now of one kind, now of another, that have gathered upon him till they have assumed the form of a definite moral uneasiness; if he is not a literary man, he must contrive to work off the load in some way or other, by the ordinary activity of life, which, indeed, is the great preventive established by nature; if he is a literary man, then the uneasiness is but the motive to creation, and the result is-a song, a drama, an epic, or a novel. Scheming out some plan or story, which is in itself a sort of allegory of his mood as a whole, he fills up the sketch with minor incidents, scenes, and characters, which are nothing more, as it were, than the breaking up of the mood into its minutize, and the elaboration of these minutiae, one by one, into the concrete. This done, the mood has passed into the objective; it may be looked at as something external to the mind, which is, therefore, from that moment rid of it, and ready for another. Such, at least, was Goethe's theory, which, he said, would apply most rigidly to all that he had himself written. Nor would it be difficult, with due explanation, to apply the theory to the works of all the other masters of creative or poetical literature-Homer, Dante, Cervantes, Scott, and Shakespeare. Dante may be said to have slowly translated his whole life into one representative performance.

Several supplementary considerations must be now adduced. The form of the poet's cogitation, we have said, is the evolution not of abstract propositions, but of representative concrete circumstances. But in this, too, there may be degrees of better and worse, of greater and less. Precisely as, of two writers thinking in the language of abstract speculation, we can say, without hesitation, which has the more powerful mind; so of two writers thinking in the other language of concrete circumstance, one may be The giant Grangousier, in Rabelais, sitting evidently superior to the other. There is by the fire, very intent upon the broiling of room, in short, for all varieties of greater some chesnuts, drawing scratches on the and less among poets as among other peo-hearth with the end of a burnt stick, and tell-ple; there may be poets who are giants, and ing to his wife and children pleasant stories there may poets who are pigmies. Hence of the days of old, is an instance of a higher the folly of the attempts to exalt the poetikind, paralleled by many in Scott and Cer- cal genius, merely as such, above other kinds vantes. And, then, in the epic and the of intellectual manifestation. A man may drama! Hamlet with the skull in his hand, be constitutionally formed so that he thinks and Homer's heroes $\beta\eta$ -ing by the $\pi o \lambda v$ - his thoughts in the language of concrete circumstance; and still his thoughts may be of incident. any language. Both poets and men of sei- and from the carelessness with which he ence must be tried among their peers. took ready-made plots for his dramas from what it is; whether there is an intrinsic supoet over that of the philosopher, or the reverse; and whether and how far we may then institute a comparison of absolute great-Milton and Kant, are questions of a higher calculus, which most men may leave alone. There is no difficulty, however, when the question is between a Kirke White and a Kant; and when a poor poet, ever so genuine in a small way, intrudes himself on the Exchange of the general world, telling people there that his intellect is "genius," and

" This palace standeth in the air, By necromancy placed there, That it no tempest needs to fear, Which way soe'er it blow it: And somewhat southward tow'rd the noon There lies a way up to the moon, And thence the fairy can as soon Pass to the earth below it."

This is very sweet, and nice, and poetical, (it is by Drayton; not a small poet, but a considerable one;) and yet there needs be no great hesitation in saying that, call it genius or what we will, there was less commotion of the elements when it was produced than when Newton exeogitated his theory of the law of gravitation.

But, to pass to another point. The imathe law of the personality, some imaginaweak where others are strong. In other words, though all poets, as such, express themselves in the language of concrete circumstance, some are greater adepts in one kind of circumstance, others in another. Some are great in the circumstance of form, which is the sculptor's favourite circumstance; others can produce admirable compositions in chiaroscuro; others again have All this is recognised in daily criticism.

Shakespeare himself, if we very little thoughts, hardly worth having in may infer anything from his minor poems, Whether there is a common measure, and any quarter (in which, however, there may be a philosophy,) was not so great a master periority in the mode of cogitation of the of incident as of other kinds of circumstance, and could hardly have rivalled Homer, or even Scott, purely as a narrative poet. How, then, establish a comparative measure, asness between Aristotle and Homer, between signing a relative value to each kind of circumstance? How balance what Chancer has and has not, against what Milton has and has not-Chaucer so skilful in physiognomy, against Milton who has so little of it, but who has so much else; or how estimate the chiaroscuro of Byron against the richly coloured vegetation of Keats? Here, too, a scientific rule is undiscoverable, and a that theirs is "talent," he evidently runs a judgment is only possible in very decided risk of being very unceremoniously treated, cases, or by the peremptory verdict of private taste.

> "Many a night I saw the Pleiads, rising thro' the mellow shade,

Glitter like a swarm of fire-flies tangled in a silver braid."

Who will venture to institute a sure comparison of merit between this exquisite bit of colour from Tennyson, and the following simple narrative lines from the same poet?-

And all the man was broken with remorse : And all his love came back a hundredfold; And for three hours he sobbed o'er William's child.

Thinking of William."

There is yet a third thing that has to be taken into consideration. Be a man as truly gination, as we have already said, following a poet as it is possible to be, and be the kind of circumstance in which his imagination extions are strong where others are weak, and cels as accurately known as posssible, it is not always that he can do his best. The poet, like other men, is subject to inequalities of mood and feeling. Now he is excited and perturbed because the occasion is one to rouse his being from its depths; now he is placid, calm, and, as one might say, commonplace. Hence variations in the interest of the poetical efforts of one and the same poet. As he cannot choose but think poetthe whole rainbow on their pallet. And so, ically, whether roused or not, even the some express themselves better in incident, leisurely babble of his poorest hours, if he others better in physiognomy and character, chooses to put it forth, will be sweet and poetical. But he is not to be measured by Now, the consequence of the diversity is this, any more than the philosopher by his that it is very difficult to compare poets casual trifles, or the orator by his speeches even amongst themselves. It is not every on questions that are insignificant. Nay, poet, that, like Shakespeare, exhibits an more than this, it is important to remark imagination that is absolutely or all but ab- that it is only at a certain pitch of feeling solutely universal, using with equal ease the that some men become poets. For, though language of form, of colour, of character, and the essence of poetry consists, as we have

said, in a particular mode of intellectual ex- the very practice of the art of poetical exereise, yet the emotional moment at which pression on any subject, like the glow of the different minds adopt this mode of exercise orator when he begins to speak, leads on may not be the same. concrete eircumstance is natural to all men all, in weighing a poem against others, so as when they are very highly excited: all joy, all sorrow, all rage, expresses itself in vivid imaginations. The question then not un-frequently ought to be, at what level of feeling a man is or professes to be a poet. On this may depend, not your verdict as to the genuineness of his poetry, but your disposition to spare time to listen to it. The most assiduous members of Parliament do not feel bound to be in the house even when a leader is speaking, unless it is a Cabinet question, or a question of some considerable interest. Some orators know this and reserve themselves; others, delighting in their profession, speak on every question. It is the same with poets, and with the same re-sult. A Keats, though always poetical, may often be poetical with so small a stimulus, that only lovers of poetry for its own sake feel themselves sufficiently interested. Why are Milton's minor poems, exquisite as they are, not cited as measures of the magnitude of his genius? Because they are not his speeches on Cabinet questions. Why is Spenser the favourite poet of poets, rather than a popular favourite like Byron? For the same reason that a Court is crowded during a trial for life or death, but attended only by barristers during the trial of an intricate civil case. The subject chosen by a poetical writer, we have already said, is a kind of allegory of the whole state of his mental being at the moment; but some writers are not moved to allegorize so easily as others, and it is a question with readers what states of being they care most to see allegorized. This, then, is to be taken into account, in comparing poet with poet. Precisely as an orator is remembered by his speeches on great questions, and as the position of a painter among painters is determined in part by the interest of his subjects. so, in a comparison of poets together, or of the same poet with himself, the earnestness of the occasion always goes for something. Shakespeare's Venus and Adonis, exquisite as a poetical study, does not bear one down with the same human interest as his plays; and there is a mighty gradation of interest in advancing from leisurely compositions of the sweet sensuous order such as Keats' Endymion and Spencer's Facry Queene, to the stern and severe splendour of a Divina on account of its general character; and, as Commedia or a Prometheus Vinctus. True, on the one hand, poets choose their own subjects, so that these themselves are to be all that is thus precious in the extra-poetical

The language of and on to unexpected regions. Yet, after to pronounce a judgment as to relative greatness, this censideration of the emotional level at which it was produced, and of its interest in connexion with the general work and sentiment of the world, is a source of much perplexity.

> Sweet bird, that shunn'st the noise of folly, Most musical, most melancholy! Thee, chantress, oft the woods among I woo, to hear thy even-song; And, missing thee, I walk unseen On the dry smooth shaven green, To behold the wandering moon Riding near her highest noon, Like one that hath been led astray Through the heaven's wide pathless way, And oft, as if her head she bow'd, Stooping through a fleecy cloud. Oft, on a plot of rising ground, I hear the far off curfew sound, Over some wide-watered shore, Swinging slow with sullen roar."

How decide between this from Milton's Penseroso, and this, in so different a key, from Shakespeare's Lear ?-

"Blow, winds, and crack your cheeks! rage! blow !

You cataracts and hurricanoes, spout Till you have drenched our steeples, drowned

You sulphurous and thought-executing fires, Vaunt-couriers of oak-cleaving thunderbolts,

Singe my white head! and thou all-shaking thunder,

Strike flat the thick rotundity o' the world."

A fourth consideration, which intrudes itself into the question of our appreciation of actual poetry, and which is not sufficiently borne in mind, is, that in almost every poem there is much present besides the pure poetry. Poetry, as such, is cogitation in the language of concrete circumstance. Some poets excel constitutionally in one kind of circumstance, some in another; some are moved to this mode of cogitation on a less, others on a greater emotional occasion; but, over and above all this, it is to be noted that no poet always and invariably cogitates in the poetical manner. Speculation, information, mental produce, and mental activity of all kinds, may be exhibited in the course of a work, which is properly called a poem, men are liable to be impressed by greatness in every form wherever they meet it, taken into the estimate; and, on the other, contents of a poem, is included in the esti-

mate of the greatness of the poet. One ex-1 thes, the Richters, the Scotts, the Defors, of ample will suffice. Shakespeare is as aston- the world are huddled together, the princiishing for the exuberance of his genius in ple figures of a great crowd, including alike abstract generalization, and for the depth of poets and prose writers. These indeed may, his analytic and philosophic insight, as for in accordance with considerations already the scope and minuteness of his poetic imagination. It is as if into a mind poetical in that either by reference to degree or by reform, there had been poured also all the ference to kind. But no considerations have matter that existed in the mind of his contemporary Bacon. In Shakespeare's plays imaginative prose writers, as such—the Boc-we have thought, history, exposition, and caccios, the Cervanteses, the Richters, the philosophy, all within the round of the poet. The only difference between him and Bacon sometimes is, that Bacon writes an essay and calls it his own, and that Shakespeare writes a similar essay, and puts it into the mouth of a Ulysses or a Polonius. It is only this fiction of a speaker and an audience, together with the circumstance of the verse, that retains many of Shakespeare's noblest passages within the pale of strict poetry.

Hitherto, it will be observed, we have made no formal distinction between the poet, specifically so called, and the general practitioners of creative literature, of whatever species. Our examples, indeed, have been taken in the main from those whom the world recognises as poets; but, as far as our remarks have gone, poetry still stands synonymous with the whole literature of imagination. All who express their meaning, and impress it upon the world, by the literary representation of scenes, incidents, physiognomies, and characters, whether suggested by the real world or wholly men who, even as poets, give their poems the greatest impetus and the greatest universal chance.

Not a word in all this, however, to exthe Boccaccios, the Chaucers, the Cervant- as verse. eses, the Spensers, the Shakespeares, the

suggested, be distributed into groups, and yet been adduced that would separate the Scotts, the Defoes, and the De Quinceys, from the imaginative verse writers, as such. Now, though this is good provisionally; though it is well to keep together for a while in the same field of view all writers of imagination, whether bards or prose writers, and though, as we have already said, there is no reason why imagination in prose should not be allowed to do all it can do, and why prose writers like Richter and De Quincey should not be erowned with poetic laurel; yet the universal instinct of men, not to say also the prejudice of association and custom, demands that the poets, as a sect or brotherhood, shall be more accurately defined. How, then, lead out the poets, in the supreme sense, from the general throng where they yet stand waiting? By what device call the poets by themselves into the foreground, and leave the prose writers behind? By a union of two devices. Go in front of the general crowd, you two: you flag-bearer, with your richly painted flag, and you, fluter, with your silver flute. Flap the flag, and imaginary, are poets. All who, doing this, let them see it; sound the flute, and let do it grandly, and manifest a rich and pow- them hear it. Lo! already the crowd wavers: erful nature, are great poets. Those who it sways to and fro; some figures seem to excel more in the language of one kind of be pressing forward from the midst, and at circumstance, are poets more especially of last one silver-headed old serjeant steps out that kind of eircumstance-poets of visual in front of all, and begins to march to the scenery, poets of incident and narration, sound of the flute. Who is it but old poets of physiognomy, or poets of character Homer? He is blind, and cannot see the and sentiment, as the case may be. Those flag, but he knows it is there, and the flute who are poetical only at a high key, and in guides him. Others and others follow the the contemplation of themes of large human patriarch, whom they never deserted yet. interest, are the poets who take the deepest some looking to the flag, and others listenhold on the memory of the human race. ing to the flute, but all marching in one di-Finally, those who, having the largest rection. Shakespeare comes with the rest, amount of poetic genius, and of the best stepping lightly, as if but half in earnest. kind, associate therewith the most extensive And thus at last, lured by the flag and by array of other intellectual qualities, are the the flute, all the poets are brought out into the foreground. The flag is *Imagery*, the flute is *Verse*. In other words, poets proper are distinguished from the general crowd of imaginative writers by a peculiar richclude imaginative prose writers. So far, ness of language, which is called imagery, the Homers, the Platos, the Sophocleses, and by the use, along with that language, of the Aristophaneses, the Virgils, the Dantes, a measured arrangement of words known

It is, as Mr. Dallas observes, a moot point Miltons, the Tassos, the Molières, the Goe- whether Imagery or Verse is to be regarded

as the more essential element of poetry. It like to the mind that it hardly is conscious has been usual, of late, to give the palm to imagery. Thus, it was a remark of Lord Jeffrey-and the remark has almost passed into a proverb-that a want of relish for such rich sensuous poetry as that of Keats would argue a want of true poetical taste. The same would probably be said of Spencer. Mr. Dallas, on the other hand, thinks verse more essential than Imagery, and in this Leigh Hunt would probably agree with The importance attached to a sensuous richness of language as part of poetry is, Mr. Dallas thinks, too great at present; and in opposition to Lord Jeffrey, or at least by way of corrective to his remark about Keats, he proposes that a power of appreciating such severe literary beauty as that of Sophocles, shall, more than anything else, be reckoned to the credit of a man's poetical taste. We think Mr. Dallas, on the whole, is in the right, and this will appear more clearly if we consider briefly what Imagery and Verse respectively are, in their relation to poetry.

Imagery in poetry is essentially thissecondary concrete adduced by the imagination in the expression of prior concrete. Thus, in the simile .-

" The superior Fiend Was moving toward the shore, his ponderous shield

Behind him cast: the broad circumference Hung on his shoulders like the moon, whose orb Through optic glass the Tuscan artist views At evening from the top of Fesole."

Here the primary circumstance in the imagination of the poet is Satan, with his shield hung round his shoulders. While imagining this, however, the poet moving at ease in the whole world of concrete things, strikes upon a totally distinct visual appearance, that of the moon seen through a telescope; and his imagination, enamored with the likeness, cannot resist imparting the new picture to the reader, as something auxiliary and additional to the first. take the metaphor .-

"Sky lowered, and, muttering thunder, some sad Wept at completing of the mortal sin

Original."

Here the process is the same as in the simile, but more unconscious and complete. The concrete circumstance first in the mind (so far at least as these lines are concerned) is the sky dropping rain; in the imagination of this circumstance, another imagined cirintrudes itself; the two circumstances, so Greek dramatists and Dante, sculpture their

that they are two, are combined by a kind of identifying flash; and the rich double concrete is presented to the reader. So essentially with that highest species of metaphor, the personification or vivification, (of which, indeed, the metaphor quoted is an example,) the speciality of which consists in this, that a piece of concrete taken from the inanimate world is wedded to a piece of concrete taken from the world of life. The two worlds lying as it were side by side in the human imagination as the two halves of all being, this kind of metaphor is the most natural and the most frequent of all; and powerful imaginations are exceedingly prone to it. A subvariety, to which some writers are much addicted, is the identification of brute with human circumstance, as witness Dickens's dogs and ponies.

Almost all so-called images may be re-

duced under one or other of the foregoing heads; and, in any case, all imagery will be found to consist in the use of concrete to help out concrete, in the impinging of the mind, so to speak, while dealing with one concrete circumstance against other and other concrete circumstances. Now, as the very essence of the poet consists in the incessant imagination of concrete circumstance, a language rich in imagery is in itself a proof of the possession of poetical faculty in a high degree. Cateris paribus, that is, where there is an equal amount of imagination and of the same quality, in the bodying forth of the main circumstance of a poem or a poetical passage-whether that is a circumstance of visible scenery, of incident, of physiognomy, or of mental state-the more of subsidiary circumstance evolved in intellectual connexion with the main one the higher the evidence of poetical power. There is an analogy, in this respect, between poetical and scientific writers. Some scientific writers, as, for example, Locke, attend so rigorously to the main thought they are pursuing as to give to their style a kind of nakedness and iron straightness; others, as, for example, Bacon, without being indifferent to the main thought, are so full of in-tellectual matter of all kinds that they enrich every sentence with a detritus of smaller propositions related to the one immediately on hand. So with poets. Some poets, as Keats, Shakespeare, and Milton in much of his poetry, so teem with accumulated concrete circumstance, or generate it so fast, as their imagination works, that every imagined circumstance as it is put forth from them takes with it an accompanicumstance, that of a being shedding tears, ment of parasitic fancies. Others, as the

thoughts roundly and massively in severe representative of sense. Quite independent outline. It seems probable that the tendency of this philosophic generalization, which it to excess of imagery is natural to the Gothie would at least require much time to work or Romantic, as distinct from the Hellenic down for the ordinary market, there are or Classical imagination; but it is not unmany facts, some of which Mr. Dallas very likely that the fact that poetry is now read acutely points out, all tending to indicate instead of being merely heard, as it once the existence of such a law as we have rewas, has something to do with it. As regards the question when imagery is excessive, when the richness of a poet's language oratorical secs-saw, the evident conscious of the principle can be laid down. The judgment pulse-beats, the power of the tick-tick of a on this point in each case must depend on the particular state of the case. A useful clankum of a bell to make the fool think distinction, under this head might nossibly loved to it are all instances of the existence. distinction, under this head, might possibly words to it, are all instances of the existence be drawn between the liberty of the poet of such a law. Nay, the beginnings of poeand the duty of the artist. Keats's Endy-tical metre itself are to be traced in speech mion, one might safely, in reference to such far on this side of what is accounted poetry. a distinction, pronounce to be too rich; for There is a visible tendency to metre in every in that poem there is no proportion between articulate expression of strong feeling; and the imagery, or accessory concrete, and the the ancient Greeks, we are told, used to main stem of the imagined circumstance amuse themselves with scanning passages from which the poem derives its name. In in the speeches of their great orators. Withthe Eve of St. Agnes, on the other hand, out trying to investigate this point further, there is no such fault.

either excited to a certain pitch, or engaged in legal tenure. The very reasons we adduce a certain kind of exercise, its transactions ad- for thinking so will show that the gestion is just themselves, in a more express manner not a mere metaphysical quibble. These intervals. Mr. Dallas, giving to the state- most decided form, in lyrical poetry, or the ment its most transcendental form, says poetry of feeling; narrative poetry having that the rationale of metre is to be deduced less, and dramatic poetry still less of it; from the fact that Time being, according to and that, wherever, in the course of a poem, Kant, but a leading form of sense, must fall there is an unusual metrical boom and under the law of imagination, the faculty vigour, the passage so characterized will be VOL. XIX.-NO. XXXVIII. N. B. 12

however, we would simply refer to a consi-Of verse, as connected with poetry, va- deration connected with it, which seems imrious theories have been given. Words-worth, whose theory is always more narrow as stated hypothetically, is, that the mind, than his practice, makes the rationale of either when excited to a certain pitch, or verse to consist in this, that it provides for when engaged in a particular kind of exerthe mind a succession of minute pleasurable cise, takes on, in its transactions, a marked surprises in addition to the mere pleasure concordance with time as measured by communicated by the meaning. Others re- beats. Now, whether is it the first or the gard the use of verse as consisting in its second mental condition that necessitates power to secure the attention of the reader this concordance? Poetry we have all along or hearer. Others regard it as a voluntary defined as a special mode of intellectual ex-homage of the mind to law as law, repaid ereise, possible under all degrees of emoby the usual rewards of disinterested obe- tional excitement-the exercise of the mind dience. Mr. Dallas sets these and other imaginatively, or in the figuring forth of contheories aside, and puts the matter on its crete circumstance. Is it, then, poetry, as right basis. Verse is an artificial source of such, that requires metre, or only poetry by pleasure; it is an incentive to attention, or virtue of the emotion with which it is in gea device for economizing attention; and it neral accompanied, that emotion either prois an act of obedience to law if you choose ceeding and stimulating the imaginative acso to regard it. All these, however, are tion, or being generated by it, as heat is merely statements respecting verse as some evolved by friction? The question is not thing already found out and existing; not an easy one. On the whole, however, we one of them is a theory of verse in its ori- incline to the belief that, though poetry and gin and nature. Such a theory, if it is to passion, like two inseparable friends that be sought for at all, must clearly consist in have taken up house together, have metre the assertion of this, as a fundamental fact for their common servant, it is on passion, of nature, that, when the mind of man is and not on poetry, that metre holds by than usual, to time as meted out in beats or are, that metre is found, in its highest and

found to be one not so much of pure con-erete richness, as of strong accompanying the Theory of poetry. For much that we passion. What, then, if song, instead of have left undiscussed, and especially for a passion. What, then, it song, instead of have ret undescissed, and especially for a being, as common language, makes it, the philosophical division of poetry according to complete and developed form of poetry, its kinds, we must refer to Mr. Dallas, should have to be philosophically defined as We feel, indeed, that we have hardly acted the complete and developed form of oratory, the proper part of a host in having already passing into poetry only in as far as pastaken so much of the talk to ourselves, sion, in its utterance, always seizes and Possibly, however, some of the passages we whirls with it shreds and atoms of imagined had marked for quotation from Mr. Dallas's circumstance? If this is the true theory, book, may have already come before our verse belongs, by historical origin, to oratorenders. In any case, we recommend his ry, and lingers with poetry only as an entailed inheritance. Prose, then, may, as we haps a stronger dash of what may be called have said, make inroads upon that region of Okenism in his style of speculation, than the literature of the concrete which has some readers may like; as, for example, in hitherto been under the dominion of verse. his systematic laying out of everything into But, on the other hand, verse, whatever it corresponding threes or triads. Thus, poemay have been in its origin, exists now, try figures throughout his treatise as a comlike many other sovereignties, by right of pound result of three laws—the law of unexpediency, constitutional guarantee, and consciousness, the law of harmony, and the the voluntary submission of those who are law of imagination; which laws are supreme its subjects. And here it is that the theo-respectively in three kinds of poetry—lyri-ries of Wordsworth and others have their cal poetry, epic poetry, and dramatic poetry; proper place. They are theories of verse, which three kinds of poetry, again corres-not in its origin, but in its character as an pond historically with Eastern, primitive, or existing institution in the literature of the divine art, Greeian, antique, or classical art, concrete. They tell us what we can now and Western, modern, or romantic art; do intellectually by means of verse, which which historical division, again, corresponds we could not do if her royalty were abolished. They point to the fact, that in literature, as in other departments of activity, present; immortality, God, freedom; the
law and order, and even the etiquette of good, the true, the beautiful. All this,
exquisite artificial ceremonial, though they stated thus abruptly and without explanamay impose intolerable burthens on the tion, may seem more hopeless sort of matdisaffected and the boorish, are but condi- ter to some than it would to us; but even tions of liberty and developement to all they will find in the book much that will higher, and finer, and more cultured natures. In short, (and this is the important fact,) vation, and lucid and deep criticism, valuametre, rhyme, and the like, are not only ble on its own account, and very different devices for the sweet and pleasurable conveyance of the poet's meaning after it is age by critics like Hazlitt. formed; they are devices assisting beforehand in the creation of that meaning; devices so spurring and delighting the imagination, while they chafe and restrain it, that its thoughts and combinations in the world of concrete eircumstance are more rich, more rare, more occult, more beautiful, and more incomprehensible, than they would otherwise be. Like the effect of the music on the fountain and the company of Bacchanals in Tennyson's strange vision, is the effect of verse on poetical thought.

" Then methought I heard a mellow sound, Gathering up from all the lower ground; Narrowing in to where they sat assembled, Low, voluptuous music winding trembled, Wov'n in circles: they that heard it sigh'd, Panted hand in hand with faces pale, Swung themselves, and in low tones replied, Till the fountain spouted, showering wide Sleet of diamond-drift and pearly hail."

Having been so long engaged in discussing the principles of poetry in connexion with a book devoted to the investigation of them, it would be hard if we had not already done a part of the work that would have devolved upon us if we had taken up Mr. Smith's poems alone for review; and if, in the few pages which remain, we should not be able to assume all necessary general principles as granted, and to address ourselves strictly to the consideration of Mr. Smith's merits and quality as a poet.

In the first place, then, we have to say of Mr. Smith, on the evidence of the present volume, that, whether poet or no poet, he is, at least, not an intellectual weakling. There is a strength, and fervour, and vehement humanity about him, which it is refreshing to find in a young writer, whether

poet or not, in these days of prim, and Not bad this from a young poet sitting nerveless, and monosyllabic literature. He alone in his room in Glasgow, on the even-does not seem to be a bigot about trifles, or to concern himself with investigations relat lington was buried. Apart altogether from ing to pins and needles and social minutiae; the fine poetical expression of the second but to have his head full of thoughts, such and third lines, we have here the evidence as he has been able to make for himself, or of a mind that can be sulky on a great to get from friends and books, respecting scale, and surround even such a big circum-what may be called the larger entities of stance as a nation all agog about a hero's the world—life, death, ambition, love, poe-deth, with the contrasted commentary of try; stars shining, seas roaring. What his its own humour. education may have been we do not need particularly to know. The days are past in which people used to make prodigies of uneducated poets; and probably the educational opportunities of Mr. Smith, as a reading and thinking Scotchman, have been at The mind that can fashion and fling out a least as good and as extensive, even in a strong saying like this, must have a personscholastic sense, as those of Keats, and half al interest in its truth. the literary men of England now alive, whom no one ever thinks of calling uneducated because they cannot read Greek, and know very little of mathematics. On the score of education, we should suppose, setting aside the totally different consideration of place and mode of livelihood, Mr. Smith is perfectly on a level with the larger portion of those who, in England, write novels, paint pictures, and edit newspapers. We assure our English friends that there are a great many strong-headed and well-inform- expect from steam, railways, and telegraphs. ed young men in the counting houses and warehouses of Glasgow; that they have a good many of the London ideas, and some of their own besides; and that the true notion to start with about Alexander Smith, is not that he is a poet asking any favour from the critics on the plea of deficient education, but that he is one of those said young men of Glasgow, who, to the admiration, we have no doubt, of a circle of appreciating companions, has stepped out conspicuously into the field of British Literature. Among these friends, we should suppose, he is known very much as we have fancied himas a man of genial aspirations, and of good round energetic thought about things in general, rather than of precision about a limited number of small points. At all events this is the impression made by his book. Take a passage or two where the thought of the author-the kind of intellectual train he is apt to follow, and the kind of moral mood he is apt to fall into-may be seen, as much as possible, apart from the specific element of his poetical genius.

" To day a chief was buried-let him rest. His country's bards are up like larks, and fill With singing the wide heavens of his fame. To-night I sit within my lonely room; The atmosphere is full of misty rain; Wretched the earth and heaven."

"Be brave and strong through all thy wrestling years:

A brave soul is a thing which all things serve."

"How frequent in the very thick of life We rub clothes with a fate that hurries past! A tiresome friend detains us in the street: We part, and, turning, meet fate in our teeth; A moment more or less had 'voided it."

Put these words, in the plainest prose, anywhere; and they will still stand as a strong bold thought, boldly, yet accurately expressed. Again, take the following, by way of sneering summary of what people

> " Paradise, according to the world, Is scarce a league ahead."

In short, out of almost every page, lines and passages might be selected, shewing, apart from any poetical faculty exhibited in the mode of expression, a strong, serious, decisive intellect, with a good store of thoughts about matters of general interest, and a power of clear sarcasm when it likes. The following passage may stand as a more extensive specimen of Mr. Smith's notions of things, as apart from his poetry. The subject is poetry itself, its functions and prospects—a favourite topic with this poet. The passage, in short, is Mr. Smith's delineation, by the mouth of one of his dramatic personages, of that long-expected, and much-described phenomenon, the poet of the future.

"My friend! a poet must ere long arise. And with a regal song sun-crown this age, As a saint's head is with a halo crowned ;-One, who shall hallow poetry to God And to its own high use-for poetry is The grandest chariot wherein king-thoughts One, who shall fervent grasp the sword of

As a stern swordsman grasps his keenest

To find the quickest passage to the heart :-A mighty poet whom this age shall choose To be its spokesman to all coming times. In the ripe full-blown season of his soul, He shall go forward in his spirit's strength, And grapple with the questions of all time, And wring from them their meanings. As

King Saul Called up the buried prophet from his grave To speak his doom, so shall this poet-king Call up the dead Past from its awful grave To tell him of our future. As the air Doth sphere the world, so shall his heart of

Loving mankind, not peoples. As the lake Reflects the flower, tree, rock, and bending

heaven.

Shall he reflect our great humanity. And as the young spring breathes with living

On a dead branch, till it sprouts fragrantly Green leaves and sunny flowers, shall he

breathe life Through every theme he touch, making all Beauty

And Poetry for ever, like the stars."

Now in this passage, viewed as the exposition of a thought, such as Mr. Smith would himself own, we have both an indication of his sentimental fervour, and a measure of his intellectual crudeness. The fervour of the passage no one can deny; and a mind that can feel about poetry in such a strain of enthusiasm, is one rich in promise. But, intellectually, the passage is a crudity, a piece of immature thought, and that too of a rather inferior quality, when very closely investi-The poet of the future never will be, never can be, such a being as is here described-setting the age to music, wringing from all questions their meanings, and what not. Nature and the relations of things forbid it. Homer was not such a being; Shakespeare was not such a being; and even if you roll together into one man any possible philosopher of the future, and any possible political conqueror, with the best possible poet to boot, you will not arrive at the required individual. True, there are lineaments of the poet in the description; but as a whole, it is like the pictures of the lion one sees hung outside show-wagons to attract the crowd in-plenty of colour and fierceness, and awfully suggestive of lions, but yet not at all like the real animal. Seen after the picture, indeed, the real animal might at first disappoint; he is a calmer, smaller, less rampant and more defined kind of creature, and one has to see him roused to know all that is in him. In short, the above passage is "painting with the big a great city,brush;" and Mr. Smith will learn, as his "Twas late, for, as he reached the open roads, thoughts work themselves out into precision and proportion, to paint less in that com-

mon manner. When Shakespeare speaks of the poet, or when Tennyson speaks of him, their vision of what the poet really is, either historically or in himself, is, with all their fondness for the theme, far clearer and

far more genuine.

We have quoted the foregoing passage out of a spirit of fairness, because we believe it to be intellectually the very crudest and poorest passage in Mr. Smith's book. And if so, it is clear that, as we said at the outset, he is intellectually no weakling. Read the passage again, and you will find that, though in the main the enthusiastic utterance of a juvenile commonplace, it is not all commonplace. And if such a passage, perhaps earelessly admitted by the author, is an author's worst, what might not that author's best be? Let the very continuation of the passage itself answer.

"His words set me on fire: I cried aloud, 'Gods! what a portion to forerun this soul!' He grasped my hand-I looked upon his

A thought struck all the blood into his cheeks, Like a strong buffet. His great flashing eyes Burned on mine own. He said—'A grim old

Whose blood leapt madly when the trumpets

brayed

To joyous battle 'mid a storm of steeds, Won a rich kingdom on a battle-day; But in the sunset he was ebbing fast

Ringed by his weeping lords. His left hand

His white steed, to the belly splashed with blood,

That seemed to mourn him with its drooping

His right, his broken brand; and in his ear His old victorious banners flap the winds. He called his faithful herald to his side—
'Go, tell the dead I come!' With a proud

The warrior with a stab let out his soul, Which fled and shricked through all the

other world, 'Ye dead, my master comes!' And there was pause

Till the great shade should enter. Like that herald. Walter, I'd rush across the waiting world

And cry, ' He comes.' " This is noble writing, and it answers, by anticipation, our next question with respect

to Mr. Smith. Poet, or no poet, we have seen he is no weakling; the next question is -strong or weak, is he a poet? The passage just quoted, we say, is a sufficient answer; but here is another. It describes an act of suicide at night on a hill-top near

Where night was reddened by the drudging fires,

The drowsy steeples tolled the hour of One. The city now was left long miles behind: A large black hill was looming 'gainst the

He reached its summit. Far above his head God's name was writ in worlds. Awhile he

Silent and throbbing like a midnight star. He raised his hands. Alas! 'twas not in

He long had ceased to pray. 'Father,' he said, 'I wished to loose some music o'er Thy world, To strike from its firm seat some hoary wrong, And then to die in autumn with the flowers And leaves and sunshine I have loved so well. Thou migh'st have smoothed my way to some great end .-

But wherefore speak? Thou art the mighty God.

This gleaming wilderness of suns and worlds Is an eternal and triumphant hymn

Chanted by Thee unto Thine own great self! Wrapt in Thy skies, what were my prayers to Thee?

My pangs-my tears of blood? They could not move

Thee from the depths of Thine immortal dream.

Thou hast forgotten me, God. Ilere, therefore, here.

To-night upon this bleak and cold hill-side Like a forsaken watchfire will I die; And as my pale corse fronts the glittering

night, It shall reproach Thee before all Thy worlds."

His death did not disturb that ancient Night.

Scornfullest Night! Over the dead there Great gulfs of silence, blue and strewn with

stars-

No sound, no motion in the eternal depths."

This is daring, almost to the limit of the lawful; but the words are not more solemn than the mode in which the author has written them. And, in any case, such a passage is decisive at least of the fact, that the author is a poet, and a poet of no common order. This will be the popular verdict, as it must be the verdict of even the most severe and fastidious critics, if they really know what poetry is. For Mr. Smith is not one of those poets who demand the "audience fit though few,"-a demand proper enough in many cases, but often the sign of a conscious defect. His claims, however, to be regarded as a true poet, need not rest on the strong impression that must be universally made by such detached passages as those which we have quoted. If we take, for example, the theory of poetical genius which we have been expounding, and which, we believe, is identical, in the main, with all that is vaguely felt on the subject by some, and more explicitly stated by others, there is scarcely a volume from of oblivion for all things, is to us one of

which a greater number of passages could be selected, illustrative of that theory. The poet, we have said, is "of imagination all compact;" his peculiarity is that he cogitates in a language of concrete circumstance -that, whatever meaning lies in his mind, that meaning takes the form not of abstract proposition, but of some imagined scene, object, or incident, or some imagined tissue of scenes, objects and incidents. to Mr. Smith, and every page will furnish an example in point. Thus, he thinks of the effects of daily intercourse with the common world upon a good and lofty mind, and the thought phrases itself thus:-

"Although the ocean's inmost heart be pure, Yet the salt fringe that daily licks the shore Is gross with sand."

Again, speaking of a friendship accidentally formed with a young poet,-

"An opulent soul Dropt in my path like a great cup of gold, All rich and rough, with stories of the gods."

In speaking of two lovers made for each other, the phrase is that they were

" Matched like cymbals fine."

Even one sight becomes another sight in the language of the poet.

"That night the sky was heaped like clouds; Through one blue gulf profound, Begirt with many a cloudy crag, The moon came rushing like a stag, And one star like a hound."

Young ambition unnerved by despondence, is thus allegorized in circumstance,-

" My drooping sails Flap idly 'gainst the mast of my intent; l rot upon the waters, when my prow Should grate the golden isles."

The coming on of evening has been often described: but Mr. Smith can describe it again,-

"Repentant day Frees with his dying hand the pallid stars He held imprisoned since his young hot dawn."

"Three days and two nights had elapsed, when"-how does a poet translate such common words as these ?-

"Three blue days passed, Full of the sun, loud with a thousand larks; An evening like a grey child walked 'tween each."

The following, expressing the certainty

book :-

"That largest Son of Time Who wandered singing through the listening Will be as much forget as the cance

That crossed the bosom of a lonely lake

A thousand years ago."

the true poetical faculty-the faculty of English squire, and a view of his estate:thinking in the language of concrete circumstance. It may be said that such passages consist at best but of fine images, metaphors, similes, and the like, and that they ought to be referred to only as illustrating Mr. Smith's fertility in imagery, the occasional richness of his style. We have already replied to any such remark. An image is rightly so named; it is, as it were, the poet's molecule of thought-the imagination caught and arrested in one instant of its activity. Mr. Smith seems to be perfectly conseious In describing two young friends, of this. both poets, whose habit it was to walk out together, and enjoy each other's converse, and watch the evening landscapes and the aspects of their native city at night, he makes the narrator say,-

"But our chief joy Was to draw images from everything; And images lay thick upon our talk, As shells on ocean-sands."

The lady to whom the poet imparts this in confidence is evidently struck by it; for she challenges him on the spot to a display of the skill he hints himself to have thus acquired.

"Violet. From everything? Here is the sunset; yonder grows the moon; What image would you draw from these? Why this !-Walter. The sun is dying, like a cloven king In his own blood, the while the distant moon, Like a pale prophetess, whom he has wronged, Leans eager forward, with most hungry eves Watching him bleed to death; and as he faints She brightens and dilates. Revenge complete, She walks in lonely triumph through the night."

the technic of poetry; and we have an idea commencement in hope and inexperience, on that the whole passage is autobiographic, through its period of storm and despair, to and that one of the two friends described is its consummation in peace and moral clear-Mr. Smith himself. If this be true, it might ness. Now, as we have already said, a true account for Mr. Smith's excessive fondness allegory of the state of one's own mind in a for images, and for his lavish facility in representative history, whether parrative or them, as well as for a certain sameness in dramatic in form, is perhaps the highest have soon to advert. It cannot be said, fictitious art.

the finest, though simplest, passages in the however, that it is only in such casual images as we have quoted that Mr. Smith shows his poetic faculty. The two longer passages which we have already quoted, will stand as sufficient examples of his imaginative power on a larger scale than that of mere subsidiary or way side image-the one as an example of his power of imagining historical incident, the other of his power These are but a few out of a hundred in-of imagining scenery, incident, and state of stances that might be quoted, all shewing, feeling combined. We will add another in a most express manner, the possession of example. Here is Mr. Wilmott, a rich

> "Old Mr. Wilmott, nothing in himself But rich as ocean. He has in his hand Sea-marge and moor, and miles of stream and grove, Dull flats, scream-startled, as the exulting

train

Streams like a meteor, through the frighted

Wind-billowed plains of wheat, and marshy Unto whose reeds, on midnights blue and cold,

Long strings of geese come clanging from the stars."

Throughout the poem, which forms the main portion of the contents of the present volume, there will be found many such separate bits of description and picture, shewing that Mr. Smith's imagination is at home in almost all the more important kinds of circumstance known to the poets,-circumstance of colour, of form, of extended space, of incident, of physiognomy, and of human feeling. Indeed, the great fault of the poem is that it is composed of separate pieces, and does not seem to be in itself, as a whole, a complete and coherent act of the imagina-The title, A Life Drama, besides being unfortunate, as suggestive of a certain hackneyed pseudo-transcendentalism in language, like the words "seeker" and "mission," as used by our American friends, is hardly justified by the actual matter of the poem. There is, indeed, an attempt, as in the Faust of Goethe and other poems, to make the poem a kind of sublimated biography, a phantasmagoric representation of a single life through a succession of phases. The composition professes to be an ideal history, in thirteen scenes or chapters, of the This is a glimpse, afforded by a poet, into life of a young poet, named Walter, from its the material of his images, to which we shall thing that one can attempt in the way of As such a history, Mr.

Smith's Life Drama, though, in many re- as a fact, that Glasgow and its neighbourspeets, crude and common in invention, as, bood may be discerned as, more than any indeed, such a work by so young a writer other part of the island, the actual region could not but be, has certain real merits, referred to and painted from in his visual But it is not compact and clearly imagined phantasmagories. Throughout the whole as a whole; and even a serious and attentive poem, we are again and again reminded of reader can find nothing very masterly or some skilful in the poem, considered as a connected story, and not as a collection of poetical scenes and passages. We do not at all objeet to a certain haze, and indefiniteness as the home of the poet, forth from which he thrown over the history, this being necessary whose heart at night he looks up to the to give to the poem that phantasmagorie character which ought to distinguish the subli
Glasgow. And, then, in such descriptions mated or generalized histories of the poet as the following, who that has ever sailed on a from the ordinary prose narrative. But we steamer from Glasgow to Bute or Arran, or think, that if, in any future poem, Mr. walked about Dunoon and the Holy Loch Smith were to make it his aim more the in rainy weather, but will recognise scenery roughly and coherently to imagine first of all but peculiar to Clydeside in that kind of all the entire stem of incident and circum- weather? stance meant to constitute the poem from beginning to end, and then to attend to the parts and filling up, he would leave to many of his critics much less to be said against him.

One remark we think it important to make, in this connexion, respecting Mr. Smith as a poet. Scotland is, of course, pleased at being able to reckon so promising a new poet as hers by right of birth—

liands, and dull sobbing rains—where, in ga new poet as hers by right of birth—

strain, is circumstance of this kind so the more so as it is some time since her last native as in the region west of Glasgow? sents or depicts. Wallace, Bruce, the this ease into Mr. Smith's versc. tle, the Covenanters, the struggle of Presbyterianism—of all this, so long and so intentional; and if Glasgow and its neighnaturally the favourite kind of circumstance bourhood are in the poem, Mr. Smith does with poetical writers born north of the not tell you so. Loudon, a green lane in Tweed, seeing that it is the kind of circum- Kent, an English forest, an English manorstance possessed as peculiar by that part of house-these are the scenes where the real Britain, Mr. Smith has very little. Nor is business of the drama is transacted; and if there any trace in him of that feeling of reference is made to what seems Scottish intense nationality so common in Scottish scenery and locality in the course of the writers. Even his allusions to localities story, it is incidentally, and as an Englishare not, in the main, Scottish. There is an man might recollect what he saw during a allusion to Loch Lubnaig in one of the Highland tour. Indeed, the most express lyrical pieces in the Life Drama, and once allusion to Scottish locality and Scottish or twice he seems to voluntarily carry social incident occurring in the course of the his readers and the personages of his drama volume, comes from the mouth of a boisteraway into the lake-country and the rainy ous young Englishman, singing a drunken We venture also to assert it, song :--

"Thousand-streeted and smoke-smothered town"-

to time and locality, which Mr. Smith has walks to enjoy the breezy hills, and from

"I see a wretched isle that ghost-like stands, Wrapt in its mist-shroud in the wintry main; And now a cheerless gleam of red-ploughed

lands. O'er which a crow flies heavy in the rain."

the more so as it is some time since her last last native as in the region west of Glasgow? celebrated poet, Campbell, died: and as, And this is a kind of circumstance in the notwithstanding some high names on her representation of which Mr. Smith's inagilist, she has not, during the last two centuralist, she has not, during the last two centuralist, she has not prolific as England in considered by the same time, to be distinctly beautiful region of Sectland, from the pure recognised that, whatever he is by birth, blue heaven above, the expanse of sea Mr. Smith is not a Sectish poet, if we around, the looming hills opposite, down to understand by that, a poet of a certain supposed national type. It is not Sectish which form the garden-hedges, and the secencry. Scottish history, Sectish character, pebbles and tangle, among which the sea scenery, Scottish history, Scottish character, pebbles and tangle, among which the sea and Scottish social humours that he repre-

But after all, this is necessary, rather than

"I've drunk mong slain deer in a lone mountain shieling,

I've drunk till delirious, While rain beat imperious, And rang roof and rafter with bagpipes and reeling.

I've drunk in Red Rannoch, amid its grey boulders.

Where, fain to be kist, Through his thin scarf of mist, Ben More to the sun heaves his wet shining shoulders."

The poet himself, as some passages already quoted may have suggested, seems rather to have a tendency the other way, viz., to recollections of English scenery and incident, wherever locality is specified at all. Thus :-

"Our studious Edward, from his Lincoln fens, And home quaint-gabled hid in rooky trees '

And, again, almost forswearing the Thistle for the Rose, and that, too, in a poem where he speaks in his own name :-

" Most brilliant star upon the crest of Time Is England. England! Oh, I know a tale Of those far summers when she lay in the

Listening to her own larks, with growing limbs.

And mighty hands, which since have tamed the world, Dreaming about their tasks."

tish incidents, Scottish humours. As Scot- so Mr. Smith has certain poetical "topics, being transacted, exclusively in that dialect. of the more important of Mr. Smith's poet-

Scottish history, indeed, must still be investigated, Scottish society studied, Scottish thought in religion and in philosophy expounded and vindicated; and that, too, by Scotchmen as being best qualified for the work. There will still also be a Scottish literary vein, and a literature genial and pleasant to Scotchmen, as a separate section of the British people. But in Scottish literary activity, in the larger sense of the word, the Scotticism henceforward must be subjective. It must be Scotticism, if Scotticism at all, working not in the smaller element of Scottish, but in the larger element of British circumstance. We deem it, therefore, an extremely significant fact, that Mr. Smith should, consciously or unconsciously, have sworn nominal allegiance to the Rose rather than to the Thistle. This is more than a happy circumstance for his own fame. It is significant of that gradual identification of Scotland with England intellectually, which has been so long in following the political and commercial union of the two countries. And it is a curious fact, equally significant of the same thing from the other side, that while Mr. Smith and other Scotchmen are doing homage to the Rose in literature, Englishmen of late have been most assiduous in doing homage to the Thistle. among other proofs, Mr. Kingsley's writings, Mr. Clough's Hexameter poem, and Miss Mulock's novels.

We have mentioned, as one of Mr. Smith's This is a declaration in so many words that peculiarities, a certain sameness of imagery, it is in English history, and not specially in or at least a certain recurrence again and Scottish history, that the imagination of our again to the same sources of imagery. This new poet is interested. So we interpret, at is the great point of offence between Mr. least; and certainly there is not one allu- Smith and the critics. It has been most emsion to Bruce or Wallace throughout the phatically insisted on, though, we think, in Indeed, for all that the present a very unfair manner, by a critic in the volume indicates, Mr. Alexander Smith Examiner newspaper. Mr. Smith, it is said, might be an Englishman residing in Glas- is always in the company of the sea, and the stars, and a certain number of other se-Now, all this is as it should be. Scotti- lect entities; and can never be brought cism, if it is to exist and play a part as an away from them. In every page we have element in general British literature, must the stars and the sea, with the occasional do so in the form of a subjective variety, variation of the sea and the stars. There is, access, or concentration of feeling and intel- | we believe, no reader of Mr. Smith's volume lectual method, and not in the form any but must have been struck with the peculi-longer of incessant allusion to objective arity thus magnified and ridiculed by the Scottish circumstance. It is not probable adverse critics. As the ancient orators had that Scotland will have any more poets of certain established rhetorical "topics," as mark after the national type of Burns and they were called, that is, certain established Scott. The literature of Scotchmen must modes of turning a subject over in their consist no longer in exclusive, or even habit- minds, from which, at a moment's notice, ual representation of Scottish scenes, Scot- they could draw arguments on any subject, land abandons her own dialect for literary furnishing him, at any time, with poetical purposes, she must abandon the matter of illustrations and images. We have been at concrete action transacted of yore, and still the trouble to make out for ourselves a list ical "topics." They are these—the Night, they had a more proportioned eye for the either alone, or with the stars when wanted, objects and presences of nature, speaking or the moon when wanted; the Sea, either less of the wings of insects and the interior very frequently; and under the "topic" list at least five passages. Here they are :- for the society of Cleopatra.

"Anthony once, when seated with his queen," &c.-P. 5.

"O, Marc Anthony, With a fine scorn did toss your world away For Cleopatra's lips."—P. 40,

"Why, there was one who might have topped all men,

Who bartered joyously for a single smile This empired planet with its load of crowns, And thought himself enriched."—P. 72. "Gods! I could out-Anthony

Anthony! This moment I could scatter Kingdoms like halfpence."-P. 165. "Leander toiling through the moonlight brine, Kingdomless Anthony, were scarce my peers." -P. 235.

There are one or two minor "topics" which we could mention; but the above are

mock of anything, and particularly easy to came first before the public created a wrong mock in a case like this. But Mr. Smith impression in this respect. Better founded cannot give up the stars and the sea-no than any such charge against his moral tone, poet can—without ceasing to be a poet. might be an attack on his taste and style, The starry night, the sea, love, friendship, and on his versification. That Mr. Smith and the like, are the largest entities in the can write clearly, simply, powerfully, and real world and in real experience; they bear beautifully, and that he has an ear for what the largest proportion in bulk to the whole is noble and musical in verse, the passages real universe; why should they bear a we have quoted are sufficient to prove. But smaller proportion in the universe of the poet? Whoever does not think, ay, and ished, and unmelodious, may be seen also speak, more of the stars than of roses, that from the same passages. Other passages, man's soul lives in a conservatory; whotoo, we might quote, showing that he is not
ever does not think and speak more of the
sea than of his inkstand, that man's soul is
in a counting-house. Part of the greatness
style. Other critics, however, have done
of the old Greek poets, as compared with
this for us; and the task is not a gracious some modern poets, consisted in this, that one.

in unbroken expanse, or with a shore, gen- of blue bells, and more of the sky, the hills, at sea, in all conditions; dull, drizzling Rain, Smith mind the critics very much in this soaking the earth; Love, generally in the matter. If they plague him much more on form of amorousness; Friendship; Poesy; the point of his "topics," we advise him to and Marc Anthony. Of these topics, it will retailate by a satire. If what the critics be seen, four are physical; three are from have said, however, shall have the effect of the moral or intellectual world; and one is inducing him to extend the list of his historical. It is unnecessary to accumulate "topics," so as to diminish somewhat the Mr. Smith makes of these "topics." The and good. For our part, though we think images from the stars and the sea might be the world has had more splendid men in it counted by scores, and have been collected than Marc Anthony, we withdraw our veto in dozens by other critics; the Rain falls on the use of the Roman's name, whenever it may be poetically convenient to mention of Marc Anthony, which we do not think him. Only we suspect Mr. Smith's liking the critics have noticed, we find in our own for Anthony proceeds from a latent longing

Proceeding in the order of our theoretical exposition we should now have to say something on these three points relating to Mr. Smith as a poet-his prevalent moral mood or emotional key; his style as a writer; and his versification. The passages we have quoted, however, will already have conveyed a distinct impression on each and all of these points. Mr. Smith, it will have been observed, is no calm unperturbed poet, with imagination lax, cold, and leisurely, weaving together sensuous phantasies for the mere pleasure of the exercise. Nor is he a contemplative poet, like Wordsworth. He is a poet highly impassioned, touched with fire and feeling, and allegorizing a state of mind natural to strong and manly, and yet unsatisfied youth. A discontent, a sorrow not the chief.

Now, although we have adverted to this peculiarity of Mr. Smith, we have done so not as sympathizing with those who have Mr. Smith's peetry morally unhealthy. It made a mock of it. It is easy to make a was unfortunate that some lines of his which was unfortunate that some lines of his which

On the whole, then, we think Mr. Smith principles adopted by the ministry as those at least as old as Jeffrey. know whose fault it is, but the present volume is very badly punctuated.

Art. II .- 1. The Colonial Policy of Lord frank acknowledgments of error. John Russell's Administration. By EARL GREY. London, 1853.

2. An Essay on the Government of Dependencies. By GEORGE CORNWALL LEWIS, Esq. London, 1841.

3. Charters of the Old English Colonies. By Samuel Lucas. London, 1850.

are, on many accounts, a production of deep forced on their attention, and the principles interest and of peculiar value. They con-which they applied to their solution; the tain a clear, condensed, dispassionate review irritating and menacing discussions which of the system pursued in the government of were almost daily arising with one or other our Colonial Empire in the five years be-lof our colonies, and the mingled firnness twent 1812, and 1859, as attains to the day a condition, by which these had to be tween 1847 and 1852-a statement of the and conciliation by which these had to be

a true poet, and a poet of no common order. which should guide the conduct of the mo-We place him on the slope of Parnassus ther country in the management of her within sight of Keats and Tennyson, as our dependencies, and of the mode in which two latest and best of preceding poets. We those principles were carried out. The work say "within sight " at present, because he is narrative rather than controversial; it is has written but little, and we do not wish to written, for the most part, in the calm and be too sure in anticipating the future. He dignified tone of a State Paper, and will do has some of the characteristics of each of much, we think, to raise and to clear the these poets; but he is not like either. He reputation both of Lord Grey himself, and is, we believe, thoroughly original in the of the cabinet of which he was a member. style of his genius, and his originality may It is a matter of no slight importance, on a yet carry him far. He will have plenty of subject like that of our colonial policy, which advice; which will do him all the more good is so little understood and so much misrethat he will not take it. To "prune," and presented, to have an authentic and com-to "study the best models," are advices prehensive statement, from the highest and Interpreted by most reliable source, of the condition and each one for himself, they are very good ad- prospects of our various dependencies. It For ourselves, our advices to is a great thing to find collected into the Mr. Smith, in addition to the mere general space of two readable volumes a mass of advice to take his own way, and to get on varied knowledge, brought down to a very as fast as he can in it, would be-that in recent date, on points of the greatest interany future poem he may write, he should est, as to which the newspapers give us only preconceive and preconstruct the plan or fragmentary, imperfeet, and distorted inforscheme as a whole, more thoroughly than mation, and with reference to which the he has done in the present; that he should most deplorable ignorance and the most extend his range of circumstance as widely mischievous misconceptions prevail among as possible, cultivating skill in physiogno- the general public. It is interesting, too, to my, in incident, and in character, as well as see a minister of the Crown-one especially in scenery, and power over the real as well who, of late years, has been the object of as power in the ideal; and, lastly, that he peculiar unpopularity-come forward and should give his days and nights to the at appeal to the country, not with an exculpatainment of perfection in literary form. In tory pamphlet, but with a grave history, this last respect Tennyson will be his best anxious to furnish his fellow-countrymen model. With what fastidiousness does this with full means of forming a judgment on great poet mould his language and polish his political career, and satisfied that his best his verse! Let Mr. Smith imitate so good and surest vindication will be found in a example. Even such an art as that of pune-succinct and impartial narrative of all that tuation is not to be despised. We do not he has done, and the reasons why he did it; -and those who have gathered from the journals the prevalent impression as to Lord Grey's infirm temper, obstinate spirit, and imperious will, will be not a little surprised to find in these volumes much generous forbearance towards opponents, an entire absence of fretful egotism, and not a few

Lord Grey takes each colony in succession; he shews the state in which he and his colleagues found it, and the state in which they left it; the disputes and embarrassments which they inherited from their predecessors; the mode in which they dealt with these, and the extent to which they were able to mitigate or to dispose of them; THE volumes which stand first on our list the various knotty questions which were

pers. He shows how a party among the unit of a great empire. planters, exasperated by their commercial Altogether, we think the publication of losses, hampered the action of the Colonial these volumes ought to do, and will do, juxtaposition with barbarous tribes over pertinacious prejudices, even where strict

met and allayed. He explains how they whom it holds no legal or acknowledged found one war raging at the Cape, and how sway, and how well worth while it may be, they terminated it only to bequeath another in the interests of the human race, for this and still more formidable one to their suc- country to maintain distant dependencies cessors; and he traces out the causes- which yet are an annual charge upon its whether mistakes at home, mismanagement treasury, and cannot, perhaps, ever be and faction in the colony, or unavoidable expected to be to it a source of direct emolmisfortune—to which these calamities are, urnent or power. Finally, the chapter in his judgment, to be attributed. He ex-which is devoted to Canada is peculiarly plains the acrimonious disputes which em- interesting, as depicting the gradual growth bittered the feelings, and hazarded the pros- of a colony in independence and self-governperity of British Guiana, with details which ment, and its arrival at that complete and will astonish not a little those who had final stage which all our offsets must look to gathered their impression of that quarrel as their ultimate development, when all from the partial statements of colonial let- annoying interference is withdrawn, and it ters, or the distribes of opposition newspa- forms, in fact, one federated but integral

Altogether, we think the publication of Government, and at length stopped the sup- much towards allaying the irritation, partly plies, cut off the revenue, and endangered reasonable, partly unfounded, and generally the safety of the colony, with a view not of exaggerated, which has at different times enforcing the remedy of grievances within been felt by most of the colonies at the their reach, but of compelling the mother conduct of the mother country :- Partly country to rescind that free trade policy reasonable, we say; for it cannot be denied which she had adopted after the fullest contact that the progressive but not perfectly consideration, and with a view to the interests sistent advance of Great Britain in the direcof the whole empire; and he narrates the tion of commercial freedom has in the first manner in which these unhappy differences instance, and during its inauguration, inhave been appeased by the firmness of the flicted considerable losses and caused much Governor, and the returning good sense and confusion, both in the West Indies and in good feeling of the colonists. He draws a Canada. Neither can it be denied that the plain, but sad picture of the same disputes spectacle which has been so often seen in still agitating Jamaica, retarding its im- Parliament-of the pettiest party concerns provement, and imperilling its very exist at home over-riding and taking precedence ence as a civilized abode, and shews what a of the most momentous colonial questions; fearful curse an injudicious and clumsy con- of minute British topics, often mere personal stitution may be to an unfitted people. In squabbles, exciting the warmest interest, treating of Australia, the vexed questions of and drawing the fullest houses, while mat-Transportation and the disposal of waste ters intimately affecting the vast empire of lands, are discussed with great temper and our dependencies were discussed by few sagacity; while, in New Zealand, we have a Members, and to thin and inattentive augraphic account of what may be done by a diences-was calculated to arouse the just governor of first-rate administrative ability, indignation of the colonists. But, in the deserving and enjoying the unbounded confidence of his chiefs at home, towards remedying the errors of his predecessors; concilibis whole time and thought, with the most liating and subduing an irritated and pow- conscientious industry, to the comprehension erful nation of aborigines; reducing to of their wishes and the furtherance of their something like order a most formidable welfare; listening with respectful and pacomplication of confusions, and laying, broad tient attention to all their representations; and deep, the foundations for permanent and explaining fully the grounds of his difference rapidly advancing prosperity, guaranteed of opinion, where he is compelled to differ; by such really free but cautiously framed referring back to them for reconsideration institutions as Englishmen require, and the such questions as they seem to have decided heterogeneous elements of an anomalous and hastily or passionately; forbearing towards infant State can bear. In the case of West- their irritation, in consideration of their dis-. ern Africa, we are shewn what a wide influ-tance and dependence, and their natural ence for good may be exercised by a civil- inability to look at subjects from an impeized race, cognizant of its high vocation and rial point of view, and not unfrequently true to its solemn responsibility, by mere yielding to their strongly expressed and

right and justice might have warranted, and have counselled, a firmer resistance.

Another point is brought strongly home occasional upstanting of tartness, to say throughout the Empire." the least, may be traced in his dispatches. the establishment and development in all our colonies of those representative instituof life to Englishmen, and gradually to ly have been evaded. reduce the interference of the Mother Coundonment of that system try in the internal affairs of her dependencies to the lowest minimum compatible with the protection and welfare of all their inhabitants; and, thirdly, as a corollary from the above, to require the colonies to take upon themselves, year by year, a larger proportion of their own expenses, and to of the expenses incurred for their advantage. extend the duties of self-support, pari passu, with the rights of self-government.*

* Two other points Lord Grey seems to have steadily kept in view in all his correspondence with the Colonial authorities,—the establishment, when denote of Europeans of the upper and middle ranks, every possible, of musicipal action, and the enforcement of a system of direct taxation to be borne by Russell.

"I believe (says Lord Grey) that the colonial where, perhaps, more selfish wisdom might trade ought to form no exception to the general rule, but should be placed on the same footing as other branches of our commerce. I considered it to be no less for the real and permato our minds by Lord Grey's narration-the nent interest of the Colonies themselves, than extreme injustice, namely, of some of the for that of the Mother Country, that industry charges which have been most recklessly should cease to be diverted from its natural urged against him and the Government in channels, and a useless burden to be imposed urged against nin and the Government in channels, and a useless burden to be imposed whose name he acted, both by colonists and Englishmen. It has been constantly and confidently asserted, that he was too often governed in the course he pursued towards this or that dependency by caprice, by passion, by wavering fancies, by personal crotchets, by the waywardness of a temper rectly, from our having thought it our duty to that could bear no consisten and would maintain the holier of free-trade and to extend recordings, by the way wardness of a temper teach, and to extend that could bear no opposition and would listen to no representations. Some sarcastic antagonist, if we remember rightly, called this these difficulties must be expected from the content of the con him "the Secretary at War with the colo-iernment was formed; but the greatest service nies,"—et le mot fit fortune. Something of that I believed we were called on as a governthis there may have been, and we believe ment to render to the country, was that of comwas, in his manner when brought face to pleting the work which had been happily begun, face with deputations of remonstrators, and of removing restrictions from industry, and se-

"If the reasons which I have just stated, for But if any one thing is made clear by the maintaining the connexion between this country volumes before us it is this,—that he and the British Colonies, are admitted to be the cabinet, whose organ he was, had well- sound, it will follow as a necessary inference, defined and consistent views of colonial that two very plain rules as to the terms on defined and consistent views of colonial which that conversion should be continued may believe that they followed a systematic and deliberate through rot, always transfer of definitions that this country has no interest distinctly. Househ rot, always transfer of the start follow that this country has no interest of the start of distinctly, though not always travelling whatever in exercising any greater influence in towards it as fast as their opponents might the internal affairs of the Colonies than is indisdesire, nor by the precise road which these pensable either for the purpose of preventing would have prescribed. The principles by which they were guided, and which Lord described the proper at large; or the proper at larg Grey expounds in his introductory chapter else for the promotion of the internal good govwere three in number,—first, to establish in all our dependencies that system of free, civilized to do so with advantage, and by prounfettered, and unfavoured commerce which, at the time when they took office, had been those of which the population is too ignorant deliberately and finally adopted as the policy and, unenlightened to manage its own affairs. of the British Empire ; secondly, to promote While it was our policy to maintain a monopoly of the trade of the Colonies, it was necessary for the home Government to exercise a considerable control over their internal administration, tions which are the birthright and the breath because otherwise this monopoly would certaindonment of that system has removed the necessity for that interference. Secondly, I think it will follow that when this country no longer attempts either to levy a commercial tribute from the Colonies by a system of restriction, nor to interfere needlessly in their internal uffairs, it has a right to expect that they should take upon themselves a larger proportion than heretofore

> all classes, in those Colonies where the necessaries of life were abundantly within the reach of every one, and where it was of the highest importance, in

> . . . Our military expenditure on account

ought, I think, to be largely reduced; and the ment any patronage which can be of value to Colonies, now that they are relieved from all it as a means of influence in domestic politics. that is onerous to them in their connexion with the mother Country, should be required to con-tribute much more than they have hitherto

done to their own protection.
"In subsequent letters I shall endeavour to shew, with reference to the transactions of the several Colonies, that these rules were strictly adhered to while I held the office of Secretary of State."-(Chap i. pp. 4. 17, 43.)

Upon another matter, much misrepresentation has prevailed, which the simple and manly statement of Lord Grey will do much to clear away,-we mean the use made of the patronage supposed to be at the command of the Colonial Department. The public has been taught to believe that this patronage has been scandalously jobbed, that Colonial appointments have been expressly reserved and unscrupulously applied to the purchase of corrupt parliamentary support, to rewarding damaged and disreputable party connexions, and to providing snug berths for the personal friends or connexions of the minister and his adherents. No doubt this impression is only too correct, if applied to the state of things which prevailed once, and which was not wholly altered even a few years ago. We believe it to be utterly inapplicable to the present. We can bear testimony, according to the best information we have been able to collect, that for the last six or eight years at least, the number and value of the appointments practically in the gift of the Crown have greatly diminished, and that these appointments have, in almost all cases, been filled up with a sincere and single-minded desire to select the ablest and most suitable candidates for the post. Mistakes may have occurred, injudicious appointments may have been made, but they have been made neither from carelessness nor ill intention; and in the case of Lord Torrington-probably the only very unfortunate choice that took place under Lord Grey's administration-the vacant governorship was previously offered to three, if not four, individuals -none of whom could be induced to accept Able men and suitable men, willing to expatriate themselves, and of opinion that a life of hot-water in the tropics is amply remunerated by £6000 a year, are not as numerous or as easily to be found as is generally conceived.

"It is commonly believed that one of the principal objects for which the colonies are regreater delusion. It is now many years since tions, and having only a very low and slovenly

of the Colonies is certainly very heavy, and | the colonies have afforded to the Home Govern-Since Parliament has ceased to provide, except in a few special eases, for any part of the expense of the civil Government of the colonies, the colonists have naturally expected that offices paid for by themselves should be filled up by the selection of persons from their own body, when this can be done without inconvenience. Accordingly, offices in the colonies have, for a considerable time, been for the most part practically disposed of by the Governors. It is true that those offices, when their value exceeds £200 a year, are in general nominally at the disposal of the Secretary of State, and when vacancies occur can only be filled up by the Governors, subject to the confirmation of the Crown signified by that minister. But in the great majority of cases the recommendation of the Governors is accepted as a matter of course; the patronage, therefore, is in effect exerrised by them, and offices are filled up by the appointment of colonists. This practice prevails more or less completely in different colonies according to circumstances. In the North American provinces appointments may be said to have been for a long time given exclusively to residents; and in the other colonies, having temperate climates and a European population, they have been chiefly so-perhaps with fewer exceptions than would have been for the real advantage of the colonies themselves.

"Governors and Lieutenant-Governors, it is true, are invariably appointed by the Crown, on the advice of the Secretary of State, but this patronage can only be looked upon as a source of difficulty and anxiety. The welfare of every colony, and the alternative of success or failure in administering its affairs, are so mainly dependent on the choice of a Governor, that I can hardly believe that any Secretary of State, even if he were insensible to all higher motives than a regard for his own interest and reputation, would willingly be guided in his selection by any consideration except that of the qualifi-cations of the individual preferred. At the same time, the advantages of these appointments are not such as to lead to their being often accepted by persons who have most distinguished themselves by the ability they have shown; so that the services of men who have filled other important offices, and who would therefore be preferred for such situations, cannot be commanded. Hence the choice generally lies among persons of less tried fitness."—(Vol. i. pp. 37,

Lastly. All parties, at home and abroad, may learn from these volumes a better understanding of the difficulties, a more generous appreciation of the exertions, and a more lenient judgment of the errors and short-comings of men in power. It is true that public business is sometimes shamefully slurred over. It is true that important posts are sometimes held by men wholly incompetained, is the patronage which they are supposed to afford. It is impossible to conceive a

standard of the way in which those functions emigration; and, finally, a Kaffre war;ought to be discharged. But those-and we shall readily admit that a minister who they are the great majority—who enter on had to steer his way through all these em-the higher departments of the public service barrassments, with a clear intellect and a the higher departments of the public service barrassments, with a clear intellect and a with a clear intellect and a with a clear intellect and a which attaches to their position—of the expectations justly formed of them—of the watchful, jealous, and unifriendly eyes ever upon them—find high office no bed of roses, no life of easy and indolent routine. They so easy, public men not so corrupt, careless, or incompetent, as opposition politicians and and neglect which might be permitted in the management of their private affairs, are unpardonable where the country is concerned; of our chief Ministers of State will generally that every decision of theirs, even the most form the highest estimate alike of the diffusion apparently clear and easy, may affect in—culties they have to solve, and of the severe apparently clear and easy, may affect in culties they have to solve, and of the severe directly the happiness of many individuals, labour and the carnest conscience which, as and the progress and welfare of whole a general rule, they bring to the solution. communities, and must therefore be taken only on the fullest deliberation, and with the amplest knowledge of all the creamond of our colonial empire, and the pelicy which stances which bear upon the case; that hasty action may bring long repentance; and that, since all they do is certain to be canvassed which hitherto have only been vouclessfed to the colonial control of the colonial coloni and Ceylon Committees; land sales and were supposed to be retained—has compell-

by enemies and rivals who desire no better to them at rare intervals, and during some than to find them tripping or asleep, they temporary crisis. Many causes have connust do nothing which they cannot justify tributed to awaken and to fix this interest, and defend in the eye of day. They can The colonies themselves have been rising in allow themselves little relaxation and rare importance, wealth, and population with a intervals of repose: the weight of high duties rapidity of which history searcely offers follows them everywhere and presses on any previous example. More than a third them always. They have often to meet, of a million-more than the whole increase reconcile, and unravel the most labyrinthine of our numbers-are annually leaving these complication of troubles; old imbroglios to islands, and a great proportion of them diclear up; conflicting claims to sift and ad- rect their course towards one or another of just; old injustices to compensate and atone our numerous dependencies. Then, the refor without committing fresh ones ; and all fusal of our Australian and African possesthese matters to be settled, not on exam- sions to receive our convicts, has forced ination of one side only of the question, but them upon the attention of all who are inon that thorough and searching investigation terested in the mighty topic of our criminal of all sides and all representations which is jurisprudence. Two Caffre wars within six often so perplexing and bewildering to the years-absorbing a considerable portion of clearest understanding. To take a single that surplus revenue to which the mother example: any one who has taken the trouble country had looked for the relief of her own to look into the affairs of the New Zealand burdens-have stimulated among fireside Company, their claims against, and their Englishmen a degree of serious reflection disputes with each successive Colonial Se- which only financial questions can arouse, cretary, may form some faint conception of The rise and prevalence of the Economic the plague and torment which these must School, whose votaries are accustomed to have caused to men on whom devolved the try and measure everything by the stern. duty of sifting the question to the bottom, rigid, narrow test of pecuniary profit and and the weight of deciding on grounds at loss, has led to a perpetual recurrence of the once defensible, practicable, and just. If to question-what the colonies cost us, and this we add discussions with the Cape and what they yield us in return. And more the Australian colonies on the very difficult than all, the entire and radical change in our and ramifying question of transportation; system of commercial policy, now thorough-discussions with Jamaica and Guiana on ly carried out and finally and formally adoptpolitical economy, retrenchments, and free ed-having entirely swept away the old trade: discussions with Canada on questions basis of the relation between the mother involving "responsible Government," and country and her colonies, and surrendered the imperial connexion; Ceylon rebellions, the especial object for which they were, or

ed us either to discover a new basis or to our penal establishments abroad, and for concede the unadvisability of their retention. those purely military and maritime stations. The colonies, too, by their repeated applications for self-government, representative empire at large, the colonies do cost the institutions, and the redress of grievances, mother country a very considerable annual uneeasingly remind us of their consanguin-sum; and that the regiments which are now ity; while the settlement of our most stir-scattered over our various distant dependenring questions of our domestic strife, and the cies would if concentrated at home, amply removal of our own most crying abuses, have suffice for that security, regarding which we left us unusual leisure for listening to com-plaints from the antipodes. For some years and disgraceful panies. Now, we draw no to come, there is every reason to expect that tribute from our colonies; they have never a large proportion of the time of Parliament contributed a farthing to our exchequer, and and the attention of ministers will be occu-pied with colonial questions. It is therefore and then we were so roughly refused that of great consequence that we should arrive we are never likely to ask them again. In at some clear comprehension of at least the ancient times the case was different: the defundamental principles involved in our re- pendencies of Athens, Carthage, and Rome, rous dependencies.

two branches: the reasons for retaining our nexion between them was a lucrative one; colonies, and the mode in which we ought and the desire to possess and to multiply to govern them—"our colonial empire, and them was therefore a rational and intelligi-our colonial policy." The first question ble one. Spain also used to draw a considnaturally takes precedence. Are our colon- erable revenue from her American mines, ial possessions a burden or an advantage to though a smaller one than is commonly supindefinite, traditional idea, that our depen- yet received. be made good; -their attitude is defiant, from us. and they confidently challenge a reply.

country of her colonial possesions. Few nearer to our antagonists than to ourselves, tire military and naval expenses fall on aggression at once in Canada, in Newopponents :- it is conceded on all hands that, after making every fair deduction for * Lewis. Government of Dependencies, pp. 151, 213.

lation to, and our management of, our nume- were in the habit of paying vast sums into the national treasury: they were real sour-The subject naturally divides itself into ces of wealth to the parent state: the con-Great Britain? If the former, why should posed.* But why we should retain possesshe retain them? If the latter, wherein sions which cost us much and yield us absodoes that advantage consist?-Now, the lutely nothing is a mystery which calls for people of this country have a dim, vague, some more lucid explanation than it has

dencies are a source of riches, power, and But this is not all. The colonies, it is grandeur to the empire; but they find it said, are sources of actual weakness to us in difficult to give a reason for their faith, and, another manner. They multiply our vulnerwhen hard pressed, usually take refuge in un- able points. We are surrounded with enesatisfactory generalities. The rigid econo- mies and rivals, who, whether our colonies are mists, on the other hand, stand on a broad, really valuable or not, believe them to be distinct, strong and intelligible ground; their so, and know that we value them, and know, position is defensible; their arguments are moreover, that whether we valued them or sound; and their statements can generally not, we should not like to have them wrested Hence, in time of war we have not merely to defend ourselves, but In the first place, they allege, there can forty other continents, islands, or peninsulas be no doubt as to the actual cost to this -weak, exposed, assailable, and often much of them provide even for the whole of We have to spread our fleets and our armies their civil expenditure; and nearly their en- all over the world, and to be ready to repel Great Britain. In round numbers nearly Zealand, at Corfu, and at Hong Kong. 30,000 troops are employed in our colonies We have to keep up twice the army and in time of peace: in time of war much navy that would otherwise be needed. We more. (This is exclusive of India.) A can be attacked and wounded in a thousand considerable portion also of our naval force quarters, while our enemy perhaps is assailis stationed in or near our colonies. It is of able in but one. But even this is not all. no consequence to the argument whether the total expenditure of this country on behalf plies the risks of war. We have, like a of her dependencies be £4,000,000 per an- great spider, so spun our webs over the whole num, as Sir William Molesworth estimates earth that scarcely a fly can buzz in any it, or £1,500,000, as alleged by some of his corner without disturbing and involving us.

Our dependencies are perpetually bringing us | burdens, and with a strange ingratitude to into collision (or running the hazard of dosome consequence perhaps to them, but not of the slightest interest or concern to us. The Maine boundary threatened one rupture with America; the Oregon territory kept us in dread of a second; the Newfoundland fishermen shawed some disposition the other day to involve us in a third. A considerable portion of our debt was incurred in the war with France on behalf of our American provinces-which threw off their allegiance the moment we asked them to contribute to the payment of the interest of it. Wherever our dependencies are conterminous with another state, they keep us in perpetual hot water with our neighbours; and are the more eertain to do so, as they know that the burden of their defence will fall on us and not upon themselves. This second objection, also, we confess, seems to us weighty and unanswerable.

Thirdly, For many generations our colonies-some of them at least-have been of undoubted service to the mother country, in affording to her penal settlements, where her criminals could undergo their term of punishment at a distance from the scene of their offences, and where they could be liberated at the expiration of their durance with less injury to society, and a far better chance of redemption for themselves, than if they had been retained at home. It may well admit of a doubt whether penal establishments at the antipodes were not more costly than they would have been in England; it may well admit of a doubt whether the mode in which those establishments was conducted was wise or even defensible; and it admits, we fear, of no doubt at all, that considerable moral evil was inflicted on the colonies by the system we pursued, and that the facility thus afforded of getting rid of our criminal population—of burying our dead out of our sight-most fatally postponed the necessity, which we are now beginning to feel, of preventing the growth of that population instead of trusting to exporting it when grown. But still, the system of transportation did offer a tangible and intelligible object for retaining certain of our colonial possessions. Now, however, when these very colonies, having free immigration in abundance, no longer feel the necessity for convict labour, and therefore have become keenly alive to its accompanying neither of these would materially vary; and evils; -now, when with much selfishness how slightly the consideration of remaining and much passion, and with an utter want of under the same rule weighs with emigrants all perception of their duty as portions of the in general, may be learnt from the facts that empire to bear some share in the Imperial two thirds of those who leave these islands

the mother country, which has so long proing so) with foreign powers, on disputes of teeted and maintained them, and which they now so churlishly refuse to aid in her deliverance-they have positively refused to receive any more convicts; -and when the Home Government, with a quick sensibility to what is just in their objections, and a generous forbearance to what is insolent and selfish in their proceedings, has yielded to their opposition, and proclaimed that transportation to these colonies shall cease,even this ground for bearing any longer the heavy burden of these dependencies is cut away. If they will not, on any terms, assist us in the disposal of our criminals; if they so roughly refuse the only service we ever asked from them; why should we continue a costly connexion for which we can obtain no equivalent?

Again (it is urged by the anti-colonial economists,) the value of the colonies to us as receptacles for our surplus population is more apparent than real. It is true they possess inexhaustible stores of waste and fertile land; it is true they afford a field of employment for our superabundant capital, and a beekoning refuge for those teeming numbers who are so crowded and so pinehed at home. But all this would remain the same if they were independent territories, or even, in most cases, if they were under the protection of a foreign power: our capital would still be welcomed, and the labour of our emigrants would still be sought. Land is no longer "granted" to those who go out: our subjects have to purchase it from us precisely as they would purchase it from any other Government; nay, generally at a higher price, for while in the United States the national lands are sold at a dollar and a quarter an acre, in Canada the upset price ranges from 2s. to 8s., and in Australia is never less than 20s, an acre. Nor does the mother country derive the smallest profit from these land sales: the whole proceeds being applied either to paying the passage of such emigrants as the colonies desire, or to other purely colonial purposes; and the entire fund having been by the late Government placed at the unreserved disposal of the colonial authorities. It is true, no doubt, that it may be regarded as an advantage to our emigrants to be able to transfer themselves to a land where the government and the language are the same as at home; but if the colonies were free

go to the United States,* and that the emi-|of exclusive principles of trade; they were

This argument is no doubt sound in the land, and because there is no new country open to receive them where their own language and institutions prevail. And nearly the whole emigration from the United Kingdom to the great American Republic consists of Irish, who go thither partly from taken, was an intelligible one; and as long habit, partly for the sake of a cheap passage, and partly from hatred to the British rule, As long as new countries abound in unoccupied land and need capital and labour, no doubt they will generally hold out tempta-tions to both; but if they were under foreign domination, there would be no small danger of laws to favour natives at the expense of aliens; and if they governed themselves under popular institutions, the natural desire of capitalists to exclude the competition of other capital, and of the labouring population to exclude the competition of other labourers, might lead to restrictions and discouragements which would greatly impede the free access of willing emigrants. The enjoyment of similar institutions and the continuance of an unbroken allegiance, form beyond question an additional attraction and a great security to those who are driven to exchange their native land for a more productive field of action, though we fully admit that they are not wholly indispensable.

But the erowning argument of the anticolonial school is this: The only object (they say) for which some of the colonies were founded, and others were obtained by conquest, and in the name of which all have been retained, and the retention of them (costly as they are) has been defended, -has been utterly destroyed and cast away by the new commercial policy which the country has adopted. Under the old system of monopoly they were looked upon, and with some reason, as among the most valuable possessions of the empire : they were established and fostered for the sake and in virtue

gration from Germany to the United States customers for our manufactures, bound to -where climate, government, and all the purchase from us alone; they were produelements and habits of social life are as dis- cers of valuable commodities which they crepant as possible-is equal to the total were bound to sell to us alone. They were exodus from Eugland and Scotland to all markets for our goods, and labourers for our own colonies together. monopoly of their markets, and we granted main; but it requires to be modified by two to them the monopoly of ours. This sysconsiderations. The Germans go to North tem we have now learned to consider a losing America because they are, many of them at one for both parties: we find that the cololeast, flying from despotism in their own nies have cost us in protection-duties tenfold what their trade was worth, and they find that their prosperity has been hindered by the restrictions we imposed upon them for our benefit. But the maxim which lay at the root of the old relation, though a misas we held the doctrine, it was natural that. we should retain the colonies. But now all this is changed. We give the colonics no preference in our markets; we exact no preference in theirs. We and they are alike free to buy where we like, and to sell where we like. For all commercial purposes they stand on precisely the same ground as if they were independent statesexcept that they may not establish differen-Where then is the use tial customs' duties, of any longer retaining them as dependencies, and burdening ourselves with their maintenance and defence? If independent, they would be just as good customers as now; for then they would still purchase our manufactures in preference to those of any other country, if they were cheaper and better, and they do no more now. They would still send their produce to our markets, if they found here a readier sale and a higher price than elsewhere, and they do no more now. Nay, many even among ourselves, and a majority probably among the colonists, are of opinion that they would advance faster, if they were independent, than they do at present; and, if so, that they would be still more valuable to us both as customers and as producers. We do not share this view; but we fully concede the rest of the argument, that as all the old ideas which made us set so high a value on our colonial possessions have been entirely negatived and abandoned, it would be but logical either to relinquish those possessions, or to discover some new and valid reasons for retain-

* The numbers were in-335,966 1851 - 267,357

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" Nor was this all," remarks Lord Grev; the abandonment of the ancient commercial system of this country towards the colonies, brought a still larger question under discussion. only those who still adhered to the opinion that the former policy with respect to colonial commerce was the right one, but many of the most 13

ing them.

^{1852-241,261} 368,764 † See a paper in the North British Review for November, 1852, on the Modern Exodus. The number was 103,000.

eager a lvocates of the principles of free trade, | and how it is probable that we shall be more concurred in arguing that if the colonies were no longer to be regarded as valuable on account of the commercial advantages to be derived from their possession, the country had no interest in keeping these dependencies, and it would be better to abandon them : thus getting rid of the heavy charge on the country, especially in providing the requisite amount of naval and military force for their protection. In like manner, the colonists began to inquire whether, if they were no longer to enjoy their former commercial privileges in the markets of the mother country, they derived any real benefit from a continuance of the connexion. It is obvious that questions of this sort could not be raised without creating great difficulties in the administration of colonial affairs; and the more so, because it is impossible to deny that the view of the subject to which I have adverted is at least plausible ; and when the old doctrine, that the great value of the colonies arises from the commercial monopoly which the mother country can claim with respect to their trade is abandoned, some other explanation may fairly be asked of the grounds on which we should nevertheless con-tinue to support the charges inseparable from the maintenance of our colonial empire."-Vol.

It would be superfluous to inquire now whether a system of moderate preferential duties might not have been established, such as would have been a permanent bond of union between Great Britain and her colonies, and have been felt by each as a privilege, and by neither as a burden. That is a question which we must consider disposed of for ever, and on which it is impossible now to retrace our steps. Nor can we pretend to feel any fear that our dependeucies, even if set wholly free, would ever dream of establishing differential duties against our productions; good sense and good feeling would alike prevent such suicidal hostility. But it is by no means impossible, or even improbable, that, if our colonies were obliged, by the declaration or concession of their independence, to provide entirely for their own government and defence, and consequently to raise a revenue adequate for those purposes, they would find themselves obliged to do it in a great measure by high import duties on foreign But high duties are inevitably (however unintentionally) protective duties : they would encourage and force the establishment of eolonial manufactures; and instancet of cofomal manuactures; and own security, to torm part of a powerful nation these, once established, would have to be supported. The illiberal tariff of the United States may serve as a warning. Now, when we consider how nearly all the countries of Europe, as their population becomes denser the support of the population becomes denser the support of the

and more thrown upon the demand of eastern and colonial markets, we may see reason for a very anxious desire that our dependencies at least should not become our rivals, and that with this view we should retain some control over their tariffs. But with this sole reserve, we admit the full force of the arguments which we have been recapitulating as those urged by the critics and denouncers of the colonial connexion. We cannot deny that our colonies yield us no tribute, give us much trouble, cost us much money; that they increase our already burdensome taxation; that they employ a considerable proportion of both our land and sea forces, and yet do not contribute a single soldier to our army or a single sailor to our navy; that as an outlet for our superabundant population, they would be almost if not altogether as valuable were they self-governing and independent; that they endanger our tranquility in time of peace, and multiply our vulnerable points in time of war; and finally, that our original grounds for valuing and retaining them have been rightly abandoned as fallacious and untenable. In no one point of view can they be proved to be a material benefit to the mother country -a source either of wealth or power or real political advantage. But there is what is sometimes called the "prestige" argument to be considered.

"I consider," says Lord Grey, "that the British colonial empire ought to be retainbecause I believe that much of the power and influence of this country depends upon its having large colonial possessions in different parts of the world. The possession of a number of steady and faithful allies, in various quarters of the globe, will surely be admitted to add greatly to the strength of any nation; while no alliance between independent states can be so close and intimate as the connexion which unites the Colonies to the United Kingdom, as parts of the great British Empire. Nor ought it to be forgotten that the power of a nation does not depend merely on the amount of physical force it can command, but rests in no small degree upon opinion and moral influence; in this respect British power would be diminished by the loss of our Colonies, to a degree which it would be difficult to estimate. Hence, if it is an advantage, not for the sake of domineering over other countries, but with a view to our own security, to form part of a powerful nation and more industrial, gradually raise their British Empire, so that their united strength duties upon the importation of our good, may be wielded for their common protection, portance to the interests of the mother country and her dependencies."—Vol. i. p. 12.

The same argument is more fully and broadly stated in the following account of a discussion at the Political Economy Club, recorded by Mr. Wakefield :-

" The other side of the question was argued by a London banker, whose sagacity and accomplishments are unsurpassed. He began by admitting the whole argument of the merely scientific economist. But, on the other hand. said he, 'I am of opinion that the extent and glory of an empire are solid advantages for all its inhabitants, and especially for those who inhabit its centre. I think, that whatever the possession of our colonies may cost us in money, the possession is worth more in money than its money-cost, and infinitely more in other respects. For, by overawing foreign nations, and impressing mankind with a prestige of our might, it enables us to keep the peace of the world, which we have no interest in disturbing, as it would enable us to disturb the world if we pleased. The advantage is, that the possession of this immense empire by England causes the mere name of England to be a real and a mighty power—the greatest power that now exists in the world. You tell us of the cost of dependencies: I admit it; but I reply that the cost is the most beneficial of investments, since it converts the mere sound of a name into a force greater than that of the most costly fleets and armies. Suppose we gave up all our dependencies, without losing any of their utility as markets, I say that the name of England would cease to be a power, and that, in order to preserve our own independence, we should have to spend more than we now do in the business of defence. It would be supposed that we gave them because we could not help it : we should be, with respect to other nations, like the bird which has been wounded, and which, therefore, the others peck to death. our dependencies be taken away or given up, and the name of England would go for nothing: those of our colonies which are weak would be seized by other nations, which would soon want to seize England herself and would be strongly tempted by our apparent weakness,—by the loss of the prestige of our greatness, to try their hand at seizing us. Or would you have England, after giving up her dependencies, con-tinue to defend them against foreign aggression? Most of them could not maintain their own independence if we gave it to them; and the maintenance of it for them by us would cost incalculably more without the prestige of a mighty empire than our dependencies now cost with that important adjunct of real effective power."-Art of Colonization, p. 98.

genuine argument which lies hid in these imposing but somewhat vague representa-

must be regarded as an object of extreme im- | quarters of the globe," are a source of real strength to us; and secondly, that though not so in themselves they are believed to be so by foreign nations, and therefore become so in effect. Now, with regard to the first branch of the argument, it may be sufficient to observe that a number " of faithful allies." scattered over the world, are by no means necessarily "the source of strength" which Lord Grey assumes them to be, but often the contrary, as we know to our cost. allies are strong themselves they would be a sonrce of strength to us; being weak, they are only a source of weakness. could aid us they would be an addition to our power; having to be aided by us, they are only a burden and a drain. Portugal is a faithful ally; but when did she aid us in our quarrels, and how often have we been dragged into hers? She always occupies a portion of our fleet; she may at any time, as she has done, call upon us at a most inconvenient moment for a portion of our troops; she habitually poisons us with her bad wines; yet when did she send us a single soldier or a single ship? Turkey is a faithful ally; we are perpetually on the brink of a war in her behalf; yet it would be difficult to say in what she assists or strengthens us, except by her mere existence, and as a stop-gap. Belgium, too, is a faithful ally, but can do nothing for us, and yet holds a sort of prospective mortgage both on our army and our fleet. If, indeed, the colonies of Great Britain were in such a position with regard to the mother-country that "their united strength could be wielded for their common protection," their alliance might be a source of real power to us; but when they contribute nothing to the support and defence of the mother country, and often not much to their own; when we have to garrison and protect them by large drafts from our land and sea forces, at a time when our own shores are inadequately guarded,while all the time they never send one shilling to our treasury, one man to our troops, one sailor to our navy; it is a mockery to talk of our "united strength." Does the possession of the Cape co'ony strengthen or endanger our position in reality, when, at a moment at which (rightly or wrongly) we were alarmed for the safety of our own coasts, it employed 10,000 of our best troops in a profitless and ing'or ous war? Has India, which drains away so many of our If we endeavour to extract the kernel of regimen s, ever helped us to the extent of a single sepoy or a single rupce? Is it po sible, indeed, to r ner j one of our colonies tions, we shall find it to consist of two alle. for the 'at sev a y yer's which has in any First, that the colonies, being way really assisted the mother-country in gations. First, that the colonies, being way really assisted the mother-country in steady and faithful allies in various her ceaseless wars? They have been our battle-fields, our fortresses, our harbours of Caffre rebellion and every Burmese war, refuge; but we have supplied the soldiers, because they know how much every such harbours; they have never been available hands in Europe? How would Austria, allies, if in alliance we include the idea of which now insults us, France, which now reciprocal assistance. And who will pretend envies us, Russia, which now bullies our to deny that, as far as actual material power allies, change at once their tone and attitude and safety are concerned, England would be if the real independence of all our colonies far stronger and far securer at this moment enabled us to call home and concentrate than she is, were all her colonies independent round the heart of the empire all the wealth and self-sufficing, and were her 100,000 and force which is now dispersed over its troops and her 500 ships of war concentrated extremities? If, indeed, we allowed our at home? What enemy then could wound dependencies to be wrested from our reluct-

rivals believe them to be a source of strength. We are to retain them as a means of throwing dust in the eyes of foreigners and blinding them as to our real power. We are to port themselves, we greatly doubt whether support them as what Burke calls "the cheap defence of nations." It is more actually draw a false conclusion from our quiet aceconomical to extend our possessions with a powerful, than to concentrate them for the real weakness, under a delusive appearance sake of becoming so in reality. The maintenance of forty colonies is cheaper than the maintenance of such an army as would impress other states with an equivalent idea of tentates who should take up as treasures our might .- The argument is an intelligible and a plausible one; but more than one proprietor has been ruined, like the Duke of Buckingham, by accumulating magnificent-looking estates which yielded no adequate revenue; and more than one general has been defeated by extending his line in order to deceive the enemy.

In the first place, we may always suspect some unsoundness in the policy which would resign or risk the substance in order to grasp the shadow. To play at shams is a hazardous and doubtful game. In the next place, are we right in supposing that foreign nations are so easily blinded and deceived? Do they not watch our policy? Do they not read our writings? Are they not cognizant of our discussions? Are not their statesmen and diplomatists as sagacious and keen-witted as our own? Do they not know as well as we do, how much our colonies cost annually to the imperial treasury-how many of our ships they need to guard them -what proportion of our troops they absorb to garrison and govern them? Are we to imagine that France and Russia do not calculate to a nicety to what extent our suppose that they do not rejoice over every colonial possessions.

we have manned the walls, we have built the distant drain on our resources must tie our ant grasp, by rebellion or by foreign aggres-But, is the other branch of the argument sion, that would, without question, be an undeat all more close and cogent! We are to mable and most dangerous confession of weakness. But if we voluntarily resigned keep up our dependencies (we are told) weakness. But if we voluntarily resigned because, though a source of weakness, our them, either as costly burdens which we were become too wise and calculating to bear any longer, or as grown up children, able to defend and therefore bound to supany of our most ambitious rivals would quiescence in a separation. If we are right view of persuading other nations that we are in supposing these dependencies a source of of strength, they would be so even more to any rivals who might seize them, than to us; and those would be bold and sanguine powhat we had east adrift as burdensome or useless. They would be the same drain upon the resources of our successors asaccording to the assumption on which we are arguing-they have been on ours; they would entail upon them that very multiplication of vulnerable points from which we have shrunk, that same dispersion of force which, to them as to us, it is important to concentrate. If we are wise to part with them, we should be doubly wise to hand them over-a Danaic gift-a Nessus-shirtto our antagonists.*

> The idea, then, that the emancipation or voluntary surrender of our colonial possessions would really impair the weight of Eugland's name throughout the world, and would either embolden foreign nations to attack us, or enable them to attack us with effect, may, we think, be put aside as unsound and untenable at the present day; whatever validity it might have had in an

* It is true that the possession of these colonies by our enemies might enable them to injure us comby our enemies might enable them to injure us com-mercially, by hostile tariffs, which would fetter and contract our trade. But this would injure themselves yet more than us, if free-trade principles be sound; home defences are weakened by the regi-ments and frigates that have to be diverted to the West Indies and the Cape? Can we suppose that they do not residue over a consideration which relates to the value of the argument in question, which relates to the value of the "prestige of strength" which we are supposed to draw from our vast, but economically unprofitable,

age when statesmen and rulers were far, or the claims to protection were bound by more governed by delusions, and less by realities, and were much less acquainted with each other's real motives and position, than they now are. The conclusion of the anti-colonial school, therefore, remains unshaken,-that the mother country cannot be shewn to have any direct selfish interest, either economical or political, in the reten-tion of her colonial dependencies. If the maintenance of our colonial empire is to be defended, it must be defended upon other and higher grounds.

It is, we think, not difficult to find such grounds, and very difficult to impeach their validity. The obligations of duty are prior and paramount to those of interest, and of And even if our far greater stringeney. colonial empire were incalculably more costly, more embarrassing, more troublesome than it is, it would still, in our judgment, be a base and cowardly desertion of those obligations were we now to cast it off. We have incurred debts of honour which we must not evade. We have entered into engagements, both tacit and avowed, which we are bound to fulfil. We have undertaken functions which we cannot abdicate at pleasure. We stand in certain recognised relations both to our own children and to native races, which it does not lie within our right to assume and terminate, according to our varying fancy or supposed convenience. And to us has been committed an important post in the vanguard of the march of human progress-a high command in the great battle of eivilisation,-which, on pain of being held unworthy, recreant, and faithless, we can neither deeline, nor throw up, nor engage in with a languid and reluctant will.

In the first place, we are under solemn obligations to our own countrymen who have gone out to settle in the colonies, relying on our protection, trusting in the unbroken ties of consanguinity, confident in the principle, never hitherto disavowed or questioned, that they could not forfeit the rights and honours of British citizens by making their home in one part rather than another of the vast dominions of the Parent state. They assumed, and were entitled to assume, that wherever they went within the wide empire of the Queen of England, her ægis would be thrown over them; that their weakness would be supplemented by her strength; and that, save by their own guilt or wilfulness, no foreign nation would be suffered to absorb them, and no savage race be suffered to destroy them. We never warned them that the duties of allegiance colonies of England, at any rate, the feeling of

either latitude or longitude; that there were parallels and distances beyond which we demanded no submission, and acknowledged no reciprocal obligations. On the contrary, we have always proclaimed, by word and action, that an Englishman at the Cape, at the Pole, or at the Antipodes, was as much our subject and our care as when, the year before, he was domiciled in Yorkshire or in Sussex, and we cannot at our pleasure change our maxims of policy, or divest ourselves of the obligations which they have laid upon us. If we were to withdraw our aid and protection from our various colonies. what could prevent our Canadian brethren from being violently annexed to the ambitious and unserupulous republic at their side? What could save Jamaica from becoming another Hayti, and our West Indian islands from being devastated by a war of colour, in the course of which, probably, every white man would be exterminated, and every germ of civilisation trodden out? What could hinder a similar fate from overtaking the 5000 Europeans, who, on our guarantee, have settled among the million and a half of Cingalese? What would happen at the Cape, where 20,000 Britons would be matched against 50,000 Dutch and 100,000 coloured tribes? Where would be the scenrity of the 20,000 whites in New Zealand among 120,000 warlike aborigines? And finally, what chance would there be that the gold of Australia would not tempt the enpidity of Russia or of France, and that our brethren there,-trained to free institutions, and passionately attached to individual liberty, and secure, under our auspices, of both-would not become the subjects of a stern despot, and a half-civilized race?

The abandonment of our colonies is a simple impossibility: it is idle to talk of it, and would be so even if such a catastrophe were as much desired by them as it is the fushion for some foolish individuals to assert. But it is not so; the reverse would be nearer the truth. Hear what Mr. Wakefield, a resident in more than one colony, says on this head :-

"He was not aware of a peculiarity of colonies, as distinguished from dependencies in general, which furnishes another reason for wishing that they should belong to the empire-I mean the attachment of colonies to their mother country. Without having lived in a colony-or, at any rate, without having a really intimate acquaintance with colonies, which only a very few people in the mother country have, or can have—it is difficult to conceive the intensity of colonial loyality to the empire. In the love towards England, and of pride in belong-|ence exercised over the planters by British ing to her empire, is more than a sentiment; it is a sort of passion which all the colonists feel, except Milesian-Irish emigrants. In what it originates I cannot say : perhaps in a sympathy of blood or race, for the present Anglo-Americans feel in their heart's core the same kind of love and respect for England that we Englishmen at home feel for the memory of Alfred or Elizabeth : but whatever be its cause, I have no doubt that love of England is the ruling sentiment of English colonies."-Art of colonization, p. 100.

In the second place, the desertion of our dependencies is forbidden by our obligations to the native races they contain. In appropriating and colonizing these territories, we took upon ourselves two solemn duties; first, to protect the aborigines against the possible cruelty and injustice of those whom we empowered to settle among them; and secondly, to extend to them, to the utmost of our power, such civilisation as they were capable of receiving. How imperfectly we have hitherto performed those functions, we are but too conscious; but that is no reason why we should now absolve ourselves from them altogether. In our relations with savage tribes, we are strong, and can therefore afford to be merciful and forbearing. supported colonists would be weak, and therefore might be barbarous and unrelenting. Then we have had ample proof that the rough settlers in a new and distant country, away from the restraints of public opinion and the softening influences of civilised life, are apt to be selfish, grasping, and unjust; and, when they come in contact with a feeble, ignorant, and gullible population, to cheat, bully, and oppress. Against this conduct the Home Government ought to exercise, and often has exercised, a salutary and much needed check." Again, in other cases, as the West India Islands and the Mauritius, where we have imported a subject race, and placed them under the government of our own people, we have incurred a still deeper obligation of protection and control; and to surrender our imperial functions in such instances as these, would be, as Lord Grev well says, to hand over the people, without check or guidance, to the tender mercies " of a dominant party, often o. a dominant minority." What would have been the prospects and position of the negro race in the West Indies had those islands become independent thirty years ago, and thus emancipated from the influ-

* We shall have to notice presently, in another division of our subject, several occasions in which the Home Government has been called on to interfere, and has interfered with advantage.

philanthropy and the British Government? Colonies with a mixed population, whether the aborigines predominated or not, we could not, therefore, conscientiously resign. Our departure would be the signal for a strife of races, in which victory on either side would be nearly equally disastrous; and years of anarchy and bloodshed, in which millions of property would be annihilated, many seeds of good destroyed, and all the elements of civilisation thrown back for generations, would be the inevitable result of such a base betrayal of our trust; and whether the struggle ended in the extermination of the superior race, or the subjugation and slavery of the inferior, we should "have been verily guilty concerning our brother."

Lastly, In the interests of the human race at large, and for the purposes of a high civilisation, it is of the greatest importance that the connexion between great Great Britain and her colonies should be as prolonged and as close as possible. It is, we think from no impulse of national self-glorification, but in the exercise of a sober and dispassionate judgment, that we venture to believe our peculiar form of civilisation-including in that word civil polity, mind, manners, morals, literature, and religion-the loftiest, the solidest, the most prolific, which the world has yet seen. The old Greek type was more fully developed in some directions, and was perhaps more perfect within its own range. The French of the Augustan age had a higher polish, and a more sparkling brilliancy; but it was unsound and hollow, and did not penetrate below the surface of the nation, nor beyond the husk and rind of the man. The civilisation of Switzerland and Norway presents several points to admire, and some, perhaps, to envy; but it is neither as clevated nor as expansive as our own. There is much in the English character to be amended and developed, and time and thought are doing this work fast. There is much in English institutions to be purified and perfected, and mature experience and zealous intention have harnessed themselves together to the task; and, taking ourselves and our polity as a whole, it is impossible to doubt that the progress and welfare of humanity in its highest phase will be best served by the spread of English civilisation over the globe. But some of the nobler elements of this civilisation have a tendency to degenerate, to be submerged, and to die out, when it is transplanted to a new world : its chivalry fades away; its refinement is rubbed off in the rough struggle for existence and success in

life; its loftier aims are merged in its mises, of betraying confidence, of unscrupulouslower necessities; its standard falls, and it assumes gradually a coarser and inferior type. Something of all this is inevitable : but the evil is one to be recognised, and as far as possible, to be warded off. We must swim against the stream, not helplessly and contentedly float down it. Now, as long as the standard can be kept up, its regirements may in time be recovered; as long as the ship retains hold of her moorings, the tide may turn and strain her, but she does not go quite adrift. Public opinion is the great guard and check of all communities. If that public opinion is formed wholly by and within themselves, it will partake of their downward tendencies; it will sink and spoil with them; it will lose its quick sense of the right and the refined as they do. But if they continue to form a part of a nation more advanced and more consolidated than themselves, public opinion will be created and guided by the joint action of both communities; and, as the higher will always be admired and respected by the lower, it must in the end exercise the paramount influence and give the prevailing tone. It is not that society in the colonies will ever be so refined, or the intellectual and moral atmosphere be so high, as in the mother country; but the latter will give the standard to which the former will aspire: the estimate of what is gentlemanly in manners, correct in conduct, and worthy in literature, will be formed, not according to the average of Sydney, or Quebec, or Wellington, but according to that of London. Our refinement will check and shame their roughness; our sense of honour will modify their "smartness;" our moderation will control and sober their irrational violence :- and thus the energy and vigour of a fresh young life may be tempered and raised by being linked to the qualities belonging to an elder social condition, and a type of character higher and firmer than either separately could have attained may

be the result. The following pictures of colonial society and colonial politics, by one who knows both well, will help to explain those points on which we think that the metropolitan connexion cannot fail to exert a modifying and beneficial influence:-

"The colonial soil everywhere seems highly favourable to the growth of conduct which, without being criminal according to law, is very much objected to by the better sort of people in this country, I mean all those acts which, in Upper Canada and the state of New York, are called 'smart conduct;' which consist in taking advantage or over-reaching, of forgetting pro- for many curious and disgusting exemplifications.

ly sacrificing all other numbers to 'number one.'* In colonies, such conduct is commonly termed clever, cute, dexterous. In this country it is called dishonourable. The honourable colonists who strongly disapprove of such conduct. more especially if they are recent emigrants of the better order, often call it 'colonial' For the growth of honour, in a word the colonies are not a very congenial soil. Neither is knowledge successfully cultivated there. . . hardly any colony can you manage, without great difficulty, to give your son what is esteemed a superior education here; and in all colonies, the sons of many of the first people are brought up in a wild unconsciousness of their own intellectual degradation.

" Colonial manners are hardly better than morals, being slovenly, coarse, and often far from decent, even in the higher ranks. I mean in comparison with the manners of the higher ranks here. . . . In none of the colonies does religion exercise the sort of influence which it exercises here upon the morals, the intelligence, and the manners of those classes which we consider the best informed and best behaved -that is, the most respectable classes in this country, or those whose conduct, knowledge. and manners constitute the type of those of the nation. Let me endeavour to make my meaning clear by an illustration. Think of some one of your friends who never goes to church except for form's sake, who takes the House of Commons' oath ' on the true faith of a Christian,' as Edward Gibbon took it, but who has a nice sense of honour; who is, as the saying goes, as honourable a fellow as ever lived. Where did he get this sense of honour from? He knows nothing about where he got it from : but it really came to him from chivalry; and chivalry came from religion. He would not do to anybody anything which he thinks he should have a right to complain of if somebody did it to him: he is almost a Christian without knowing it. Men of this sort are rare, indeed, in the colonies. Take another case-that of an English matron, whose purity, delicacy, and charity of mind you can trace to the operation of religious influences. Such beings are as rare in the colonies, as men with that sense of honour which amounts to goodness."--[Wakefiel i's Art of Colonization, pp. 150-153.]

Again, the same witness says :-

" Colonial party-politics are remarkable for the factiousness and violence of politicians, the prevalence of demagoguism, the roughness and even brutality of the newspapers, the practice, in carrying on public differences, of making war to the knife, and always striking at the heart. When colonists differ on heart. When colonists differ on such a point, for example, as the amount of a proposed import duty, or the direction of a road, both sides treat the question as if it were one of life and death; and, instead of compromising their difference, or giving a quiet victory to the preponderating weight of votes or influ-

* See Mrs. Moodie's "Roughing it in the Bush,"

ence, they instantly set about tearing each pointments, which could not but tend to ather to pieces with tongue and pen, after the manner of the late Daniel O'Connell. A colozist who meddles with public matters should have a skin of impenetrable thickness. But it is not the skin alone that suffers. Frequent scarification renders most colonial skins so impenetrably thick that the utmost vituperation makes hardly any impression upon them. Recourse is therefore had to something sharper than Billingsgate. It is a general custom in the colonies, when your antagonist withstands abuse, to hurt him seriously if you can, and vow to do him a mortal injury, either in order to carry your point, or to punish him for having carried his. . . . If two settlers disagree about a road or a water-course, they will attack each other's credit at the bank, rake up ugly old stories about each other, get two newspa-pers to be the instruments of their bitter animosity, perhaps ruin each other in desperate litigation. Colonists at variance resemble the Kilkenny cats."*-[Wakefield, pp. 185-189.]

Now, it will perhaps be objected, that if this is a true picture of the prevalent tone of social life in the Colonics as they exist at present, the connexion with the parentstate has not done much for them in the way of elevation and refinement, and does not hold out much promise of a more powerful or salutary influence for the future. But there are several reasons why we should not measure our expectations of prospective good altogether by the past. In the first place, intercourse between the mother country and the colonies is every day beeoming closer and more rapid. In the second place, the officials whom we have been in the habit of sending out, and who, from their position, must to a certain extent give the tone to the colonists, and be to them the standard of metropolitan manners and conduct, have not till recently been generally qualified to raise or purify that tone or that standard. For years we allowed ourselves the condemnable and fatal license of providing in our distant dependencies for those whose character forbade us to provide for them at home; and a sad list might be made out of scandalous or incompetent ap-

* See for a confirmation of all this, Tremenheere's Notes on the United States and Canada, pp. 221 and

"The colonies [observes Adam Smith] would in point of happiness and tranquility gain considerably ya anim with Great Britain. It would at least deliver them from those rancorous and virulent factions which are inseparable from small democracies, and which have so frequently divided the affections of their people and disturbed the tranquility of their governments, in their form so nearly democratical. In the case of a total sportation from Great Britain, which unless prevented by a union of this kind seems very likely to take place, those factions would become ten times more virulent than ever."—[Wealth of Nations, Book v., chap. 3]

lower, instead of raising, the tone of colonial society. The same remark will apply in a modified form to the independent class who went out as settlers. These used comparatively seldom to belong to the educated ranks, or where they did, they were too often the tainted and excluded members of those ranks. Of late years all this is changed. Official appointments to high colonial posts are made with care and conscientiousness: a far higher description of emigrants go out; greater provision than formerly has been made both for education and religion; and the better sort of settlers are more and more summoned to take a part in the government of their adopted country. The influence which, under a lax and bad system, we have exercised over the moral and intellectual condition of our colonies, is no test of that which we shall exercise, now that we are acting on better principles, according to a stricter sense of duty, and under the vigilance of a far more active and efficient public opinion. The closer the tie between the two countries can be drawn, the less possible will abuses become, and the more will the prevalent feelings, taste, and conduct of the colonists assimilate to those of the better classes in the old world. As wealth increases and population becomes denser, a leisure class will spring up there as here; that leisure class will, by the force of circumstances, become the educated and the governing class; as such it will set the fashion, give the tone, prescribe the standard, to the community at large; and that tone, that fashion, that standard, it will infallibly draw from the mother country, both in virtue of the perpetual influx of new blood it will receive from thence-an influx that will accelerate as colonial society becomes more similar to that at home, and therefore more attractive to the emigrant-and in virtue of a custom which prevails so widely in the French colonies, and used to do among the wealthier planters in our own West ludies, of sending their children home for education. But if the political connexion between Great Britain and her dependcies were to be widely severed, every year would see the gulf between them wider and the divergence greater, socially, morally, and intellectually; the lowering, coarsening, hardening, materializing tendencies of a new state would operate unchecked; and in the course of a few generations the high-minded, polished, chivalrie, and religious Englishman would be no more recognisable in the rough, strong, uncultivated boor of Australia or New Brunswick, than he now is in the relapsed savage of Texas or Alabama, who

then annexes an unoffending neighbour, owns no control but that of keener subtilty, or him from disgracing irretrievably the honour of their common name. If, on the contrary, we maintain unbroken our colonial empire-maintain it, not by force or by the high hand of a despotic will, but by such a course of wise and just policy as would make it madness even to wish for separation -we have a prospect before us that may well gladden the heart of the philanthropic and aspiring statesman, and may raise politics almost into poetry,-a series of new Englands rising up in every quarter of the world, younger, fresher, richer, stronger than the old one-aiding her, loving her, bound to her, surrounding her venerable age with their youthful energies; imbued with her literature, guided by her science, drinking at the fountain of her maturer wisdom, bowing at the shrine of her purer taste; taught by her experience, warned by her mistakes, avoiding her saddest failures, emulating and surpassing her most glorious achievements; happy in a far brighter climate, favoured with a far richer soil, earrying down to distant ages all of us that is worthy to survive, and carrying it amended by the transfer-

"Our younger selves re-formed in finer clay."

The second great question into which our subject divided itself-the principles, namely, which should regulate the relation beremarks. tary self-government: we are met and firm yet placable temper by which a quarrel

brawls in the senate-house, stabs over the baffled by questions of which no ingenuity counter, first quarrels with, then invades, can satisfactorily pronounce, whether they concern the colonies only, or the empire. We must, therefore, be content to discard more merciless force, and sets at defiance all reliance on these plausible and tempting the efforts of the central government and of formulas, and go a little more deeply into his more civilised countrymen to prevent the discussion. As we do this, we shall find, we believe, three great principles which should be kept in view as guides,-respecting the precise time and degree for the application of which, however, no definite rules can be laid down, and the actual management of which must inevitably be left much to the discretion of the minister and the inspiration of the hour.

I. In the first place, it seems obvious that in the relation between the mother country and her dependencies, the duty of protection and the right of control must be correlative. If we are to defend our colonies, we must as a matter of simple necessity and justice, be permitted to guide, govern, and restrain them. If we are bound to stand between them and foreign aggression, we must be able also to withhold them from provoking that aggression. If we are bound to protect them from assault and extermination by savage tribes whose territory they have engrossed and appropriated, we are equally bound to watch that they do not righteously incur their fate by encroachment and injustice, or positively invite it by consummate folly. We cannot with any of our offsets abide by such a one-sided bargain, as to leave them freedom to act as they please, combined with the right to throw on us the consequences of their actions. Where the responsibility is accepted there the power must lie. Let us adduce one or two illustween Great Britain and her Colonies-has trations which bear upon the case. Last been somewhat forestalled in our preceding year the colonists of Newfoundland got into Nevertheless, it needs further a dispute with the fishermen of the United elucidation. It is far from being as simple States as to the respective limits of their and clear as many of our colonial reformers right of fishing in the Bay of Fundy and are accustomed to represent it. "Emanci- elsewhere. It seems pretty certain that the pate your colonies," said Bentham. "Give claims of the colonists were legally just; but them representative constitutions, and let they were disposed to enforce them with a them govern themselves," urges Mr. Cobden, high hand and in a hasty manner, which "Separate by a trenchant line of demarca- would scarcely have failed to bring about a tion imperial from colonial concerns," says serious collision, and perhaps a war, with so Sir W. Molesworth, "and confine your intenacious and touchy a people as the Ameriterference and control to the former." These caus. Of such a war it is evident that we several rules sound very specific and easy; should have had to bear the chief brunt and but as soon as we proceed to the application burden; it was therefore quite essential that of them, we find unforeseen perplexities and the power of controlling the peremptory difficulties which meet us on the very thresh- action of our own subjects, and the conduct We discover that we have colonies of the negotiations by which the dispute was which it would be criminal to emancipate to be quelled or arranged, should remain in or cast off: we perceive that in other cases the hands of the mother country, both as it would be the height of injustice and folly being more likely to calculate the cost of a to hand them over to any form of parliamen- quarrel, and as more able to maintain that

could be best avoided. In the case of our | people of this country, that they should now be New Zealand wars, too, it is evident that we could not, consistently either with conscientiousness or common sense, have supported our countrymen against the natives, unless we had both reserved to ourselves and exereised the power of controlling and undoing those injustices and eneroachments as regarded the acquisition of land, which, however technically correct, had still in the eyes of the natives, naturally and rightly, all the appearance and substance of flagrant and scandalous iniquity. Nor could the Cape colonists have called upon us with any shew of justice to support the expenditure of life and treasure which have fallen to our lot in three successive Caffre wars, if we had not sanctioned many and directed some of the proceedings out of which those wars naturally sprung.* The principle holds good in all cases. If our Colonists elaim the privileges of British eitizens, they must submit to the restraints of British subjects. The elaim and the obligation must always be reciprocal. As the one is relaxed, the other must be gradually foregone. As colonies attain more and more perfectly the power of self-government, they must take upon themselves more and more completely the burden of self maintenance and self-protection. This principle has been well laid down as the basis of our future colonial policy in one of Lord Grey's dispatches to Lord Elgin, dated March 14, 1851.

" Canada (in common with the other British Provinces in North America) now possesses in the most ample and complete manner in which it is possible that she should enjoy it, the advantage of self-government in all that relates to her internal affairs. It appears to Her Majesty's Government that this advantage ought to carry with it corresponding responsibilities, and that the time is now come when the people of Canada must be called upon to take upon themselves a larger share than they have hitherto done, of the expenses which are incurred on their account and for their advantage. Of these expenses, by far the heaviest charge which falls upon this country is that incurred for the mili-tary protection of the province. Regarding Canada as a most important and valuable part of the Empire, and believing the maintenance of the connexion between the mother country and the colony to be of the highest advantage to both, it is far from being the view of Her Majesty's Government that the general military power of the Empire is not to be used in the protection of this part of Her Majesty's domin-But looking to the rapid progress which Canada is now making in wealth and population, and to the prosperity which she at this moment enjoys, it is the conviction of Her Majesty's Government, that it is only due to the

relieved from a large proportion of the charge which has hitherto been imposed upon them, for the protection of a colony now well able to do much towards protecting itself.

"In adopting this principle, I need hardly observe to you. that Her Majesty's Government would merely be reverting to the former colonial policy of this country. You are well aware that, up to the period of the war of the American Revolution, the then British Colonies which now form the United States, as well as the West Indian Colonies, were required to take upon themselves the principal share of the burden of their own protection, and even to contribute to the military operations undertaken to extend the colonial possessions of the British Crown. The North American Colonies defended themselves almost entirely from the fierce Indian tribes, by which their infant communities were frequently imperilled, and furnished no inconsiderable proportion of the force by which the contest of British power with that of France was maintained on the continent of America; and the West Indian Colonies did not, in proportion to their means, make less exertions." - Col. Pol., vol i. pp. 260, 261.

This last paragraph suggests to our consideration the question-one of the knottiest that can be presented to us for solutionwhether it is desirable that all dealings with the native races who inhabit our colonies should be conducted by the Parent State, or should be left to the settlers themselves, unaided and uncontrolled. And this, again, opens the still wider subject of our right to take possession of uncivilized territories, and to expose the native races to the fate which seems all but inevitably to await them, whenever barbarism comes into contact with civilisation, or when a higher and a lower form of civilisation are brought into juxtaposition. We cannot discuss these questions fully, but it is necessary to say a few words on each. It seems to be established by nearly all experience that wherever savage and eivilized tribes come into contact, they come into collision also. them, vicinity unavoidably signifies antagonism. Wherever they live side by side, the savage tribes invariably die out. do so whether they are hunters, shepherds, cultivators of the soil, or fishermen. They do so whether they are treated with cruelty and injustice, or with comparative fairness and milduess. They do so whether they resist or whether they submit. If they resist, they are defeated and exterminated: if they submit and endeavour to become civilized, and to adopt the habits of their superior visitants, they are inevitably beaten in the competition, and gradually compressed out of existence. If they are hunters, they sell some of their land; their hunting

^{*} See Lord Grey's Colonial Policy, ii. 248-252.

ance; they grow poor as he grows rich; they become necessitous, embarrassed, sell disappear or sink into a kind of serfdom. If, like some of the South Sea Islanders, they other's boundaries, and have to be reclaimed; reciprocal damage leads to mutual retaliation; cattle-breeding naturally leads mitted to, and must be severely punishednisation of wild lands.

are directed to secure the rights of the is not less certain nor less sad.* borigines, and to treat them as religion and humanity prescribe. The law which ordains * There seem to be two exceptions to the univer-

grounds are curtailed; their game retires that the inferior shall give way to the supebefore the face of cultivation and of cultiva- rior race—that the weak shall sink before ted man; and they are driven farther and the strong-that the savage shall retire farther back into the wilderness, till the before the eivilized man-appears to be, supply of food fails them, and they, as well strictly speaking, a law of nature, which no as the animals they feed upon, become efforts of ours can prevent from operating. extinct. Such is the fate of the Red Indians Unless we were to forbid colonizing altogeof North America .- If they are fishermen, ther, we cannot hinder the native from sellthey are unable to sustain the competition ing his land to the settler for what he deems with the superior implements, and the more a full and liberal equivalent. He has unscientific skill of the European; and the bounded acres-more than he needs; why means of their sustenance are gradually cut should be not alienate a small portion of them from under them. If they are, or become for the luxuries, comforts, arms, and tools cultivators, settle on the land, and assume which he desires? We may insist upon the habits of the civilized settlers, they find some portion being reserved; we may sethemselves unable to extract from their cure him a locus pointentia; we may be portion of soil the same amount of susten- vigilant to ensure that he shall understand ance as their European neighbour; they the nature of the bargain he is making; we have not his resources, his ambition, his may even interfere to obtain for him a unfailing industry, his assiduous persever- higher price than he himself in his ignorance (or rather in his estimate so different from ours) would have demanded; we may be or mortgage their property, and in the end scrupulous, before ratifying the unequal sale, to ascertain the title of the seller-as far as any savage can have a title to any land, in are gentle, inoffensive children of nature, our signification of the term. But, this living on fruits, basking in the sun, "sport-done, we must ratify the transaction, and ing in the tepid wave," they are speedily insist on its being righteously adhered to: absorbed by the fiercer energies of a hardier we cannot allow the native afterwards to and more enduring race. If they live side plead repentance, and, because he has eaten by side with us, they contract our vices and or lost the purchase-money, to wish to reincur our diseases, without either the mental enter on the land he had sold. Well, when or moral vigour which modify and check we have done this, everything else follows the action of these destroying causes among as a matter of course; the more necessitous Some tribes become extinct the savage becomes, the more land is he through the small-pox; others die away willing to alienate; the richer the settler through drunkenness. If their pursuits are grows, the more land is he able to buy; the pastoral, like the Caffres, they necessarily bargains are in each individual case beneficome into hostile collision with the colonists cial to, and desired by both parties; both who settle in their territories; the cattle of parties are free agents; on what principle the respective parties stray across each can either justice or humanity interfere to forbid the banns? A position once gained, energy, skill, knowledge, perseverance do their work, and reap their natural reward; to cattle-stealing, and the aggression is and no interference can prevent them from generally on the side of the less successful overpowering, absorbing, eating up, driving and therefore more envious savage; aggres-back, and (insensibly, and unwillingly persion and robbery, of course, cannot be sub- haps, but inevitably) treading out indolence, ignorance, apathy, and feebleness. If we hence border forays, breaking of treaties, and endeavour to educate and civilize the abobloody wars, in which the savage must riginal inhabitant with the view of rendernecessarily be defeated, and in the end be ing him a more equal competitor, a stronger driven back, dispossessed, and crushed. This and more competent neighbour, to the white is the constant history of all European colo- colonist-we do not control-we seldom even retard-the operation of the natural Nor is the process much varied, or its law; we only succeed in changing the form ultimate issue less certain, though it may be of the struggle from one between civilisation somewhat slower, even when the warmest and barbarism, to one between a perfect and and sincerest efforts of the mother country an imperfect civilisation; and the final issue

be disposed to question our right to colonize destiny, wrote it on their foreheads, carved barbarous countries, to purchase the lands it in their minds, and then forbade them to of the aborigines, and to expose them to the fulfil it! Who can believe that the simple inevitable consequences of vicinity to a life of the South Sea Islander, or the scarcely superior race. We cannot accept this view. higher one of the Mohican or the Camanche, The requirements and responsibilities of our was meant to be perpetuated? Had such superiority are indeed obvious and sacred : an idea been early adopted and righteously we are bound not to cheat nor to oppress; adhered to, where would America-ay, we are bound in all our intercourse to be where would Britain-have been now? how just, lenient, long-enduring, and forbearing; |could civilisation have ever spread over the as we are strong, we must be merciful; as world? how could Progress, which is the we are wise, we must be considerate and law of our being, ever have been achieved? scrupulous; every motive of equity, humanity, and religion forbids us to use our greater knowledge to deceive, or our heavier force to coerce. We are bound to employ our utmost efforts to instruct, to improve, to elevate the tribes with whom we come in contact; but, because we have a small prospeet of doing this with success, we must not therefore withdraw from the contest: we must not shrink from offering them the alternative of civilisation, or-what may follow in the course of nature. God never meant that hunters and nomads should monopolize whole continents of fertile lands, ines in colonized lands being such as we God never purposed that men should remain have described, the question next presents hunters and nomads. He never intended itself, whether the controversies which are that unimprovable races of humanity should certain to arise between the two races shall play "dog-in-the-manger" to advancing ones; be left to the management of the settlers that the soft Otaheitan, the savage Feejee, themselves, or shall be reserved for the conthe cunning Bosjesman, the wretched Pa-duet of the parent state. Under which syspuan, the apathetic Indian, should range tem is the evolution of the destined issue without check or change over some of the most likely to be left to the slow operation widest and richest regions of the earth, of natural laws, unhastened by violence and while the Greek, the Celt, and the Saxon,with their splendid intellects, their noble aspirations, their glorious literature, their wondrous science, their indomitable energies, their perfectable natures-should be compressed for ever into the smallest and barrenest quarter of the globe,-

"Reduced to nibble at their narrow cage,"

pent up within boundaries which the very expansiveness of their capacities renders yearly more and more inadequate, and which make all their better faculties-their vigour, their ambition, and their power of progress -no longer a blessing but a torment and a

sality of this rule-the Negroes and the Maories. But wherever the negroes are brought into close But wherever the negroes are brought into close contact with the whites, they exist only in a condi-tion of servitude or inferiority; and though the natives of New Zealand appear by official accounts to exhibit a high degree of aptitude for civilized life, and a disposition to settle down among and to amalgamate with Europeans, the juxtaposition has not yet been of long enough duration to enable us to regard the problem of their ultimate fate as solved. See Lord Grey's Col. Pol., vol. ii. p. 119.—Despatch of the Comments of the Governor.

Such being the state of the case, some will curse. God never appointed them their

"No! we rather hold it better men should perish one by one,

Than that earth should stand at gaze like

Joshua's moon on Ajalon!
Not in vain the distance beckons:—forward, forward let us range, Let the great world spin for ever down the

ringing groves of change; Through the shadow of the globe we sweep into the younger day-

Better fifty years of Europe than a cycle of Cathay."

The almost inevitable fate of the aborigcrime? Which party is likely to adhere most scrupulously to the principles of justice, and to temper justice with mercy? Which party will be most alive to a high and generous sense of duty, and least tenacious and severe in the rigid assertion of mere legal rights? Under which system, finally, will fate take its course with the least amount of suffering and evil to the doomed race? The first system was the one adopted in our early colonization-the latter is the one which our keener feeling of responsibility has brought into favour in more recent years.

There is much to be said on both sides, and the decision of the question is by no means easy. On the one hand it may be urged that the authorities in the mother country are free from the temptations, the irritating collisions, the daily conflicts which arouse the passions of the colonists, disturb their judgment, and warp their sense of right; that colonists are generally men of rough characters, of vehement tempers, of imperious wills, of pushing, encroaching, acquisitive dipositions, full of wild energy,

and accustomed to bear down all opposi- America-the probability is, that the contion; that the life they lead-which is spent trol of the present fear would be found in overcoming obstacles, in fighting their more effectual than that of the distant auway against impediments and barriers of thority. Then again, if the colonists had to every sort, and often in an actual struggle depend upon themselves alone, and, whatfor safety and existence-is unfavourable to ever calamities threatened them, had to rely a clear perception or a ready admission of solely on their own skill, their own good the rights of others; and that men, exas- temper, their own union, they would take perated by hourly strife with competitors care to remain in a more compact body and foes, will be apt to magnify their wrongs, than at present; they would not venture so and to stretch to the uttermost the privilege far into the wilderness; they would not, reof retaliation. illustrated and confirmed by every page in ble name of Britain, scatter themselves as the history of Spanish dealings with Mexico they now do up and down the enemy's and the West Indies, of Dutch proceedings country-easy victims and irresistible tempat the Cape, and, to a less degree, of our tations to hostility. The prosperity and seown dealings with the Native Americans, curity of the colony would be immensely Tasmanians, and New Zealanders. And we increased by the compelled concentration of all know the irresistible tendency of a life its forces; it would extend its boundaries of hardship, peril, struggle, and adventure, only as it multiplied and strengthened; and to make men selfish, overbearing, and ag- both the tranquillity of the mother coungressive-fierce in the assertion of their try, and the welfare of the aborigines, would own claims, reckless in trampling on the be greatly promoted thereby. dues of others. But, again, it must be re- Cape colonists had no mother country to membered, that the first settlers in a barba- fall back upon, no exhaustless imperial arrous country are always the weaker party; my which they knew would, in the final rethat they are in the power of the natives, sort, protect their property and avenge their whom it is their interest, and often their ne- injuries, they never would have contrived to cessity, to conciliate by justice, by kind spread themselves as they have done over ness, by benefits; that if left to their own the Orange River Sovereignty, and in all strength and resources alone they remain probability Caffre wars would have been unlong the weaker party, and are made to feel heard of. Nor does it seem just to bring that their safety depends on their good be- down upon the wretched savages the whole haviour and forbearance; while, on the other avenging power of a great empire to punish hand, if they know that they are backed by them for conduct which, if not legal or perthe whole power of the parent state, they missible, is at least natural and venial; and become at once the stronger party, feel that the real amount of provocation and extenuthey are so, presume upon being so, tyran- ation of which it is impossible for us accunize, encroach, and despoil at pleasure. But rately to estimate. By this system we conthe control which the home authorities can vert an insignificant local quarrel-perhaps exercise over the intercourse of the settlers a mere border foray-into a tedious and with the native tribes is in general feeble bloody war; and a robbery committed on a and uncertain, and not always judicious; few boors, which might have been approprithey often even lay the foundation of future ately punished by the burning of a kraal, disputes by well-meant but unskilful inter- becomes an insult to the majesty of Britain. ference. The restraint, therefore, which the which can only be expiated by a far heavier mother country can exercise over her distant settlers is imperfect and often slight, When we cannot effectually prevent our while the sense of impunity which her pro- people from inviting the aggression or retection conveys is real, constant, and power- taliation of their barbarous neighbour, it ful in its operation, and makes her children does not seem fair that they should have daring, presuming, and unjust. If left un- the power of dragging us into their petty aided and uncontrolled to deal with the sav- and unseemly squabbles. Moreover, we age or uncultured tribes around them-con-cannot effectually defend them; we cannot scious that they must bear the burden of garrison 2000 miles of unprotected frontier their own sins and follies, that they must with regiments of regular troops; we may defend themselves as they best can from all make treaties with savages, but we cannot the retaliation they brought down, that, in a enforce them; and the end of nearly every word, they were bound over to good beha- war we wage with such unworthy and im-

All this is very true: it is lying on the powerful arm and the formidaviour under penalty of such fearful suffering, practicable foes, is only the acquisition of a and such absolute extermination, as somestill larger noninal territory, which we do times overtook the early colonists of North not want and cannot use, and of a still wider frontier, which we cannot possibly maintain injustice; in others again, it would be ceror guard. On the whole, therefore, we tain ruin. Thus in Western Australia, with strongly incline to the conclusion, that if its 4000 inhabitants and a territory of a we were to say to all British subjects who million of square miles, Parliamentary govcolonize the territory of barbarous tribes: ernment would be simply impossible at "We will defend you against foreign nations -you must defend yourselves against the native races: what you bring upon yourselves, that you must bear yourselves; act as you think best,-you will find forbearance, gentleness, and justice your truest policy, we have no doubt-but look to no aid from us: we will exercise no control and afford you no assistance;"-if this language were held, and had always been held, we believe that less wrong would have been inflicted, less blood shed, less injustice done, and less encroachment dared than under the opposite system we have pursued-the system, namely, of restraint from home, which was sometimes mischievous and seldom more than nominal, and of support from home, which was always presumed upon, generally substantial, and enabling and encouraging to wrong. The whole history of the Cape Colony since it came into our possession, would, we think, if rightly written, bear out this doctrine.

II. The second great guiding principle of our colonial policy should undoubtedly be to prepare our dependencies for self-government, and to confer upon them the powers of self-government as soon and as fast as they become fitted to exercise them ;-commencing with municipal institutions, advancing to a representative system, and terminating in such completely free and "responsible government" as now prevails in our most forward colony, Canada. Believing that Parliamentary government -with all its clumsives and all its faults, with its many drawbacks and its costly price-is that best suited for developing the resources and promoting the highest civilisation, if not of all nations, at least of the Anglo-Saxon race ;-satisfied, too, that Englishmen will never be contented or tranquil under any other,-we hold that the assimilation of colonial institutions to those of the mother country is the object which ought to be steadily kept in view and perseveringly followed out, so far as circumstances make it practicable.

But here, again, we find that all which we can or ought to do, is to lay down a prolific principle-not to enact a rigid rule. Some of our colonies are not ripe for representative government; -in others the elements out of which such a system could be con-

present, but will undoubtedly be introduced when the increase of population shall have supplied the necessary materials. In Ceylon, where 5500 Europeans (many of them Portuguese or Dutch) are scattered among 1,500,000 Orientals, the same impossibility arises from a different cause.

"The great majority of its inhabitants (says Lord Grey) are Asiatics, very low in the scale of civilisation, and having the character and habits of mind which have from the earliest times prevented popular governments from taking root and flourishing among the nations of the East. Amids: a large population of this description there are settled, for the most part as temporary residents engaged in commerce or agriculture, a mere handful of Europeans, and a larger number (but still very few in comparison of the whole population) of inhabitants of a mixed race. In such a colony the establishment of representative institutions would be in the highest degree inexpedient. If they were established in such a form as to confer power on the great number of the people, it must be obvious that the experiment would be attended with great danger, or rather with the certainty of failure. If, on the other hand, the system of representation were so contrived as to exclude the bulk of the native population from such power, in order to vest it in the hands of the European minority, an exceedingly narrow oligarchy would be created,-a form of government which experience certainly does not show to be favourable to the welfare of the governed. Were a representative assembly constituted in Ceylon, which should possess the powers usually entrusted to such a body, and in which the European planters and merchants, and their agents, had the ascendency, it can hardly be supposed that narrow views of class interests would not exercise greater influence in the legislation of the colony than a comprehensive consideration of the general good."-Col. Policy, i. 27.

Jamaica, again, offers us a specimen of another set of difficulties in the way of representative institutions at once far and feasible. This island has had from time immemorial a Constitution and a House of Assembly, and no very serious obstacles arose till the year 1834, because, though the whites then numbered only about 35,000 against 450,000 coloured inhabitants, most of whom were slaves, the latter were entitled to none of the rights of British citizens, and were simply ignored in all political arrangements. But now they are all free, and, according to all analogy, are competent to claim their full share of the structed do not exist; in some the estab- representation in a government to which lishment of such a system would be gross they contribute a considerable portion of

by the establishment of anything like a natives," equally subjects of Her Majesty, liberal and extensive franchise, would have been, sooner or later, to confer upon them, in virtue of their numbers, the unquestionable preponderance of power: the enfranchisement of the blacks would have been the virtual disfranchisement of the whites; and with the old feelings of animosity on the one side and contempt on the other, arising from the old relation of master and slave, still unhappily little abated, the consequences must have been most disastrous, On the other hand, to shut them out altogether from the privileges of the Constitution was both impossible, and would have been scandalously unjust; and to effect the same object by the establishment of a high property qualification, could not fail to create, as it has created, great discentent and indignation. The possession of a freehold estate worth 30 dollars a year, a rental of 140 dollars, or the payment of direct taxes to the amount of 15 dollars, confers a vote -a franchise three times as high as that of the mother country.* Thus, though the population of the island is now about 377,000, the constituency is said never to have exceeded 3000, or 3ths per cent. Here, then, though the island has representative institutions, it can scarcely be said that the inhabitants have: the immense majority of the voters are, and are intended to be, partially or wholly of British blood;—as soon as, by their progress in wealth, the negroes acquire property and votes, we shall probably see a state of things which, though the natural and inevitable result of those representative institutions, the concession of which to all our colonics is so vehemently demanded, is scarcely one that we can welcome or approve.

The case of New Zealand is somewhat similar. In the year 1846, the then Ministry, scandalized at the dreadful mismanagements of matters in that colony under the old form of autocratic government, and yielding to the general feeling in favour of colonial self-government, granted a charter establishing legislative assemblies with ample powers; but naturally enough virtually conferring the elective franchise only upon Europeans. Now the Europeans only num-

* So stated in Bigelow's Jamaica. Last month the Duke of Newcastle, in the House of Lords stated the franchise to be a £10 freehold, a £50 rental, or payment of £5 in taxes. † Bigelow's Jamaica. The census in 1844 gave—

Whites,...........15,776

Coloured,.......68,529 Black, 293,128

To admit them to the suffrage | ber 20,000 among a population of 120,000 and beyond all question the finest and most capable of all aboriginal races. The Governor of New Zealand writes of them in these terms :-

> "With these characteristics of courage and warlike vagrancy, however, the Maories present other remarkable traits of character. Nearly the whole nation has now been converted to Christianity. They are fond of agriculture; take great pleasure in cattle and horses; like the sea, and form good sailors; are attached to Europeans; admire their customs and manners; are extremely ambitious of rising in civilisation, and of becoming skilled in European arts; they are apt at learning, in many respects extremely conscientious and observant of their word; are ambitious of honours, and are probably the most covetous race in the world. They are also agreeable in manners, and attachments of a lasting character readily and frequently spring up between them and Europeans."—Lord Grey's Col. Policy, ii. 119.

Of course a race such as is here described was not likely to acquiesce patiently in being handed over to the unlimited government of a handful of settlers among them. As soon as the despatch containing the charter reached New Zealand, "the Governor immediately wrote to represent in strong terms the danger which would have arisen from the discontent that would infallibly be excited among the natives by the proposed change in the form of government. He pointed out that they were large contributors to the revenue, the disposal of which was to be entrusted to a legislature in which they would be altogether unrepresented-and that they were quite intelligent enough clearly to perceive this, and the injustice to them of such an arrangement. In consequence of his urgent remonstrances, accordingly, a bill was passed through Parliament, suspending the new constitution for five years." The suspension was removed by Lord Derby's Administration; but we are not aware whether

* This is the official estimate: several well-informed persons, however, believe that the Maories do not now exceed 80,000.

In is perhaps rather an extreme expression to say that they are wholly unrepresented. They are so virtually (as few of them hold land individually and on crown-grants) but not avowedly. The constitutional act contains no provision about the elect-oral rights of natives. The qualification of voters (both for the Provincial Councils and Legislative Assembly) is a property one, and may consequently be held by any subject of the Crown without distinction of race. Justice to the natives is to a certain degree secured by a power which is confided to the Government of marking of districts of the island within which native law and usage shall prevail, and which will consequently be excluded from the re presentative system altogether. But these, of course 377,433 will be those inhabited solely by the Maories.

any, and what provisions, have been in should have no power at all, its acts, or any troduced for admitting the natives to a safe portions of them, affecting these subjects being and reasonable share in the election of the absolutely null and void, and the heads so re-Parliament which is to tax and govern them. survey among others, the very extensive one of the Unless, however, something has been done prerogative of the Crown. in this direction, we scarcely think the con-

On the whole, the principle we have pointed out may be considered now to have representative assemblies have been introduced, and wider and wider powers have been conferred upon them. Little ground for is more doubtful.

colonial policy should, we think, unquestionwe should reduce our interference to the at all times change or modify.

"If, indeed, this power of the Crown were exercised only with a view to the good of complained of as practically a grievance, the the colony, the obligations of humanity, and representations of the Council would have great the interest of the council would have great we should reduce our interference to the the interests of the empire at large. That additional weight. But no such complaint apthere must arise many conjunctures in which pears to be made, nor do I see how it could be. the authority of the mother country is clearly of this office, it seems that not more than seven called for, and in which it would be a dereliction of duty in her not to exercise it, no have been disallowed since the commencement the authority of the mother country is clearly one, we think, will be prepared to deny. of representative institutions, and about the sible to define beforehand, and clearly, what amendments before Her Majesty's confirmation are and what are not matters of "imperial" concern, and that the interposition of the Home Government ought to be confined to the latter class alone. We think a little examination into details, and certainly a very small amount of official experience, would right to pass at all. suffice to shew that this preliminary partition would be both impracticable, inadequate, and unwise, as far as the colony itself was concerned. The latter point is so well argued by Lord Grey, in his reply to a somewhat intemperate remonstrance from the Legislative Council of New South Wales, (23d January 1852,) that we cannot do better than quote his Lordship's words :-

"The only plan I have seen suggested, and to which I believe the Legislative Council to refer, though I am not certain of their meaning, is vided into local or imperial; that, on the former, of disallowance possessed by the Crow the Governor should give or withhold the royal as it is found necessary to exercise it." assent, without further confirmation from the Crown; that, on the latter, the local legislature

"I am unwilling to enter on a subject merely stitution can be one with which the natives controversial, and which is not fully placed bewill, or liberals at home ought to be satis-fied with, as a permanent arrangement. On the whole, the principle we have which would seem necessarily to attend a system under which large subjects, many of been finally and unreservedly adopted as them very difficult to define, would be absolutely the guide of our colonial policy, and to have withdrawn from the power of the local Legisbeen carried into effect as far as at present lature, so that they would be at once unable to is wise and practicable. In every case where legislate at all on many matters on which it is the materials for such bodies could be found, most desirable that they should legislate subject to the control of the Crown, and, at the same time, would be under constant uncertainty whether Acts passed with strictly constitutional intentions might not be invalid through some complaint on this score on the part of Eng- inadvertent infringement of the limits of their lish settlers now remains: whether as much authority-limits which could ultimately only can be said with respect to the native races be defined and preserved through the uncertain process of judical interposition in courts of law.

I say nothing of the extreme difficulty of constitut-III. The third rule for the guidance of our ing a tribunal fit to judge of the validity of such Acts, or the certainty that its decisions would soon ably be, that wherever our dependencies be felt as far greater hardships than the refusal have Legislative Assemblies of their own, of the Crown, through its ministers, to allow an Act; which refusal further consideration may

From the information afforded by the records But certain parties conceive that it is pos- same number returned for the insertion of could be given; and of the trifling number thus interfered with, nearly all were in the first three sessions, when the experiment was new, and several were obviously such Acts as the local Legislature, under the proposed division of subjects to which I have above adverted, would have had no

"On the other hand, a very slight examination of the Acts-more than 200 in numberwhich have received the royal confirmation, will probably shew that many of them would have been either wholly or partially in excess of the powers of the Legislature, and absolutely void, if such a division of authorities had existed. And this shews the practical convenience of the law as it now stands; for the Council of New South Wales has legislated, and will continue to legislate, without bindrance, on many subjects either of imperial cognizance, or touching the prerogative, to the great advantage of the community, because the interests of the Crown and this: that subjects of legislation should be di-vided into local or imperial; that, on the former, of disallowance possessed by the Crown, rarely

Two cases have recently occurred in our

North American provinces, in which few of imperial concern? Is not the arrangecolonial reformers (who are generally freetraders) will not admit that the interposition of the mother country was right and wise, and in which yet it is difficult to deny that the matter in dispute was one of local rather than of imperial concern. In 1849, the Legislature of New Brunswick passed an Act granting a bounty for the cultivation of hemp. As it was merely temporary, and inconvenience might have arisen from its peremptory disallowance, it was acceded to; but the Lieutenant-Governor was informed that no similar Act could be permitted. The New Brunswick House of Assembly remonstrated, and represented that the matter was "purely local;" but the Home Government reminded them that the whole principle of bounties, artificial stimulants, and artificial restrictions, belonged to a system which, after the fullest discussion, the Imperial Legislature had finally and deliberately discarded, and that it would be both inconvenient and unseemly to permit one small corner of the empire to act upon a different commercial policy from the rest; and the colony was thus restrained from embarking in a mischievous, suicidal, and exploded course. About the same time, great irritation arose, both in New Brunswick and Canada, in consequence of the perseverance of the United States in maintaining a highly protective tariff as against the flour and other produce of the British North American provinces, after we had permitted the admission of the produce of the republic on the most favourable terms both to this country and to all our colonies. This illiberal conduct naturally provoked a strong desire for retaliation on the part of the Colonial Legislatures, and it was proposed to enact differential duties upon American produce imported into Canada and New Brunswick, equivalent to those the United States imposed on Canadian produce. Happily, by silent influence in the one case, and official discouragement on the other, we withheld the colonies from entering on a war of tariffs-which, if there be any truth in the doctrine of free-trade, must have been highly injurious to themselves-in order to avenge a policy which, by the same doctrine, must be principally hurtful to their rivals. will say that, in both these cases, our interposition was not warranted, judicious, and beneficial to the colonies; yet would the colonists have readily acquiesced in a "division of powers" which should have withdrawn all their customs' duties from the control of the local Legislatures, or should have dogmatically pronounced that a bounty

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ment better, more liberal, and less irritating as it is ?

Again: it is clear that we could not, without scandalous injustice, unreservedly hand over all matters of "local concern" to the legislative authorities of those colonies whose constitution excluded the natives from all share, or from a fair share, in the representation. To do so would be to concede to a small and uncontrolled minority. backed in the last resort by the whole moral and material power of the parent State, the domination over a vast but helpless majority. It would be the enactment of an oligarchy, which would be wholly unrestrained by fear, because it would feel that irresistible might was in reserve behind it. Take the case of Jamaica, where the negroes are at present virtually and intentionally excluded from any prevailing share in the election of their governors. Who would advocate the conferring of unbounded authority on a Legislature composed of planters, giving, in fact, to dispossessed masters absolute power over the fate of their former slaves? Must we not, as a simple measure of decency and justice, either maintain our control over the whites, or confer adequate political privileges on the blacks? Or, in the case of New Zealand, what colonial reformer will urge us to give absolute force to the decrees of an Assembly, from the choice of which five-sixths of those most concerned in its decisions are debarred by law? Or, in the case of Tasmania, should we feel perfeet satisfaction in conferring plenary powers on a Legislature chosen by a population half of which have been convicts, or are the children of convicts? But, it will be answered, it is not proposed to deprive the Governor, as the Queen's representative, of his veto upon any enactment that he may deem unjust or injudicious, but only to secure that the Home Government should not interfere in any matters but such as are obviously of imperial concern. But what would be the chance of peace in a colony where the only cheek upon the popular body lay in the exercise of a power so perilous and inconvenient, that in this country it has been disused for more than 150 years? And what would be the position of an unfortunate Governor, resident in the colony, at feud with his Legislative Chamber, if unsupported and uninstructed by the authorities at home?

We may refer to two other questions, which will suffice to show the impropriety of the unreserved adoption of the principle of leaving colonial matters to exclusive colonial control-the land question and the on hemp in New Brunswick was a matter transportation question. With respect to

the first, it may be in the recollection of our | pended, the real question in dispute regards readers that in former years the most com- the hands in which "the property" of the se mon mode of disposing of waste lands was lands is rightfully vested. And here the by grant or sale at an almost nominal price; Legislative Council of New South Wales that these grants or sales were often of are clearly in the wrong. For as Lord Grey enormous extent, and far beyond the power remarks, (Dispatch, January 23, 1852,) of the allottee or purchaser to cultivate or "the right thus defined and claimed, if the use; that two evils resulted from this sys expressions of the Conneil were to be strictly tem : first, the retention of large tracts of taken, would belong as fully to the 4000 indesert between the improved and inhabited habitants of Western Australia as to the districts, to the manifest retardation of civil- 200,000 of New South Wales; nay, would isation and prosperity; and secondly, the have equally belonged to the first few famiexistence of a class of land-jobbers and lies which settled in a corner of New Zeaspeculators, who monopolized the most available districts of the colony, and sold the land at their own prices-often extortionate ones-to new emigrants. To prevent the recurrence of these abuses, which had injured all the colonies, and utterly ruined one, (Swan River,) it was resolved and enacted by the Imperial Legislature, fer it to our pages.* after full consideration, that all grants of land should cease; that all future sales should be by auction, &c., (we are now speaking of the Australian colonies,) and that the upset price should be £1 an acre; and that of the proceeds of these sales, one-half should be devoted to offering a free passage to such emigrants as the colony might need or desire, and the other half to other public objects within the colony itself. These regulations have frequently been made the subject of fierce and obstinate discussion; but, with slight modifications, they have hitherto been maintained and steadily carried out. Of late, however, some colonists have demanded that the entire management of the Crown lands, and the control over the revenue thence arising, shall be handed over of right to the colonial authorities, without re-The Legislative Council of New South Wales put forward this claim in no very ambiguous terms, both in a remonstrance addressed to the Home Government, dated May 1, 1851, and again in a petition dated December 1851, which was presented to the House of Lords by the Duke of Argyll in the following June. They say,-

"The revenue arising from the public lands. derived as it is 'mainly' from the value imparted to them by the labour and capital of the people of this colony, is as much their property as the ordinary revenue, and ought, therefore, to be subject only to the like appropriation and control.

Now, as no one denies that the revenue arising from the Crown (or waste) lands of their personal gain, under the plausible but dea colony should be expended for the benfit, not of the mother country, but of the colony itself, and as practically they are so ex- July 1, 1852

land; and would entitle each small community, from the first day of its planting, to the ownership of tracts sufficient to main-tain empires." The whole question is so succinctly stated, and it seems to us so effectually set at rest in the following paragraph, that we need do no more than trans-

"Both the mother-country and the colonies are deeply interested in preventing the improper and premature alienation of colonial lands, since it is the interest of both that every possible facility should be given to those who may be disposed to leave this country for the purpose of seeking a new home in our colonial dominions. And it is on this account that it seems to me both wise and just that the imperial government and legislature should not, at too early a period transfer to the local authorities the power of determining under what regulations the erown lands in the colonies should be disposed of. These lands constitute a vast estate, which has been acquired, and to which [nearly] all the value it posses-es has been given, by the very large expense which has been inenrred by the mother-country in establishing, maintaining, and protecting its colonies. This estate the Crown holds as trustee for the benefit of all its subjects, not merely of the few thousands who may at this moment inhabit a particular colorry, but of the whole British people, whether resident at home or in the colony; and it is the duty of the servants of the Crown, and of Parliament, to take care that the magnificent property thus held in trust for the good of the whole empire shall be wisely and carefully administered with a view to that object, and not improvidently wasted or sacrificed to the rapacity of a few individuals. But if the power of altering the regulations under which the Crown lands are disposed of were given too soon to every colonial legislature, nothing is more probable than that the small society of a young colony might think it for their interest to share among them, to the exclusion of the other inhabitants of the empire, the lands which belong properly to all; and it is still more probable that, in such a colony, a few rapacious speculators might have sufficient influence to carry changes which would conduce to

^{*} The same argument is admirably expounded by the Duke of Argyll, in a letter to the Times dated

lusive pretence of promoting the interest of sible, to remove the evil altogether. their fellow-colonists.—Lord Grey's Col. Pol., i. resolution was taken on a considerat

We have alluded to the matter of transportation in connexion with this part of our subject, because, though decidedly an imperial question, and one of vital moment to the mother country, it still concerns the colonies so nearly that there is some ground for their claim to have a voice paramount in its decision; but mainly because their conduet in reference to it has been such as, we think, clearly to shew how little qualified they are to exercise an ultimate and unappealable judgment on matters requiring temper, firmness, and a just consideration of the claims of others, and how necessary is the moderating and restraining influence of the Home Government to stay their hasty actions and to control their intemperate proceedings. It is impossible to peruse the history of the long discussions which have taken place on this subject, and to compare the documents issued by the two parties, without being powerfully impressed with the marked contrast between them,-the violence, the selfishness, the extreme views, the arrogant language, the defiant conduct of the colonists, and their utter inability to look at more than one side of the question, or to take more than a partial view even of that,-and the forbearance, the dignity, the accessibility to argument and remonstrance, the gentle consideration for excited feelings, the anxiety to arrive at the real truth, the wish to avoid all appearance even of coercion, the sedulous effort to understand colonial interests and to conciliate colonial prejudices, the disposition to yield, even when right, rather than to assert her authority or stand upon her strength, and the rigorous abstinence from retaliating language, even when most provoked, which have throughout distinguished, with scarcely an exception, all the proceedings of the mother country, at least for the last fifteen years.

We are not about to defend transportation as a punishment. We have not a word to say on its behalf as originally designed and as formerly conducted. We fully concur in the condemnation which was passed upon it by a Committee of the House of Commons in 1837 and 1838. It was inadequate and unequal as a penalty for erime; it was costly; it was damaging to the morals of the colony and inimical to the interests of civilisation. It was neither wise nor righteous to plant young nations solely or mainly with criminals and outcasts. So far this country admitted, or rather anticipated, the complaint of the colonists, and it was resolved at once to diminish and confine, and gradually, if pos- | pp. 210-224.

resolution was taken on a consideration of the whole question, and out of regard to the interests of morality and the reformation and due punishment of the convicts, rather than from any representation or remonstrances from the free colonists, many of whom are still auxious to this day for a continuance of the system, and who still eagerly snap up the convicts as fast as they arrive. plan adopted, after much difficulty, was this: to inflict a larger portion of the punishment of convicts in this country; to send a larger number to the public works at Bermuda and Gibraltar, and to improve the discipline in New South Wales and Van Dieman's Land, It was determined also to suspend transportation to the latter place for two years, and in 1840 to cease altogether sending convicts to New South Wales. Great evils, however, arose from the concentration of convicts in Van Dieman's Land consequent on the last resolution; and the last final plan fixed upon, and till now in practice, was this:-every culprit sentenced to transportation undergoes both a penal and a reformatory discipline before he is sent out as an exile; he passes a year of separate confinement and instruction in Pentonville prison; he then spends a longer time (generally two years) in severe labour on the public works at Portland, Dartmoor, Gibraltar, or Bermuda; and then, and not till then, he goes out to Western Australia or Van Dieman's Land, as an "exile," with a ticket of leave, (except in cases of misconduct during his previous term,) i. e., as a labourer under police surveillance. It is evident enough that this last system is wholly different from that transportation against which so just an outery was raised some years ago. But the colonists of New South Wales and Tasmania have not made this distinction. They have clamoured violently against the introduction of any criminals, even if subjected to this previous discipline, and arriving with certificates of character; they have formed a "league" against them, and have agitated most vehemently on the subject; while, at the Cape, they went still further, and refused both supplies, and permission to land, to a shipload of comparatively inoffensive Irish convicts," several of whom were in weak health, and the superintending surgeon of whom died in consequence of this selfish and inhuman treatment.

Now, these reckless proceedings have brought the greatest embarrassments upon

^{*} Some were political offenders, and most were men who at the time of the famine had been driven by starvation into theft.—Lord Grey, Col. Pol., ii. pp. 210-224.

the Home Government; and the difficulty | district of New South Wales, Moreton Bay, of disposing of its criminals is now aggravated is clamourous for convict labour, and even by the gold discoveries, which of course place transportation to the contiguous districts quite out of the question. But the point to which we wish to call attention, is the utter selfishness, one-sidedness, and essential inaccuracy of the view which the coloniststhe "Anti-Convict League" party among them at least-have throughout taken of the subject. They have thought only of their own wants and wishes, never of their duties; only of themselves, never of the Empire; only of the actual majority among them, never of the needs or desires of the differently situated minority. Holding that the mother country ought to bear, as she does, a large proportion of their burdens, they have refused to aid her by bearing one of hers, by touching it even with their little finger. In the first place, we must remember that both New South Wales and Van Dieman's Land were originally established as penal settlements; they were territories belonging to Great Britain in which she (wisely or unwisely is not now in question) resolved to place some of her prisons and penitentiaries; free emigrants were attracted thither by the advantage of convict-labour; to that labour and to the large expenditure of notice this as shewing how much the objecting the mother country in the maintenance of her penal establishments, these colonies owe their rapid rise and much of their actual prosperity; if convicts are a nuisance, the settlers went to the nuisance, the nuisance was not sent to them: legally, therefore, the complaint is barred; if convicts were an advantage, as they unquestionably were, it is surely both selfish and unjustifiable for the colonists, who have made large fortunes and grown rich and powerful through that instrumentality, now to turn round and reproach the Home Government with the very practice by which they have gained so largely. They are no doubt fully entitled to say to Great Britain,-"We can now dispense with convict-labour; we therefore entreat to be spared any further exposure to what we must regard as a demoralizing influence; send us no more criminals, or send us them only reformed, in moderate numbers, and under fitting regulations;" but surely not to say, as in effect they have done,-" You are villains to think of swamping us with your pollutions, and we will rebel if you send us another ship." In the second place, the opponents of convict emigration appear not to be a very decided, or sincere, or unfluctuating majority, to judge from the vacillating councils which have proceeded from Australia. Three facts at least are certain ;-first, that a large and flourishing Dispatch from Sir C. Fitzroy.

claims to be separated into a distinct colony rather than be deprived of the resource it values so highly; secondly, notwithstanding the outcry raised at public meetings and elsewhere, (much of which, there is reason to believe, arises from the labouring classes who fear the effect of competition in reducing their high wages,) the services of convicts are seized upon as soon as they arrive with absolute avidity. In Van Dieman's Land, up to the latest reports, they are en-, gaged with the greatest eagerness the first day of their arrival. And even in Sydney, when the first batch of "ticket-of-leave" men appeared in the "Hashemy" in 1849, nearly all at once obtained respectable employment, although four emigrant ships with 1000 souls on board were at the moment lying in the harbour; * thirdly, that notwithstanding the members of the "Australian League" enter into a solemn league and covenant not to employ any convict servants, yet, in July 1851, it was ascertained that no fewer than 224 convicts were then in the employment of such mem-

In the third place, -and it is important to colonists are actuated by passion rather than by reason,-they refuse to acknowledge any difference between "exiles," who come to them with tickets-of-leave after having undergone three years of severe reformatory discipline, (during which time they have conducted themselves well,) and the convicts who used to be sent straight from the court of justice or the hulks with all their The refusal to rascality fresh upon them. receive the latter was well grounded enough: the refusal to receive the former, is a harsh and selfish denial to men who have sinned and been punished, of an opportunity-their only opportunity-of turning over a new leaf and leading a better life. For, in the fourth place, we must bear in mind that the difficulty of disposing of our liberated criminals has always been one of the greatest embarrassments of the mother countrythe most insoluble problem of criminal jurisprudence. Austria, France, and Russia, have felt it like ourselves. A criminal released from prison in England has literally no resource but renewed crime. He cannot obtain decent employment or an honest livelihood. The supply of labour being generally in excess of the demand, the character and antecedents of every applicant

^{*} Parliamentary Paper, January, 1850, p. 26.

from his old haunts and associates to a land where honest industry will make any man independent, he has every facility and every motive to reform and good behaviour; the mother country benefits doubly by his transference; the colonies gain the advantage of his services in a state of society where manual labour is greatly wanted; while, if he undergo a proper course of preliminary discipline, and if the whole number sent be in only moderate proportion to the free population, the moral tone of the conviet is far more likely to be raised, than that of the community to be lowered. The liberated convict, it should always be remembered, must be somewhere, If the general balance of good and evil for the empire be looked to, it is beyond dispute that his presence in a well situated colony does less harm and more good than it would anywhere else. And if the interests concerned be taken separately, it must still be admitted that the two first parties to the transaction-viz., the State and the criminal, make a large and undeniable gain, while the colony, if it suffers or risks some moral evil, suffers infinitely less than any old and overerowded society, in which the convict should be turned loose with far greater inducements to commit fresh crime.

Finally, we wish to observe that the colonies, in refusing to receive selected men with tiekets of leave or conditional pardons, are acting not only unkindly and ungenerously, but in excess both of their rights and of their powers. For it cannot be denied that it is in the competence of the Queen to grant a pardon to any eriminal at any period during his sentence, on condition of his expatriating himself, or to make this condition a part of his sentence; neither can it be denied that it is in the power of any benevolent individuals in England to form themselves into a society for aiding in the disposal of criminals after the expiration of their term of imprisonment, and for this purpose -and as the best means of achieving this purpose-to purchase lands in Australia, and to send out released criminals either as free occupiers, or as hired labourers of those lands;-neither can it be denied that it is competent for Parliament to vote grants in aid of such a benevolent design,-nor that both the State and private individuals would be perfectly entitled to subscribe funds to furnish these emigrants with a free passage to their new home ;-nor would the colonists fact exercise any power, to inquire into the selfish, ungenerous, ungrateful, and unfeeling

are too scrupulously investigated to allow moral and social antecedents of emigrants him even a chance. Whereras, by a removal who thus came out to them at their own expense, or at that of the mother country. Many of those who now come out to them free, may formerly have committed crimes; many of those sent out by parish authorities probably have; some of those sent out by Mr. Sidney Herbert's society are supposed not to have been immaculate; many of those who have erowded to the gold diggings ean scarcely be assumed to have been the best of characters in the old world ;-but the Australians neither can nor do prevent their landing, nor in fact have they ever dreamed of advancing such pretensions. Now, in what point does the reception of such released and whitewashed offenders as we have imagined above-whitewashed as having undergone their punishment and been restored to freedom-differ from that of men arriving with conditional pardons after having passed through Pentonville and Portland, except that the latter are still kept under some surveillance and control, and that the former are not. On no principle can the colonists justly or consistently refuse to receive half-punished and liberated convicts, which would not also warrant them in subjecting every emigrant, on his appearanee in their harbours, to a sort of moral quarantine examination, and forbidden " pratique" to all who could not prove stainless antecedents and an honourable escutcheon.

When all these considerations are duly weighed;-when it is remembered that these colonies were founded for the disposal of convicts; that they have been made what they are mainly by convict labour; that they were established and have been maintained by Great Britain at a vast expense; that they form part of a great empire and enjoy the privileges of British subjects; and that even now we have the burden of proteeting and defending them ;-when it is remembered further that the only chance of rescue and redemption for the guilty and the punished lies in being removed to a new land, and in being dispersed as widely as possible over the world, and that to compel them to remain in England is to doom them to crime and misery forever; and moreover that the burden, the embarrassment, and the danger, which are so great to us, would be comparatively slight to the Colonies ;-we think it will be generally felt that the conduct of the parties we have referred to has been, as regards the criminals, cruel and unchristian; and, as regards the country from which they are an offset, have any right, nor could they in point of and the empire of which they form a part,

-defensible upon no sound arguments, and springing from no creditable source.*

Let us now look back and recapitulate in a few words the conclusions at which we have arrived in the course of this long paper. We have been obliged to concede the whole argument of the mere Economist, and to admit that the mother country derives no assignable or material benefit from the retention of her dependencies, which would not equally accrue to her were they separate and free, and that she incurs great expense, heavy anxieties, and obvious risks on their behalf;-that, nevertheless, she is bound to retain them-though not indefinitely, foreibly, nor with an unrelaxing grasp-out of regard to the welfare of the colonists themselves, in justice to the native and inferior races who inhabit them, and with a view to the highest interests of human civilisation; and that, by rendering the connexion perma. nent and maintaining our colonial empire unbroken, under just, wise, and liberal regulations, we shall be securing a glorious future both for them and for ourselves. We have seen, too, that while the main principles which should guide our policy towards our colonies are clear, simple, indisputable, and undisputed, the rules which must regulate the application of those principles to each individual ease, cannot be strictly defined or laid down beforehand, but must be left to the discretion of the Home Government, controlled and watched by that public opinion which, as it is daily becoming more alert, and more enlightened, is also daily becoming more and more our chief safe-guard against abuses in all departments. We have seen that while many cases occur in which right and justice as well as the interests of the colony and of the empire require the control of the parent state, yet that the object at which we have to aim is to reach the maximum of self-government, and the minimum of metropolitan interposition; and that representative institutions should be conferred, and the powers assigned to them extended, as fast as the elements of them can be ereated and augmented; till, in process of time, nearly all our actual colonies shall become virtually independent states, and faithful and attached allies-bound to us only by that silken tie which is stronger and more enduring than hoops of iron or bands of brass.

In what mode, and through the intervention of what minister or council, the neces-

sary government of Crown colonies is to be carried on, and the indispensable amount of control over representative colonies to be exercised, is an important branch of the subject, of which we have given ourselves little room to speak. Some have suggested the creation of a sort of Consultative Couneil of ten or twelve members, representatives from each colony or group of colonies, to whom all the dispatches of the Secretary of State should be submitted, and who should in fact form a kind of cabinet for advising and assisting him, but without any veto on his ultimate decision. We see few objections to this scheme, and it is possible that much good might arise from it.* Others have recommended that each colony shall have the right of sending one or more representatives (according to its population and importance) to the Imperial Parliament, who should have precisely the same privileges as any other senators, and be as eligible to all offices under the Crown. There are, no doubt, certain objections to this scheme, (some of which were succinetly stated in a recent Number of the Edinburgh Review, October 1852, p. 499,) but it would probably have a greater effect than any other scheme as a permanent bond of union between the different portions of the empire. Every Australian, Canadian, or New Zealander, would then feel that he was indeed a British citizen, and might aspire in common with the rest to the great prizes of Imperial ambition; while the representative who had served a certain time in the British Parliament would carry back with him to his native province a standard of requirement as to public manners, morals, and talent, which would act with admirable effect upon colonial society. Everybody allows that there is no education like that of the House of Commons, and certainly it is nowhere more needed than in our colonies, closer the connexion between them and the mother country can be made in every way, the more will her moderating and refining influence be felt. We confess, however, that we are less anxious than most as to the mere form and mechanical arrangement of the colonial department of government at home. As long as the British public knew nothing and cared nothing about the outlying dependencies of the empire, the constitution of this department was a matter of serious and undeniable importance. this is now no longer the case: every day our interest and knowledge respecting

[•] We must be understood as expressing no opinion as to the advisability of continuing transportation mous, under the existing circumstances: we have here considered the question simply with regard to the conduct of the colonies as sindicative of fitness, or the contrary, for uncontrolled legislative action.

^{*} This suggestion is admirably argued in the October Number of the Westminster Review, p. 422, et sea.

That attained, the colonies are safe : as soon as the vigilant eye of the public and the press is brought to bear on the conduct of the Secretary of State, there can be no more neglect, or jobbing, or abuse, or oppression; no Minister for his soul dare commit deliberate or reckless wrong. Mistake sthere may be, errors of judgment there may be, occasional misunderstandings even, of the essence of important questions,-to these any minister, any council, any assembly, will be liable, and we confess we are no believers in the inherent superiority and infallible wisdom of colonial delegates and colonial assemblies :- but with public opinion as the watch-dog, and public reprobation as the penalty, the colonies may rest secure that the highest talent, the most sedulous care, and the strictest conscientiousness which the political world of Britain can produce, will be applied to their concerns as certainly and impartially as to those of the empire at large, or of the metropolis where Parliament holds its sittings.*

ART. III .- 1. The Military Miscellany. HENRY MARSHALL, M.D. 1846.

2. Speech by the Secretary at War, on moving the Estimates for the Army. rnary 25, 1853.

3. Report of the Sickness, Mortality, and Invaliding of the Troops in Great Britain, the Mediterranean, and British America. By Lieutenant-Colonel Tullocu and Dr. T. G. Balfour. March 31, 1853.

Twenty years ago, the British soldier (taking ninety-nine out of a hundred) was a man who, when in the eye of the law a minor, had in a fit of passion, or when drunk, or from idleness, want, or to avoid civil punishment, sold his personal liberty, his life—in one word, himself—to the State without reservation. In return for this, he got a bounty of £3, 10s., which, however, was taken back as soon as he was sworn, to pay for his outfit-his kit, as it is called, and he enjoyed an annuity of 1s. 1d. a day, out of which, after paying his share of the mess, his shoes, &c., there remained of daily sur-

colonial affairs are on the increase, and plus about 3d. The State provided lodging henceforth we have no fear that they will and medical attendance, and the name, but not engross their full share of attention. little else, of religious and general education. In return, he put his will in the hands of the State, and was bound, at any time, and upon any ground, to destroy any other man's life or lose his own, at the word of command.* He was, as rapidly as possible, drilled into that perfect man-slaying instrument, that consummate destroyer, that we and our enemies know him to be. And having no hope, no self-respect, no spiritual progression, nothing to look forward to, he sank into the sullen, stupid, indomitable human bull-dog. He lived in hopeless celibacy, shut out from any but the worst influences of the other sex. He became proverbially drunken, licentious, and profane. He knew his officer only to obey him, and often to hate and despise him. Memory and hope died within him : for what had he to remember but his own early follies and fatal enlistment, or to anticipate but the chances of his being killed, or dying wretchedly of disease, or turned off a stupid, helpless, and friendless old man? wonder that he was, as is proved by the

* Our readers cannot fail to remember Herr Diogenes Teufelsdrock's account of this in that fanlastic and delightful book, "Sartor Resartus":-- "What, speaking in quite unofficial language, is the net pur-port and upshot of soldiers and of war? To my own knowledge, for example, there dwell and toil in the British village of Drumdrudge, usually some five hundred souls. From these, by certain 'natural enemies of the French,' there are necessarily selected, during the French war, say thirty able-bodied men. Drumdrudge, at her own expense, has suckled and nursed them; she has, not without difficulty and nurses them; see has, not without dimenty and sorrow, fed them up to manhood, and even trained them to crafts, so that one can weave, and another build, another hamnier or stitch, and the weakest can stand under thirty pounds avoirdupois. Nevertheless, amid much weeping and swearing, they are selected, all dressed in red, and shipped away at the public charges, some two thousand miles, or say only to the South of Spain, and fed and scourged there till wanted. And now to that same spot in the south of Spain are thirty French handicraftsmen from a French Drumdrudge, in like manner wending; till at length, after infinite effort and expense, the two parties actually meet, and thirty stand confronting thirty, each with a gun in his hand. Straightway the word 'fire' is given, and they blow the souls out of one another; and in place of sixty brisk, useful workmen, the world has sixty dead carcasses which it must bury, and anew shed tears for. Had these it must oury, and anew sned tears for. That these men any quarrel? Busy as the devil is, not the smallest; they lived far enough apart, nay, in so wide a world, there was even unconsciously, by commerce, some mutual helpfulness between them. How then? Simpleton! Their governments had fallen out, and instead of shooting one another, had the cunning to make their poor blockheads shool. In that fiction of the English Smollet, it is true, the final cessation of war is perhaps prophetically sha-dowed forth when the two 'natural enemies' (France We would call the attenuous of the same and Britain in person take cacu a supparer of singular ability which appeared in the land Britain in person take cacu a smoke in Westminster Review for October 1852, entitled "Our filled with brimstone, light the same, and smoke in each other's faces till one or both give in."

| Compared to the same and the s

We would call the attention of our readers to a

greater frequency of suicide in military, ality, health, and general condition of the than in civil life, more miserable and less careful of himself than other men. His daily routine was somewhat as follows:-He was drummed out of bed at five o'clock, his room being a large common dormitory, where the words of three or four biackguards might make all the rest comfortless and silent. He rushed out of doors to the pump, and washed himself out of his hands as he best could, and went to drill; breakfasted substantially, then out to parade, where he must be in proper trim, pipe-elay immaculate; then to go through the everlasting round of "Attention! Eyes right! Stand at ease," &c. Dinner at one o'clock, of excellent broth and meat, and after that nothing to do till nine at night, or to cat till breakfist next morning.

Can there beany wonder that the subjects of this system became so often drunkards, and ran into all sorts of low dissipation, ruining themselves, soul and body? Much of this evil is of course inherent and necessarv; it is founded in the constitution of man that such should be, in the main, the result of such an unnatural state of things, But within twenty years there have been numerous improvements. The soldier is now a freer, happier, healthier man, more intelligent and moral, and certainly not less efficient than he ever was since the institu-

tion of a standing army.

In his admirable speech in February last, when moving the estimates for the army, Mr. Sidney Herbert made the following remark :- "He did not believe that at any period had the soldier been more comfortable than at the present moment;" he might safely have said as comfortable as at the present moment. After shewing that, by strict and continuous vigilance in this department, in eighteen years, since 1835, "the pattern year of economy," there had been a reduction of £132,766, as compared with the estimate of that year, while, for the smaller sum, we maintained 21,000 men more, the cost of each man being £42, 15s. 11d. in 1835, and in the present year £40, 3s. 6d., £10 of this being for the cost of the officers, making the expense of each private £30, 3s. 6d.; after making this exposition of the greater economy in the production and maintenance of our soldiers, Mr. Herbert went on to shew that this had been effected not only without in any way curtailing their comforts, but with an immense increase in their material and moral well-being. We shall mention some of the more marked causes and proofs of this gratifying and rethe army, as regards the intelligence, mor- would be no easy matter to estimate at its

common soldier.

1st. The good-conduct pay has been increased to £65,000 a year. Formerly, every man got an increase of pay for long service; now he gets 1d. a day added to his pay at the end of every five years-it was at first seven-provided he has been clear of the defaulters' book for two years, and he carries one-half of it to his pension, in addition to the amount he is entitled to for length of service. This scheme is working well.

2d. Barrack libraries have been instituted, and with signal benefit. There are now 150 libraries, with 117,000 volumes, and 16,000 subscribers, the men giving a penny a month.

3d. Regimental schools, proposed by Mr. Herbert, and carried excellently out by Lord Panmure. After encountering much prejudice and objection, this plan is going on prosperously. There are now employed with different corps, 60 masters and 16 assistants, all of whom are taken from commissioned and non-commissioned officers. In the 77th Regiment, the school-roll amounts to 538 adults; the 35th, to 371; the 82d, to 270. This attendance is voluntary, and it is paid for; the only compulsory attendance being in the case of recruits, so long as drilling lasts.

4th. Savings banks, established in 1844. In 1852, the number of depositors was 9,447; the amount deposited, £111,920.

5th. Diminution of punishments .- In 1838, the number of corporal punishments was 879; in 1851, 206; and in 1852—the return being for the troops at home, and half the force on foreign stations-they were as low as 96, and all this without the slightest relaxation of discipline. In 1838, the number of persons tried by courts-martial was in proportion to the entire effective force as 1 in 111. Now, it is only 1 in 16.

6th. Increased Longevity .- There never were so few deaths per annum as at present. At the Mauritius and Ceylon the mortality has fallen from $43\frac{e}{16}$ to $22\frac{1}{3}$ per 1000—nearly one-half; and at Hong-Kong, too famous for its deadly climate, more than half -150 to 69; while in the East and West Indies and the Cape, in spite of pestilence and war, the diminution of deaths is most strongly marked. Add to all this, that unlimited service-the legal sanction of a man selling himself for life-no longer exists, having been abolished in 1847-thanks to Lord Panmure's courage and wisdom; and we have an amount of misery, degradation, and crime prevented, and of comfort, health, markable improvement, in the condition of and workmanlike efficiency gained, which it an immense public benefit, it is well to do our best to indicate in what quarter, and in what measure, as a nation, whom all this concerns so deeply, our gratitude and praise are due. To what, and to whom, do we owe all this?

The what is not far to seek. Under God, we owe this change for the better, like so many others which we are enjoying and forgetting, to that mighty agent which is in our day doing such wonders, and which will yet do more and greater-the spirit of the age -public opinion-of which, when so manifestly working out the highest interest of man, we may conditionally, and with reverence, say, in the words of "the Book of Wisdom," that it is "the very breath of the power of God-an understanding spirit -kind to man, ready to do good, one only, yet manifold, not subject to hurt, which cannot be letted." This great social element, viewless, impalpable, inevitable, untameable as the wind; vital, clastic, all-penetrating, all-encompassing as the air we breathe, the very soul of the body politic, is-like the great laws of nature, of which, indeed, it is itself one, for ever at its work; and like its Divine Author and Guide goes about continually doing good. Without it, what could any man, any government do for the real good of mankind? It cannot be letted. If you are against it get out of its way as you best can, and stand aside and wonder at its victorious march; if you will not, rather go with it and by it. This is that tide in the affairs of men-a Deo, ad Deum-that onward movement of the race in knowledge, in power, in worth, in happiness, which, with its eternal music, and power, and motion, has gladdened and cheered all who believe, and who, through long ages of gloom, and misery, and havoe, have still believed that truth is strong, next to the Almightythat goodness is the law of His universe, and happiness its end, and who have faith

> "That God which ever lives and loves, One God, one law. one element, And one far off divine event, To which the whole creation moves."

It is a tide that has never turned; unlike the poet's, it does the behest of no waning and waxing orb, it follows the eye of Him who is without variableness or the shadow of turning. And no man has yet taken it at its flood. It has its flux and reflux, its ebb and flow, its darkness and its bright light, its storm and calm; and, as a child who watched the rising tide, and saw one wave in the act of withdrawing itself, might, department of human suffering and need, it

full value and degree. In the case of such | if it saw no more, say, it was retreating, so with the world's progress in liberty, happiness, and virtue; some may think its best is over, its fulness past, its cbb far on; but let the child look again-let the patriot be of good cheer, and watch and trust the next wave, it may be a ninth, curling his monstrous head and hanging it-how it sweeps higher up the beach, tosses aside as very little things, into ruin and oblivion, or passes clear over the rocks and the noisy bulwarks of man's device, which had for long fretted and turned aside and baffled all former waves, these once fomidable barriers may be seen far down in the clear waters, undisturbing and undisturbed-the deep covering themand the cunning and studious eye may now see what they really were, how little or how big. If our readers wish to illustrate how the power of public opinion, this tide of time, deals with its enemies and with its friends-how it settles its quarrels and attains its ends, and how, all at once and unexpectedly, it may be seen flowing in, without let or hindrance,

"Whispering how meek and gentle it can be,"

let him go down to the sea shore, and watch the rising tide, coming on lazily at first, as if without aim or pith, turned aside by any rock, going round it, covering it by and by, swayed and troubled by every wind, shadowed by every passing cloud, as if it were the ficklest of all things, and had no mind of its own; he will, however, notice, if he stays long enough, that there is one thing it is always doing, the one thing it most assuredly will do, and that is, to move on and up, to deepen and extend. So is it with the advance of truth and goodness over our world. Whatever appearances may be, let us rest assured the tide is in the main making, and is on its way to its fulness.

We are aware that in speaking of such matters, it is not easy to avoid exaggeration both in thought and expression; but we may go wrong, not less by feeling and speaking too little, than by feeling and speaking too much. It is profane and foolish to deify public opinion, or, indeed, any thing; but it is not right, it is not safe to err on the other side, and ignore and vilipend. In one sense public opinion is a very commonplace subject, in another it is one of the chiefest of the ways of God, one of the most signal instruments in his hand, for moving on to their consumation his undisturbed affairs. There never was a time in the world's history, and there never was a nation, in which this mighty agent made head as it is doing now, and in ours, Everywhere and over every

is to be found arising with healing under its | right and by natural fitness to Society; and wings. That it goes wrong and does wrong Government has been trying for thousands is merely to say that it works by human of years to do her work and its own, and means; but that in the main it is on the has bungled both, as a matter of course. right road and on the right errand, and that thus far it is divine, and has in it the very breath of the power of God, no man surely who discerns the times and the seasons, will deny; to use the eloquent words of Maurice -"In a civilized country-above all, in one which possesses a free press-there is a eertain power, mysterious and indefinite in its operations, but producing the most obvious and mighty effects, which we call public opinion. It is vague, indefinite, intangible enough, no doubt; but is not that the case with all the powers which affect us most in the physical world? The further men advance in the study of nature, the more these incontrollable, invincible forces make themselves known. If we think with some of mysterious affinities, of some one mighty principle which binds the elements of the universe together, why should we not wonder, also, at these moral affinities, this more subtle magnetism, which bear witness that every man is connected by the most intimate bonds with his neighbour, and that no one can live independently of another?"

We believe that in the future, and it may not be very far off history of our world, this associative principle, this attractive, quickening power, is destined to work wonders in its own region, to which the marvels of physical science in our days will be as nothing. Society, as a great normal institute of human nature, is a power whose capacities in its own proper sphere of action, such as it now exhibits, or has ever exhibited, and such as it is destined hereafter to exhibit, are to each other as is the weight, the momentum of a drop of water, to the energy of that drop converted into steam and compressed and set a working. We believe this will be one of a standing army with service for life, and the crowning discoveries and glories of our race, about which, as usual, we have been long enough, and of which, when it comes, every one will say, How did we never discover that before ?-how easy, how simple ! Society is of the essence of unfallen man; it is normal; it preceded and will survive the loss of Eden; it belongs to the physiology of human nature. Government, be it of the best, must always have to do (and the more strictly the better) with its pathology-with its fall. Were original sin abolished to-morrow, the necessity, the very materials of Government would cease. Society and all her immense capabilities would ion, and many other things, all belong by such as have committed capital crimes,

But we have less to do at present with this wonder-working power, than with those who were the first to direct and avail themselves of it, for forwarding and securing the welfare of the common soldier who had been so long shut out from its beneficent im-

These men, simple-minded, public-spirited, industrious, resolute, did not work for gratitude-they would have worked all the better, however, with it. They are gone elsewhere, where no gratitude of ours can affect them; but it is not the less right, and good, and needful for that great creature, the public, to feel this gratitude, and let it go forth in hearty acknowledgment. This is a state of mind which blesses quite as much him who gives, as him who receives; and nothing would tend more to keep the public heart right, and the public conscience quick and powerful, than doing our best to discover what we owe, and to whom; and as members of the body politic let our affection and admiration take their free course. One of the best signs of our times is the extension, and deepening, and clarifying of this sense of public duty, of our living not for ourselves, of what we owe to those who have served their generation-the practical recognition, in a word, not only that we should love our neighbours as ourselves, but that according to the interpretation of the word, reserved for the Divine Teacher, every man is our neighbour.

The difficulties in the way of any amelioration in the moral condition and bodily comforts of the soldier, must of necessity be great, and all experience confirms this. body of men such as, in a country like ours, pay below the wages of the labouring classes, must unavoidably consist of, is one the reform of which might deter and dishearten any man, and excuse most. How often have we been told that flogging was a necessary evil; that unlimited service was the stay of the army; that knowledge would make the men discontented, and useless, and mischievous! "Soldiers," said Mr. Pulteney in 1832, "are a body of men distinct from the body of the people; they are governed by different laws. Blind obedience is their only principle." Bruce, in his "Institutions of Military Law, 1717, gives what we doubt not was a true account once more be at home, and full of life, and of the composition of European armies in go on her way rejoieing. Education, relig- his day :- "If all infamous persons, and heretics, atheists, (!) and all dastardly and Sir Charles Napier, Colonel Lindsay, Lord efferninate men, were weeded out of the army, it would soon be reduced to a pretty moderate number, the greater part of the soldiery being men of so ignoble, disingenuous tempers, that they cannot be made obedient to the allurements of rewards; nay, coercion being, generally speaking, the surest principle of all vulgar obedience. There is, therefore," he grimly adds, "another part of military institution fitted to such men's capacities, and these are the various punishments" (and such a catalogue of horrors!) "awarded to their crimes, which, as goads, may drive these brutish creatures who will not be attracted." We are now at last trying the principle of attraction, and are finding it succeeds here, as it does elsewhere-keeping all things sweet and strong, from the majestic ordinances of heaven, to the guidance of a village school. It is too true that Lord Melville in 1808, in his place in the House of Lords, when opposing Mr. Wyndham's most humane and judicious Army Bill, said, "the worst men make the best soldiers," and if we look back on the history of the army, the degradations, and miseries, and hardships of the common soldier, we cannot help inferring that this monstrous dogma had been even improved upon, so as to reduce to their lowest the characteristics of humanity, and resolve his entire nature into one mass of strength and With such opinions as Lord stupidity. Melville's prevailing in civil, and not less in military life, it was no easy matter to set up as a military reformer. If the worst man made the best soldier, it was a contradiction in terms to think of making the man in any degree better. The converse was the logical sequence; to find the worst man, and by all means make him a worser still. Things are changed, and have been changing; and that humane spirit, that sense of responsibility as regards the happiness and welfare of our fellow-men on which we have already enlarged, and which is one of the most signal blessings of our time, has penetrated into this region, and Lord Melville's dogma is in the fair way of being overthrown and re-versed. It is now no longer legal for a British subject to sell himself, body and soul, for life. For this we have mainly to thank Lord Panmure, one of the ablest and best secretaries the War Office has ever seen. But while we most heartily acknowledge the great services of Lord Hardinge, Lord Grey, Mr. Ellice, Sir George Arthur,

Panmure, Mr. Sidney Herbert, and many others, in urging and carrying out all these ameliorations and reforms; and while we cannot easily overrate the value of the labours ' of Lieutenant-Colonel Tulloch and Dr. Graham Balfour in working out the vital statistics of the army, and demonstrating their practical bearing on the prevention of misery and crime and death, and the increased comfort and efficiency of the service; we are, we feel sure, only saying what every one of these-public spirited men will be the readiest to confirm, that to the late Dr. Henry Marshall is due the merit of having been the first in this great field,—the sower of the seed,-the setter agoing of this current of research and reform which has achieved so much. There is not one of these many improvements which he did not, in his own quiet, but steady and unflinching way, argue for, and urge, and commend, and prove, many years before they were acknowledged or taken up by the higher authorities. We find him, when a mere lad, at the Cape, in the beginning of the century, making out tables of the diseases of the soldiers, of the comparative health of different stations, and ages, and climates; investigating the relation of degradation, ignorance, crime, and ill usage, to the efficiency of the army and to its cost; and from that time to the last day of his life devoting his entire energies to devising and doing good to the common soldier. And all this, to say the least of it, without much assistance from his own department, (the medical,) till the pleasant time came when the harvest was to be reaped and the sheaves taken victoriously home.

" Have you seen Marshall's Miscellany?" said a friend to Mr. Fox Maule, when he was Secretary at War. "Seen it!" ex-claimed he, "why, Marshall's book is my Bible in all that relates to the welfare of the soldier." And it is not less honourable to our present Commander-in-Chief than to Dr. Marshall, that when presented by the author with a copy of this book, his Lordship said, "Your book should be in the hands of every army surgeon and in every orderly-room in the service." Any man who knows what the army is and was, and what the prejudices of the best military men often were,-and who has also read thoroughly the work we refer to, and has weighed well all it is for, and all it is against, and all that it proves,—will agree with us in saying, that for Lord Hardinge to ex-press, and for Dr. Marshall to deserve, such a compliment, is no small honour to

^{*} This was not the principle of one of the greatest of men and of soldiers. Cicero says of Julius Casar, there was never an 170 in his commands, but only a VENI, as if he scorned to be less or more than their both, leader.

made the least noise about it of any public a body of troops for a specific period. man we ever knew. He was eminently quiet in all his ways; the very reverse of moved from Edinburgh to Chatham, and in your loud man; he made no spasmodic efforts, he did nothing by fits or starts, nothing for effect; he flowed on incredibili lenitate, with a ceaseless and clear and powerful flow. He was a philosopher without knowing it, and without many others knowing it; but, if to trace effects up to their causes, to bring good out of evil, and order out of confusion, to increase immense-ly the happiness of his fellow-men, be wisdom, and the love of it, then was this good man a philosopher indeed.

Henry Marshall was born in the parish of Kilsyth in 1775. His father was a man of singular simplicity and worth, and besides his own excellent example, gave both his sons a college education. In May 1803 Henry became surgeon's mate in the royal navy, a service he left in September 1804; and in January 1805 was appointed assistantsurgeon to the Forfarshire regiment of militia. In April 1806 he became assistant-surgeon to the first battalion of the 89th regiment, which embarked in February 1807 for South America, thence to the Cape of Good Hope and Ceylon. In May 1809 he was appointed assistant-surgeon to a colonial regiment in Ceylon, in which island he remained until the spring of 1821, when he returned to England.

We shall now give a short account of his principal writings, and of the effect they had in attaining the great object of his long and active life, which, in his own words, was "to excite attention to the means which may meliorate the condition of the soldier, and exalt his moral and intellectual character."

1821 .- " Notes on the Medical Topography of the Interior of Ceylon, and on the Health of the Troops employed in the Provinces during the years 1815 to 1820, with brief remarks on the prevailing Diseases." London, 1821. Svo, pp. 228. The great merit of this little book consisted in the numerical statistics it contains regarding the mortality and diseases of the troops-a new feature in medical works at the time it was published.

His next publication was in 1823,-" Observations on the Health of the Troops in North Britain, during a period of Seven years, from 1816 to 1822."—London Medical and Physical Journal. The numerical

Dr. Marshall, to have done so much good, of sickness and the ratio of mortality among

In November 1823 Dr. Marshall was re-April 1825 was appointed to the recruiting depôt, Dublin, In 1826 he published " Practical Observations on the Inspection of Recruits, including Observations on Feigned Diseases."-Edin. Med. and Sur-

gical Journal, vol. xxvi. pp. 225.

1828 .- "Hints to Young Medical Officers of the Army on the Examination of Recruits and the Feigned Disabilities of Soldiers." London, 1828. 8vo, pp. 224. The official documents contained in this volume are interesting, in as far as they shew the difficulty of the duty of selecting recruits, and the very limited information the authorities, both military and medical appear to have had on the subject. It is full of interest even to the general reader, opening up one of the most singular and most painful manifestations of human character, and affording the strongest proofs of the inherent misery and degradation of the life of the British common soldier. In reading it, it is difficult to know which to wonder most at-the despair and misery that must prompt, the ingenuity that can invent, and the dogged resolution that can carry out into prolonged execution, and under every species of trial, the endless fictions of every conceivable kind therein described; or the shrewdness, the professional sagacity, and the indomitable energy with which Dr. Marshall detects, and gives to others the means of detecting, these refuges of lies. This is the only book in our language on this subject.

In January 1828, Sir Henry (now Viscount) Hardinge was appointed Secretary at War. One of the numerous important subjects connected with the administration of the war department which eagerly engaged his attention, was the large and rapidly increasing pension list. For a period of several months he laboured hard to obtain information, on the practical working of the existing pensioning warrants, chiefly from the unsatisfactory documents found at He soon discovered Chelsea Hospital. many abuses in the system then in operation. As a means of helping him to abate the abuses in question, he directed a Medical Board to assemble, of which Dr. Marshall was appointed a member, the specific duty of the Board being as follows :- " For the purpose of revising the regulations which relate to the business of examining and deciding upon the cases of soldiers recomportion of these observations was an attempt, mended for discharge from the service," and at that time a novel one, to collect and "The object of the proposed inquiry is to arrange the facts illustrative of the amount ascertain what description of disabilities

ought to be pensioned, and what not." The pension list at this time stood as follows:—

19,065 pensioners, at 6d. a-day, average age thirty-one years; alleged causes of being discharged, injuries or bad health.

16,630 at 9d. a-day, for service and disability combined.

21,095 at 1s. a-day, for length of service and wounds.

1,100 at 1s. 9d., blind.

27,625 no causes of disability assigned.

85,515

The list had increased greatly during a period of peace, and it was annually increasing. The mean rate of pension was 10 \(\frac{3}{2} \)d., and the annual amount \(\frac{21}{3}, 436,663 \); the annual rate of mortality among the pensioners being about 4 per cent.

During the sitting of the Board, Dr. Marshall collected some practical information on the pensioning question; and on returning to Dublin, in December 1828, he drew up a comprehensive scheme for pensioning soldiers, upon what he considered improved principles. Under the title of "Cursory Observations on the pensioning of Soldiers" he forwarded his scheme to Sir Henry Hardinge; and he had the satisfaction of finding that a new pensioning war-rant was made, founded on the same principles as his "Scheme," namely, 1st, length of service; 2d, wounds received before the enemy; 3d, greatly impaired health after fifteen years' service; 4th, anomalous disabilities, special cases, which require to be particularly considered. By Mr. Wyndham's Act of 1806 every man who was discharged as disabled was entitled to a pension for life, without reference to the time he had served; and, by the subsequent amendments and alterations, disabilities and not service constituted the chief claim for a pension. This mode of obtaining a pension opened a wide door for fraud of various kinds.

The Pensioning Warrant of the Secretary at War went through a number of editions, both in manuscript and in print.

In 1829, Dr. Marshall published "Observations on the Pensioning of Soldiers."—
United Service Journal, 1829, part ii. p. 317.—This paper has a peculiar interest, inasmuch as it gives an account of the frauds which had been committed in the army by the crasure and alteration of figures, and which had only lately been discovered. The falsification of records by this means was found, upon investigation, to have been practised to a considerable extent in almost every regiment in the service.

1829 .- " Historical Notes on Military Pensions," - United Service Journal.

1830.—" Notes on Military Pensions."

-United Service Journal.

Early in 1830, Dr. Marshall communicated to Sir H. Hardinge a paper on the about of intoxicating liquors by the European troops in India, and on the impolicy of uniformly and indiscriminately issuing spirit rations to soldiers. An abstract of this paper was subsequently published under the following title:—

1830.—"Observations on the Abuse of Spirituous Liquors by the European Troops in India, and of the Impolicy of uniformly and indiscriminately issuing Spirit Rations to Soldiers,"—Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal, vol. xli. p. 10.

Lord Hardinge carried into effect the suggestions contained in this paper with remarkable promptitude; indeed it would be difficult to praise too highly his Lordship's conduct in this matter, whether in regard to his discrimination in perceiving and appreciating the evils of the usage, his firmness in abolishing it at once, or his wisdom and courage in surmounting the prejudices of a large portion of all ranks of the army. Within a week after he received it, he had commenced measures to abolish the indiscriminate issue of spirit rations to soldiers on board ship and on foreign stations. So long as a quantity of spirits, amounting to about six or seven ounces, (in India it was the 20th part of a gallon,) formed part of the regular diet or daily ration of a soldier, which he was obliged to swallow or to throw away, what rational hope could be entertained that the exertions of commanding officers, however well directed, would have much effeet in checking drunkenness? The indiseriminate daily use of spirits, is not necessary for the efficiency or health of troops in any climate, and their abuse is a fertile source of disabilities, diseases, and crimes, both moral and military. To drink daily nearly half a pint of, spirits was then a part of the duty of a soldier; and that this duty might be effectually executed, it was the usage of the service, in many stations, to have it performed under the superintendence of a commissioned officer, who certified to his commanding officer that he had witnessed each man drink his dram or ration of spirits! Perhaps a more successful plan for converting temperate men into drunkards could not have been invented,

Dr. Marshall was attached to the War Office until 1830, when he was promoted to the rank of deputy inspector of hospitals by Sir II. Hardinge. Here ended his active service in the army, and he was placed on half-pay.

Shortly after the promulgation of the instructions for the guidance of medical officers in the duty of examining recruits, tality, and invaliding among the troops in which were drawn up by Dr. Marshall, the West Indies was laid before Parliament and were the result of a most laborious the following year. and difficult inquiry, it occurred to Sir H. Hardinge, that the publication of this document, together with the pensioning warrant, and other relative papers, accompanied by published in a small volume, for the inforobject Dr. Marshall published in-

1832,-"On the Enlisting, the Discharging, and the Pensioning of Soldiers, with the Official Documents on these branches of Military Duty." London, 1832. Svo. pp.

In the summer of this year Dr. Marshall married Anne, eldest daughter of James Wingate, Esq., of Westshiels. This union was, as he often said, the best earthly bless-

ing of a long and happy life.

1833 .- "Contributions to Statistics of the Army, with some Observations on Military Medical Returns. No. I."-Edinburgh Med. and Surgical Journal, vol. xl., p. 36.

It would be a work of supererogation for us to say one word in favour of military statistics, as a means of illustrating the con- mortality of which we may give some idea, dition of an army. For some time, how- by stating that a soldier serving one year in ever, after the publication of this paper, the utility of condensing and arranging medical returns was but very partially recognised; forty fell, in Jamaica one in seven annually, and Dr. Marshall's "array" of figures was No wonder that the poor soldier, knowing to have known better.

Army. No. II."-Edinburgh Med, and Sur-

gical Journal, vol. xl., p. 307.

1834.- "Sketch of the Geographical Distribution of Diseases."-Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal, vol. xxxviii., p. 330.

1834 .- "Abstract of the Returns of the Siek of the Troops belonging to the Presidency of Fort George, Madras, for the years 1827 to 1830."-Edinburgh Med. and Surgical Journal, vol. xxxix., p. 133.

1834 .- "On the Mortality of the Infantry of the French Army."-Edinburgh Med. and

Surgical Journal, vol. xlii., p. 34.

1835 .- "Observations on the Influence of a Tropical Climate, upon the Constitution and Health of Natives of Great Britain,"-Edinburgh Med. and Surgical Journal, vol. xliv., p. 28.

1835 .- " Contributions to Statisties of the British Army. No. III."-Edinburgh Med. and Surgical Journal, vol xliv., p. 353.

In 1835 Dr. Marshall, along with Lieutenant-Colonel Tulloch, (who has done such excellent service since,) was appointed to investigate the statistics of the sickness, mortality, and invaliding of the British

This report produced a change which was nothing short of a revolution in this department of military polity; it destroyed the old established notion of seasoning. The a suitable commentary, would be useful, if period of service in Jamaica used to be niue or ten years; this is now divided bemation of officers of the army; with this tween it and the Mediterranean stations and British America. The reason alleged for keeping them so long in so notoriously unhealthy stations, was the military and medical fallacy, that Europeans by length of residence became "seasoned." fallaey, which had been the source of so much misery, and erime, and death, and expense, was completely dissipated by these statistical returns, from which it was found that (as in every other case) mortality depended upon age, and that young soldiers lived longer there than older ones, however "seasoned" by residence or disease. The annual mortality of the troops in Jamaica was thirteen in the hundred by the medical returns, but the actual mortality amounted to about two per cent, more, a Jamaica encountered as much risk of life as in six such actions as Waterloo,-there one in laughed and sneered at by some who ought that eight or nine years must elapse before he left his deadly place, and seeing a seventh 1833 .- "Contributions to Statistics of the comrade die every year, lost all hope, mind and body equally broken down, and sank into drunkenness and an earlier grave. He eventually concluded, that it is a glorious elimate where a man is always dry and has always plenty to drink. Another evil pointed out by this able report, was that produced by the use of salted provisions. This practice was immediately changed. It also brought to light a very curious and very important fact, that in the barracks situated in Maroon Town, Jamaica, 2000 feet above the sea, the annual mortality was only 32 per 1000, while in Up-Park Camp, nearly on the level of the sea, it was 140 per 1000. The knowledge of this extraordinary, but, till the report, undiscovered fact, has been acted upon with eminent benefit; so much so that, had it been known during the seventeen years previously, the lives of 1387 men, and the loss of £27,740, might have been saved. We never met with a more remarkable instance of the beneficial effects of statistics.*

^{*} Any one wishing a fuller account of this me-morable experiment and its results, will find it in an admirable paper by Lieutenant-Colonel Tulloch, army. Their report on the sickness, mor- read before the Statistical Society in 1847.

1837 .- "Contribution to Statistics of the roused. The first of the three articles in Sickness and Mortality which occurred The Times appeared on the 2d of July, among the Troops employed on the Ex- 1846, and straightway, as a practical lecture pedition to the Scheldt, in the year 1809." - Edinburgh Med. and Surgical Journal, vol. xlviii, p. 305.

1839 .- "Contribution to Statistics of Hernia among Recruits for the British, and Conscripts for the French Army."-Edinburgh Med. and Surgical Journal, vol. 1., p.

1839 .- "On the Enlisting, Discharging, and Pensioning of Soldiers, with the Official Documents on these branches of Military Duty." Second Edition. Edinburgh, 1839. and one of the things he could stand no 1846 .- " Military Miscellany."

London, 1846.

that was characteristic of him. Although Dr. Marshall's book, dissuaded by his military friends fromquestions handled in it,-Recruiting-enrecruits-duration of engagement-suicide in the army, its greater frequency than in civil life, and the reason of this-punishments-rewards-vices and virtues of soldiers-pensions-education; these, and such like, are the subjects which are not so much discussed, as exhibited and proved. At the time the Miscellany came out many things The public mind having been enlightened on the evils of flogging in the army, and perpetual service, was bestirring itself in its own rough and vague, but energetic way; there was a "clamour" on these subjects; Dr. Ferguson's eloquent and able, though somewhat exaggerative "Notes and Reminiscences of Professional Life;" published after his death, took much the same views as Dr. Marshall, and three elaborate and powerful articles in The Times on these two books and their subjects, written with infinite ability and tact, had excited the attention of the nation greatly, and this was brought to its operative point, by none of those deplorable incidents out of which not seldom comes immediate and great good;—the sort of event which of all others rouses the British people and makes it act as one man, and in this case they were fortunately well informed, before being this was brought to its operative point, by

often concludes by the exhibition of a crucial and decisive experiment, on the 11th of the same month a soldier died at Hounslow, apparently from the effects of punishment inflieted in the previous month. This scaled the fate of the flogging system. The idea of Frederick John White of the 7th Hussars, "a brave fellow, who walked away whistling," and was said to be "gentlemanly, affable, and mild," dying of flogging at his very door, was too much for John Bull, 8vo. longer. The Commander-in-Chief instantly directed that henceforth fifty lashes should This most entertaining and effective book is be the maximum. At the time much of a complete epitome of its author's mind and this result was attributed, in the public character, it has something of everything prints and in Parliament, to the effects of Next session of Parliament more was done for bettering the with only one exception-publishing it, as lot of the common soldiers.* Mr. Fox being likely to produce dissatisfaction in the Maule moved and carried, that in regiranks, and offend commanding officers; no ments of the line the period of service such effect followed, but the very reverse, should be limited to ten years; continual It is, as its name denotes, not so much a reference was made in the debates to the treatise, as a body of multifarious evidence, "Miscellany," and its author had the satisenabling any man of ordinary humanity and faction of witnessing the completion of those sense, to make up his mind on the various cardinal ameliorations. We cannot convey a juster idea of this homely, unpretending listment-moral and physical qualities of volume, than in the generous words of a distinguished French physician :-

"C'est l'ouvrage d'un homme possédant parfaitement la matière, ayant passe la plus grande partie de sa vie à étudier le caractère, les mœurs et les besoins des soldats au milieu desquels il vivait et au bien-être desquels il avait voué son existence. Ayant autant d'elevation dans les vues que d'indépendance dans l'esprit, il a concurred in rapidly promoting its great aperçu les defauts partout où ils existaient et a eu le courage de les mettre à nu et de les signater. A ceux qui craindraient que le mémoire ne fût trop serieux ou trop monotone je dois dire que la foule d'anecdotes piquantes, de citations heureuses et opportunes dont le memoire est semé, reposent et distraient agréablement l'esprit du lecteur."

> Dr. Marshall's last publication on military subjects was in 1849 .- "Suggestions for the Advancement of Military Medical Litera-

^{*} The sale of spirituous liquors in canteens was abolished at this time, and with the very best results. Colonel Lindsay, the able and independent member for Wigan, has the merit of having contributed mainly to the removal of this crying evil. His speech on

ture." These were his last words for the things nobody else had done: a sort of origigood work. He was then labouring under a mortal disease, one of the most painful and terrible to which our frame is liableof its real nature and only termination he was, with his usual sagacity, aware from the first, and yet with all this, we never saw one more cheerful, never got a kinder welcome, and more patience in listening to what concerned only others. He used to say, "This is bad, very bad, in its own way as bad as can be, but every thing else is good-my home is happy; my circumstances are good; I always made a little more than I spent, and it has gathered of course; my life has been long, happy, busy, and I trust useful, and I have had my fill of it; I have lived to see things accomplished which I desired, ardently longed for, fifty years ago, but hardly hoped ever to see." With that quiet, rabut least overt qualities, he possessed his soul in patience in the midst of intense suffering, and continued to enjoy and to use life for its best purposes to the very last. Of religion, and especially of his own religion, he was not in the habit of speaking much; when he did, it was shortly and to , that the root of the matter was in him. His views of God, of sin, and of himself, and his relation to his Maker and the future, were of the simplest and most operative kind. When in Ceylon, and living much alone, away from religious books and ordinances, and religious talk, and controversy, and quarrel; away also from that religiosity which is one of the curses of our time, and is to religion what hemlock is to parsleylike, yet the opposite-he studied his New Testament, and in this, as in every other matter, made up his mind for himself. Not that he avoided religious conversation, but he seemed never to get over the true sacredness of anything connected with his own personal religion. It was a favourite expression of his, that religion resolved itself into wonder and gratitude-intelligent wonder; humble and active gratitude-such wonder and such gratitude as the New Testament breeds.

Dr. Marshall, as may readily be supposed, was not what the world calls a genius; had he been one, he probably would not have done what he did. Yet he was a man of a truly original mind: he had his own way of saying and doing everything; he had a knack nal in as much as he contrived to do many all the numerous works on "the utmost In-

service he had devoted the energies of a long nality worth a good deal of "original gelifetime to—a sort of legacy bequeathed to nius." And like all men of a well mixed, those who were going forward in the same ample, and genial nature, he was a humourist of his own and a very genuine kind; his short stories, illustrative of some great principle in morals or in practical life, were admirable and endless in number; if he had not been too busy about more serious matters, he might have filled a volume with anecdotes, every one of them both true and new, and always setting forth and pointing some vital truth. Curiously enough it was in this homely humour, that the strength and the consciousness of strength, which one might not have expected from his mild manner and his spare and fragile frame, came out; his satire, his perfect appreciation of the value and size of those he had in view, and his sly intuition into the motives and secret purposes of men, who little thought they were watched by such an eye, was one of the most striking, and gravely comic bits tional courage, which was one of his chief of the mental picturesque; it was like Mind looking up to and taking the measure of Body, and Body standing by grandly unconscious and disclosed; and hence it was that, though much below the average height, no one felt as if he were little - he was any man's match. His head and eye settled the matter; he had a large, compact, comthe purpose, and he made every one feel manding brain, and an eye singularly intelligent, inevitable, and calm.

Dr. Marshall died on the 5th May 1851, at Edinburgh, where he had for many years lived, and been, though out of the service, constantly occupied with some good work, in keeping all his old friends, and making new and especially young ones, over whom he had a singular power; he had no children, but he had the love of a father for many a youth, and the patience of a father too. In his married life, to use his own words, "I got what I was in search of for forty years, and I got this at the very time it was best for me, and I found it to be better and more, than I ever during these forty long years had hoped for.

Had such a man as Dr. Marshall appeared in France, or indeed anywhere else than in Britain, he would have been made a Baron at the least. He did not die the less contented that he was not; and we suppose, indeed we may be sure, that there is some wise though inscrutable final cause why our country in such cases, makes virtue its own and only reward.

Besides the publications we have mentioned, in connexion with military statistics and hygiene, Dr. Marshall published a hisof taking things at first hand; he was origi- tory and description of Ceylon, which, after

fullest, and the best. He also published on and Johnson; D. Monro; R. Somerville; the cinnamon and cocoa-nut trees, and a R. Jackson, whose system of arrangement sketch of the geographical distribution of and discipline for the medical department of disease, besides many other occasional pathe army is most valuable and judicious, pers, in all of which he makes out some and far in advance of its date, 1805; thing at once new and true. We may sum Cheyne; Lempriere, and Ferguson. All up his merits in the well weighed words of these reformers, differing as they often did Dr. Craigie, "He was the first to shew how the multiplied experience of the medical officers of the British Army at home and abroad, by methodical arrangement and concentration, might be applied by the use of computation, to furnish exact and useful results in medical statistics, medical topography, the geographical relations of diseases, medical hygiène, and almost every other branch of military medicine. Dr. Marshall must indeed be regarded as the father and founder of military medical statistics, and of their varied applications."

the medical military worthies who preceded them may be reckoned Sir John Pringle, the earliest and one of the best; " Drs.

* SIR JOHN PRINGLE .- This great and good man was truly what his epitaph in Westminster Abbey calls him, egregius vir—a man not of the common herd, a man in advance of his age. He is our earliest health-reformer, the first who in this country turned his mind and that of the public to hygiène as a part of civil polity. In the Library of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh there were deposited by him in 1781, a year before his death, ten large folios of MSS, entitled, Medical Annotations, forming the most remarkable record we have ever seen of the active intelligence and industry of a physician in the course of an immense London practice. Among other valuable matter these volumes contain a "Treatise on Air, Climate, Diet, and Exercise," as subjects concerning public as well as personal health, which indicates in a very interesting manner the infantile condition of this science at that time, and the author's singularly liberal, sagacious, and practical opinions. This treatise is continued from time to time through many volumes, and must have been many years in writing. It is much to be regretted, that by the terms of his gift of these MSS. the College is forbidden ever to publish any of them. When a history of vital statistics and hygiène is written, as we trust it may soon be, and we know of only one man who can fulfil this task, this treatise, dating nearly 100 years back, will deserve its due, as the herald of so much after-good.

Besides being, what only one other Scotsman, we believe, ever has been, (the Earl of Morton,) a Pre-sident of the Royal Society, he was Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh; and his observations on the diseases of the army, so famous in his day, with his discourse on some late improvements in preserving the health of mariners, may still be read with advantage for their accurate description, their humane spirit, and plain good sense, and stand out in marked contrast to the error, ignorance, and indifference prevalent in all matters concerning the prevention of disease. His greatest

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dian Isle," remains at once the shortest, the Brocklesby, the generous friend of Burke in the specific objects and expedients they each had in view, agreed in the great, but then imperfectly known and recognised principle, that prevention is not only better, but easier and cheaper, than cure-that health is more manageable than diseaseand that in military, as in civil life, by discovering, and attending to the laws by which God regulates the course of nature, and the health of his rational creatures, immense evils may be prevented with the utmost certainty, which evils, if once incurred, no skill and no art could countervail :- in the one case nature in her courses fights for, in We had intended giving some account of the other against us;—serious odds!

When and how is the world to be cured Dr. Marshall, but we have left ourselves no of its passion for the game of war? As to space, and our readers little patience. Among the when, we may safely say it is not yet come. In her voyage down the great stream, our world has not yet slid into that spacious and blessed Pacific, where birds of calm sit brooding on the charmed wave. no more got this length than we have that to which a friend of the author of "The New Moral World" so eagerly looked forward, when she asked him-

> When shall we arrive at that state of pudity, When we shall all walk about in our native nudity ?"

> We fear we cannot yet dispense altogether either with our elothes or our cartridges. We cannot afford to beat all our swords into ploughshares. But we as firmly believe that we are on our way to this, and that the fighting peace men are doing much good. The idea of peace, as a thing quite practicable, is gaining the ear of the public and from thence it will find its way into its brain, and down to its heart, and thence out in act by We have no doubt that the time its will. is coming when, for a great trading nation like ours, supplying a world with knowledge, and calico, and tools, to keep an immense army and navy, will be as manifestly absurd and unbusiness-like as it would be for a bagman from Manchester, or a travel-

glory in his own day is his least now, his epitaph bearing on its front that he was the man,— "Quem celcissima Wallim Princessa,"

Regina serenissima Ipsius denique Regis Majestas, Medicum sibi comprobavit." 15

the transactions of nations, as it has long of the valuable aid previously afforded by done those of private and social life-free that officer, in the medical details, for which of by the discharge of a park of artillery, selves of this new source of occupation, are enemy "as big as a church door." Thirdly, infantry, and 1s. 7d. in cavalry. most of all by their becoming, in the only hardly con patible with health. The eveninfluence of genuine virtue, more informed had been adopted by a few corps in 1837, with the knowledge, and the fear, and the is now general, and with, as might be exlove of God and of His laws.

copy of the new statistical report on the infantry, being annually as 570 in every sickness and mortality of the British army, 10,000 is to 275. This seems strange, as submitted on the 31st of March to the the cavalry is a more popular service and Secretary at War, and presented the other better paid, and the men of a higher class, day to Parliament. It does infinite credit and one would think the duties more interto the energy, and accuracy, and judgment, esting. The report gives the conjecture, of Lieut. Colonel Tulloch and Dr. Graham that this may arise from so many of them Balfour, by whom it has been prepared; being men of broken fortunes who enlist and is one of the most valuable results yet when rendered destitute by extravagance. obtained from that method of research of In the Foot Guards suicide is very rare, but

ler from "The Row," to make his rounds essence of an immense number of volumiamong his rural friends, armed cap-a-pie, nous reports—the two valuable public serasking orders with his circular in one hand, vants above mentioned have always heartily and a Colt's revolver in the other. As to acknowledged their obligations to Dr. Marthe how, chiefly in three ways: first, By the commercial principle of profit and loss, of a by saying,—"The death of Dr. Marshall, inheavy balance against, coming to influence spector-general of hospitals, has deprived us trade, mutual connexion, and intercourse, his long acquaintance with the statistics of the proof, publicly brought out, that the his profession so well qualified him." We interest of the body-politic is also that of shall make a few random extracts, to shew every one of its members, and the good of how well grounded Mr. Sidney Herbert's the whole, that also specially of each part - statement is, that the common soldier never the adoption, not merely in theory, but in was better off than now. The report begins practice, of a law of nations, by the great with enumerating the improvements in the leading powers, and the submitting disputes condition of the soldier since their last report regarding territory, commerce, and all the in 1841. We have already mentioned the questions arising out of active multifarious chief of these. During seven years, upwards trading among the nations, to reason and of £16,000 have been expended in the purfixed rules, and settling them by the arbi- chase of books for barrack libraries, and it tration of intelligent humane men, instead is found that the numbers who avail them-Secondly, By the art of war being by scien. every year on the increase, and thus, much tific discovery so advanced in the degree of the time formerly wasted in the canteen, and the immediateness of its destructiveness, to the injury alike of health and morals, is so likely utterly to destroy one of the sides, now devoted to reading. Great improveor better still, both, that it would come to ments have been made in the construction be as much in reality abolished among well- and ventilation of barracks, and the means bred, enlightened nations, as the duel would of ablution. The good-conduct pay is found be among civilized men, if it were certain to work excellently. Prior to 1837, the that one or both must be extinguished on maximum of pay to a private could never the spot. "Satisfaction" would not be so exceed 1s. 2d. per day in the infantry, 1s. often asked by nations or individuals, and 5d. in the cavalry, exclusive of beer money, dissatisfaction not so often expressed, were even after 20 years' service and the best this accomplished. We confess ourselves character; but by the operation of the goodbelievers in Mr. Nasmyth and his extermi-conduct warrants, a soldier by the same nating mortar, which makes a hole in the service may now obtain 1s. 4d. a-day in and chiefly, By nations not only becoming has greatly added to the comforts of old shrewder and more truly aware of their own soldiers, some of whom being married, could interests, or such "dead shots" as to make only support their families by restricting the issue of any war rapid and fatal, but their personal expenditure to an extent true sense, better,-more under the habitual ing meal of coffee or tea and bread, which pected, the best results. Suicide in the Since finishing this paper, we have seen a cavalry is more than double that in the which Dr. Marshall was, as we have seen, the mortality from disease is very great, the originator. It is not easy to make an The deaths among them annually per 1000, abstract of what is itself the concentrated are at the rate of of 20.4; in the infantry of

the line, 17.9, cavalry, 13.6; and in the civil population of large towns, 11.9. In the household cavalry the mortality is still loss: owing to their living better lives, and having larger pay and more comfort, and less exposure and better accommodation, their average per 1000 is only 11.1; but this result is also materially owing to a weeding process, by which those who exhibit traces of constitutional disease, or who are injuring their health and bringing discredit on the corps by dissipation, are from time to time discharged—216 of these mauvais sujets having been weeded out during the ten years to which the report refers.

"Such a weeding," the reporters very truly observe, "cannot fail to have a very beneficial effect both on their moral and physical condition, and, if practicable, would be of vast benefit also in other branches of the service." The difficulty originates in this, that in the line the rate of pay is less than the average wages of the labouring classes, while in the Horse Guards it is more.

Under the head of fevers, we find this extraordinary proof of the fatality of typhus In the troops of the United Kingdom;—in the cavalry, of those attacked, I in 3\frac{1}{2} dies; in the Foot Guards, I in 3\frac{1}{2}; in the infantry, I in 4—which is quite as high as the mortality of the remittent or yellow fever in the West Indies.

Nothing can be more satisfactory than the report on corporal punishments.

"This description of punishment has now become so rare, that in the Foot Guards, only one instance has occurred in every 1000 men annually; in the Regiments of the Line the proportion was five times as great. The large number of recruits in the latter, particularly after their return from foreign service, may be assigned as one cause for this difference, as also, their being dispersed over the country, and in many instances in quarters where no facilities exist for imprisonment. The establishment of military prisons, to which offenders may be sent from all parts of the country, has of late provided a remedy for this, which will be likely to render the contrast less striking in future years. admissions in the Dragoon Guards and Dragoons, are 3 per thousand annually, being a mean between the Foot Guards and Infantry of the

"We have no means of comparing the proportion during the period included in this Report with that of the previous seven years, except for the Cavalry, in which will be found a decrease in the admissions from 8 to 3 per thousand of the mean strength annually; so rare, indeed, is this description of punishment in the present day, that it may almost be considered extnet, except as regards a few incorrigibles, who are, unfortunately, to be found in the ranks of every Regiment, and who are probably equally numerous in civil life. The following Table exhibits the gradual decrease in this description of punishment among the several classes of troops in this country for each year since 1837:—

		_				-	-		, , ,		1
	1837	1838	1839	1840	1841	1842	1843	1844	1845	1846	Tota
Dragoon Guards and Dragoons	14	14	29	17	24	16	7	28	23	11	183
and Dragoons Foot Guards Infantry of the	4	3	7	3	2	4	5	5	6	1	40
Infantry of the Line }	68	92	86	46	56	59	76	107	151	27	786
Dragoon Guards	2.5	2.7	5.2	3.5	4.5	3-2	1.3	4.5	3.9	2.	3.4
Foot Guards .	-9	1	2.2	.9	.0	1.2	1.	1.	1-2	12	1.
Dragoon Guards and Dragoons Foot Guards Infantry of the Line	5.7	6.9	5.9	4.9	4.6	4.3	3.8	4.3	6.9	1.4	4.8
_	1		I.							1	1

"Thus, instead of 10 men in every thousand tends not merely to the troops at home, but to the whole Army, as will be seen by the following Summary, prepared from the Returns forwarded annually to the Adjutant-General's Department from every Regiment in the Service; the frequency, but a corresponding alteration

Years.	Effective Strength in each Year.	Sentenced to Corporal Punishment	Ratio per 1000 Sentenced to Corporal Punishment.
1838	96.907	955	10.3
1839	103,152	935	9.1
1840	112,653	931	8-3
1841	116,369	866	7.4
1842	120,313	881	7:3
1843	123,452	700	5.6
1844	125,105	695	5.2
1845	125,252	696	5.2
1846	126,591	519	4.1

"Thus, instead of 10 men in every thousand punishment, as was the case in 1838, the proportion in 1846 was only 4 per thousand not only has there been this great reduction in has taken place in the severity also. Even so late as 1832, the number of lashes which might be awarded by a General Court-Martial was unlimited, and in 1825 it is on record that one man was sentenced to 1900, of which he received From 1832 to 1837, the maximum numher of lashes inflicted by the sentence of such Courts became gradually reduced as follows :-1832, 1833. 1834. 1837. 800 600 500 500

"After 1836 no higher number could be awarded, even by a General Court-Martial, than 200 lashes; while a District Court-Martial was limited to 150, and a Regimental one to 100. of the text printed and unprinted, from the Since 1847 the maximum of this description of second century down to the present time a subsequent Report than on the present oc-

"When this amelioration commenced, grave apprehensions were entertained that it would give rise to such relaxation of discipline as to cause a considerable increase in the description of offences for which corporal punishment had usually been awarded, and that transportation and capital punishment would become more following Table prepared from the Adjutant-General's Return, No. XII. of Apendix:-

"In 1838 out of 96,907 men, there were 9.944 Courts-Martial—441 general and 4813 district; centenced to death 14; transportation 221. While in 1846, out of 126,591, there were 9,212 Courts-Martial-whereof there were 200 general and 3959 district; sentenced to death 1; trans-

portation 114."

All this has occurred without any relaxation of discipline-the army never having been in a more efficient state than at present,

ART. IV .- A Treatise on Biblical Criticism, exhibiting a Systematic View of that Sci-Two vols. Edinburgh, 1852.

gence and accuracy. An immense amount Church under great obligations. of labour must have been bestowed on its history and settlement. the books have been written—the history quisition with interest and advantage.

since 1941 the maximum of the description of the denissions between the effect of that restriction on the admissions of the best manuscripts with their comparative value-a description of the ancient versions and of the quotations in the early fathers, and their relative authority-the general theory of criticism and its more peculiar canons-with an application of the science to the more important passages, the reading of which has been disputed. These topics involve a great variety of questions, frequent; but never were apprehensions less and demand no ordinary research. The vo-warranted by the result, as will be seen by the lumes of Dr. Davidson exhibit a laborious and conscientions use of all the materials and assistance within his reach. The various chapters place before us the results of a calm and candid investigation of many difficult and controverted points. the book is a full and careful digest of all that has been written on the subject, it also contains the independent judgments and reasonings of the author. Extraneous matters of mere literary and antiquarian curiosity are anxiously excluded, though their introduction might have relieved the dryness of some of the details. We have no book in the English language that can be compared with this one in fullness and recency of authentic information, for no pains have been spared to make it a complete record of the present state of the science. Bishop ence. By SAMUEL DAVIDSON, D.D., LL.D. Marsh is now, to a great extent, antiquated; Home is multifarious and discursive; and Scott Porter's theological views have ap-Our readers may recollect that in a late parently modified some of his statements number we noticed Dr. Davidson's "Intro and conclusions. Dr. Davidson is trustduction to the New Testament." Mean- worthy-too candid to allow himself to be time the indefatigable author has not been swayed by preconceptions, and too honest idle. He has recently presented us with a to conceal his convictions, as his recorded new and enlarged edition of his earliest changes of opinion on several important volume, originally published in 1839. The points plainly testify. In his efforts to be edition before us is in two volumes-one lucid, he has fallen into a style that is plain being devoted to the Old Testament, and even to baldness; and in his anxiety to be the other to the New. It is, however, in brief, he has given his curt declarations an accordance with popular usage, that we call air of dogmatism. Had a little flesh occait another edition. In every respect it is a sionally covered the "dry bones," more innew work-not the old one re-written and terest would have been thrown over the re-modelled, but a distinct and independent various discussions. By means of his publication. The whole subject has been "Criticism," "Hermeneutics," and "Incarefully studied, in all its various depart troduction," Dr. Davidson has done good ments, with the author's characteristic dili- service to Christian truth, and laid the

We shall endeavour in the following these hosts of critical minutice. Criticism, pages, to give our readers a concise view of in the technical sense of the term, refers to the nature, necessity, history, and design the text itself,-not to its exposition, but to of Biblical Criticism-stating the general The subject in principles and results of the science with connexion with the new Testament em- familiar illustrations-avoiding at the same braces a wide circle of themes, such as time, technical terms and learned minutize, these,-the nature of the language in which so that general readers may follow our dis-

vine Being has made Himself known to the despair may drive us to conjecture, but we world as the Author of Redemption. We dare not preface any passage with the con-enter not at present into any vindication of clusive affirmation,—"Thus saith the Lord." the wisdom and benignity of this mode of There is no foundation for our faith, unless self-revelation. But had we charged our we of the present day are persuaded that selves with such a plea, we might easily we have Scripture essentially as pure as it have illustrated the wisdom of God, in commissioning and selecting human deputies to A mutilated Bible with fragmentary clauses, speak to their fellow-men in their own and disfigured by numerous and dismal tongue, and in qualifying them for this spaces, out of which precious words have function, first, by pouring His truth into dropped and disappeared, could neither entheir minds, and then by enabling them to impart these communicated thoughts in it homage. Alas! what melody could be words of perfect adaptation and fidelity. Jehovah, indeed, on one occasion, spoke in chords. an audible voice and amidst clouds and darkness from the summit of Sinai. But tion. If God has given a perfect revelation sive and intolerable that they shrank from means to prevent its being injured in the a repetition of it. With an earnest unanimity, the nation exclaimed, "Let not God Will he not secure to the nineteenth centu-speak with us, lest we die." So far from ry the very words of David's psalmody and being offended, God approved their request, Christ's sayings and discourses? Or are and He who knows our frame said in reply, we to be placed at sad discount and disad-"They have well spoken that which they vantage in having to take our Bible from have spoken." "I will raise up a prophet the hands of copyists, whose aching fingers from among their brethren, like unto thee, and will put my words in his mouth, and he shall speak unto them all that I shall command him." The divine seal was thus given, will be miraculously preserved from solemnly placed upon instruction by means error? And will not its essence be vitiated, permanent form from a human pen, have ed in helpless exposure? special attractions,-" Unto Him shall ye hearken." In accordance with this divine apparent. There are numerous various resolution, prophets were raised up from readings both in the Old and New Testatime to time to teach the Jewish people, and the succession reached its point of culmination in Him who spake as never man spake.

If therefore the Bible is Divine truth conof the message transmitted with substantial learning, rounded off the harder termina-

It is by means of Scripture that the Di- fulness and correctness, perplexity and was published at first by its various authors. tice us to its study, nor command us to do struck from a harp with broken and missing

Now, there is here a preliminary questhe Israelites, felt the scene to be so oppres- to the world, will he not take effectual course of transmission to distant ages? vantage in having to take our Bible from and drowsy eyes have produced serious discrepancies in the sacred text? May it not be anticipated that a book miraculously of inspiration. Divinity in its own majesty its purpose frustrated, and its heavenly repulses and terrifies; and frail and para- origin discredited, if it be exposed to the lyzed humanity cannot sympathize with its certain hazards of ordinary literary producmighty utterances. But the lessons which tions? Has Heaven deserted its own offproceed from human lips, and acquire a spring and left it like an orphan to be spoil-

We need not theorize when the fact is so ment, and these have been produced in consequence of frequent transcription. The inspired autographs have long ago perished, and the most ancient copies to which we have access exhibit many textual variations. veyed in human language, all its words No promise of infallibility was made to must be precious. Whether we hold ver-transcribers, and no pledge that the copy bal inspiration in its strictest sense, or sim- should be a perfect reflection of the original. ply maintain that prophets and apostles, No special class of pious and honest caliwhile using their own style with conscious graphists was set apart to the enterprise of freedom, were under the infallible guidance multiplying Bibles, and the Church had no of the Spirit of God, the same result presses Board of Supervision to take cognizance of upon us, that the meaning and authority of their inks and parchment, discover and corthe revelation depend on the words ori-ginally employed and faithfully conveyed to their revised and amended manuscripts, guarant employed and assuming control of the first seed and the seed a vocables have been lost and others have thus scholars put themselves to the work of been interpolated,—if we have not the terms scribes, and, in the pride and pedantry of

of the sacred penmen. Critics with quill in why, it may be asked, has it not been sig-hand could not resist the temptation of nalized also in its literary progress from age amending one gospel from another, or of to age? inserting some explanatory terms in the own purposes they "haudled the word of God deceitfully." Men not accustomed to the art of copying might piously engage in thrown such an honour and sacredness over execute it in slovenly and self-satisfied and skilful diligence, and sharpened the pious haste. The unpractised eye of an illiterate and prayerful scrupulosity, of the early trusting too much to his memory and dex- accident, danger, or self-destruction. sheets of Dr. Blayney's famous quarto edi- its origin. tion as it was slowly passing through the

tions, and smoothed the suspected solecisms | guished from all other books in its origin,

It may be answered, that faith in the dimargin, which their successors innocently vine origin of Scripture should have kept introduced into the text. Theologians open- men from tampering with its contents. If ed out the roll before them, and dipping the consciousness that they were writing out their reed into the ink horn, marked with the book of God had overshadowed their the symbols of suspicion some clauses that spirit as it ought-if they had felt that evwore the semblance of antagonism to their ery word was sacred, and every letter an favourite creed, and he who next copied integral part of a supernatural record-if their manuscripts felt himself warranted to they could have realized, that in copying omit the branded words altogether. Here the Scriptures for others, they were standing ties found that in transcription they possess- to them in God's stead, speaking to them ed a speedy and secret power of prose- in God's name, and thus personating, as lytism-a defective canon being the best far as possible, the Prophets and Apostles support of a defective faith-and for their of an earlier epoch-then surely, that vast the work, but with no aptitude for it, might the work as should have excited the minute scribe might mistake one letter for another, churches. The function of the scribe must and even from similarity of reading, one have felt itself hallowed and ennobled by its line for another,' and his serawl might operation on the Word of God, as was the be again abused by some one as stu- artistic genius of Bezaleel and Aholiab in pid as himself, to whom he had lent it the construction of the tabernacle and its for a similar purpose. And it might, and sacred vessels and furniture. The exposure did happen, that the Codex from which a of Scripture to such danger is therefore no copy was made, was misread,—the sense argument against its heavenly nature. God misunderstood, and the words wrongly di-vided. Or if one wrote while another read state, and left it in charge to men to preto him, word by word, or clause by clause, serve them immaculate. He works no suthen imperfect hearing, difference of pronun- perfluous miracles, but tests in this manner ciation, refined or vulgar accent, originated the faith and sincerity of the Church. Phyvarieties of spelling and yet grosser faults; sical life is His gift too; but he has cast no while even the expert and "ready writer," mystic shield around it, to protect it from terity, changed the position of words, added entrusted to man himself to preserve and or omitted, and unconsciously substituted prolong it, and his abuse or neglect of this synonymes. The history of the English commission may be a very unworthy actranslation furnishes one marked illustra- knowledgement of the gift, but it is certion. The greatest care was taken of the tainly no argument against the divinity of

If, then, no superhuman care has been press. It was thought to be an immaculate taken of the words and letters of the inwork, when it was discovered that no less spired pages-if thousands of various readthan half a verse had been omitted in the ings do exist-is it not a great duty to Apocalypse (xviii, 22). The omission was strive to have a text as nearly as possible evidently produced by the fact that the two in the condition in which its holy authors parallel clauses of the verse had a similar left it? How can we have faith in any ending; the printer's eye was deceived by the double occurrence of the word "more," words on which it is based? Textual critiand he omitted all the intervening words. cism, in this view, takes precedence of evi-The text of Scripture has been liable to dences as well as interpretation. It must these usual hazards, and such sources of be a Bible materially the same as when error, as those we have indicated, were long first published that we defend, and not the in operation. Now, in all this nothing has errors and deviations of patristic and medibefallen the Bible but what is common to acval scribes. The importance of this work other books. But, as the Bible is distin- has been often overlooked, and the plodding amount of misdirected effort.

scrutiny of collators and editors has been curately jotted down, but the old versions, despised, as fruitless and suspicious toil, such as the Syriac, Latin, and Gothic, have amidst dusty parchments and mouldy MSS, been ransacked, and their supposed variations With what pangs of terror and indignation added to the lists; nay, the quotations found did not Owen attack Walton, and Whitby in the Fathers have been subjected to the assail Mill? And even where the results same ordeal, and all their discrepancies and of critical labour have not excited panic and peculiarities seized on, and subjoined to the dismay, the work, so far from being hailed formidable catalogue. Let our readers bear with gratitude, has too often excited won-der, tinged with satirical compassion for the rous sources of variation on the part of the copyists; let them reflect on the fact that At the same time, we should be grateful the authors of the old versions might not that the text of Scripture is so perfect. It always make a skilful and accurate translathat the text of Scripture is so perfect. It always make a skilful and accurate translation, and that it is often matter of mere common book which has come down to us from ancient times. In many classical authors, there are numerous passages so hope-thors, there are numerous passages so hope-glessly corrupt, that conjecture is the only remedy for amending them. Let any one look at the pages of Eschylus, Sophocles, a plainer synonyme, and often quoting the Plato, Terence, or Lucretius, and he will find same verse in different ways, and he will not a constraint and the contract of the not only thousands of different readings—
not only thousands of different readings—
not only thousands of different readings—
be surprised that the various readings should
scarcely a line being without one—but many
places in which erudite skill can only guess or four classic MSS, gives nearly as many
at what the text might be. There are senreadings for a single author, and the wonder
toness which nobody can construe, clauses is that so many MSS, of all ages and counof which no one can divine the meaning, tries; so many versions, themselves need-collocatious of words which all the tact of ing revision; and so many quotations made Hermann could not unravel, and all the in- freely, and with no attempt at verbal accugenuity of Bentley and Porson could only racy,—should not have quadrupled the num-interpret by recomposing the paragraph. | ber already discovered. To put the matter And it is the fidelity of collators which in a modern light. Let it be the Bible in has multiplied the various readings of Seripture. For example, the common text of critical investigation, and let the first edition the Old Testament is based on that of Opi- of it under King James be reckoned the tius, who spent no less than thirty years in standard. It will be found on examination its preparation. For their editions of the that the variations of spelling must be reck-Hebrew Scriptures, Kennicott and De Rossi oned by myriads, every clause affording an collated 1418 MSS, and 375 printed docu- example; and that the actual misprints in ments. And since the publication of the the various editions would amount to many first edition of the Greek Testament by thousands. And if quotations of Scripture Erasmus in 1516, what prodigious pains printed in sermons and famous books of and research have been bestowed upon its theology were also compared, and the differtext. Beza, Stevens, Usher, and Fell led ences noted down, the roll of various read-the way. Then followed the thirty years' ings would swell to a bulk beyond calculatoil of Mill-toil only concluded fourteen tion. And then if peculiar idioms in the days before his death. The task of his life Gaelic and other tongues were to be regardwas done, and the servant was released. In ed as proofs that the translators read ac-Kuster's edition of Mill are supplied the cordingly in the original copy from which readings of 12 additional MSS. The pious they made their versions, who could put inlabours of Bengel preceded those of Wet to figures the swarms of multiplied readstein, who collated upwards of sixty MSS., ings? Now if, instead of being printed, and has appended to his text more than a and the errors of the press corrected by million of quoted authorities. The 30,000 the apparatus of proofs and revises, and various readings of Mill were in this way compared with one another for these two considerably augmented. Griesbach col. hundred years, our copies of the English lated some hundreds of MSS., and he has Bible had been all written out, either by been followed by Scholz, Lachmann, Tis. some men who had leisure, or by others chendorf, and Tregelles. The readings may who made copying their craft and occupa-now amount to at least a hundred thousand, tion—each scribe, whether amateur or pro-For not only have all the differences in all fessional artist, taking whatever copy he the MSS, been carefully compared and ac- could most readily lay hold of; what must

have been by this time the register of va-the variations, which we record in plain rious readings, if some hundreds of these English. V. 7, instead of "mightier than English MSS. were to be collated, and ver I." one MS. has "the mighty one;" a plain sions and quotations were forced to add blunder of the Alexandrian copyist. Intheir prolific results? A volume as large stead of "after me," one codex simply as Scripture itself could not contain the reads "after," "me" being implied, and muster. In like manner, the number of its omission being a piece of obvious stupidcopies possessed at the middle of the third ity. Another MS, has omitted the Greek century by several millions of Christians word for "stooping down;" the error of a must have been very great: probably a hurried or slovenly transcriber. It is very hundred thousand copies of the whole or of plain that such readings are and can be of parts of the New Testament, were in circu- no anthority, for they have no support. lation in families and in churches. Tran-frey are the result of evident negligence; scription must therefore have been very oft but yet they are as carefully noted as if en repeated, and not only so, but from the they had been supported by preponderant nature of things, fewest copies would be authority, with a host of MSS, and versions taken from the veritable autographs of the in their favour. Therefore if all those vaevangelists and apostles. More copies would rious readings which have really no support be taken from the second transcription than at all were discarded, nine-tenths of the the first, and from the third than the second, whole list would be at once expunged, and because the facilities for transcription in the vast majority of the remaining tenthcreased with the dispersion of manuscripts whatever the evidence for and against them houses, what might not be expected among and authority of the oracles of God. the ancient scribes? We repeat it, the wontheir present amount.

or whether a personal pronoun, plainly im- peculiar vencration. of the first chapter of Mark; and here are various readings, but they meddled not with

already made; so that by the time specified, -will be found to be of utter insignificance. the copy in the possession of individuals or The sense is not materially affected by the communities might have been written off critical result, so that after such inevitable from a roll which was itself a fiftieth tran-deductions, only a few remain of primary scription in succession from the first date importance, and sometimes these are supand publication of the gospel or epistle, ported by authority so nicely balanced, that That in all this multiplying and copying it is difficult to come to a satisfactory deerror should be found, who can wonder? In cision. After all, then, the text of Scripa quarto pulpit bible with which we are fa- ture is in a state that warrants us in placing miliar, one clause reads, "who makes" (not implicit faith in the revelation which it conhis sun, but) "his son to rise on the evil tains. The text of no ancient author has and on the good." And in a metrical psalm undergone scrutiny and revision so careful book-from the Queen's printers in Edin- and prolonged, and we feel no hesitation in burgh-runs the line, "I said that ye are affirming that we have the Bible virtually goods" (gods.) In an edition of the Queen's in the state in which it was originally furprinters in London, 1843, (Eph. i. 9,) occur nished to us. The spots in the sun do not the letters "glood" for "good." If such darken his lustre, and these minor discrepmistakes happen, with all the careful read- ancies—the unavoidable results of human ings and corrections of modern printing-infirmity-do not detract from the perfection

The received text of the Old Testament is der is that the Greek and Hebrew various that of Van der Hooght, published at Amreadings are not greatly more numerous sterdam and Utrecht in 1705, and often than they really are. It seems as if Provi-revised and reprinted, as by Judah d'Alledence had studiously kept them down to mand, London, 1822, and by Hahn, Leipsic, To the Jews must be given the 1832. And the faith of no one needs to be credit of having kept their Scriptures better stumbled. The great majority of these dis- than the Christians have kept theirs. Their crepancies refer to orthography and the order critical accuracy has been excited and aided of words-whether it should be Jesus Christ by their superstitions and their cabalistic or Christ Jesus; whether a particle should interpretations. The divines who found so be here or there in a clause; whether some much meaning wrapt up in the mere form noun should have its masculine or neuter or accidental position of a letter, were likely form; whether de or nat is the genuine term, to regard such sources of theology with The authors of the plied in the syntax, should be inserted or Masora, in the sixth century, while they deleted. We have opened a page of Tis-laboured with incredible diligence, enlarged, chendorf's edition of the Greek New Testa- indeed, the critical stores of their Talinudic ment at random, p. 82, containing a portion predecessors, and took notice of many

machinery of K'ri and K'thib. word in the text was suspicious or wrong, adjective, much the same as in the Latin they indicated in the margin how it ought phrase,—filius deliciæ matris sum. The to be read, (K'ri,) and in this way they have other passage is Psalm xxii. 16, and in the given us numerous emendations of spelling, clause rendered in our version—"they grammar, exegosis, and euphemism. It is to pierced my hands and my feet," The Hebrew be regretted that we have now almost no does not well warrant such a version, and it means of knowing what the pre-Masoretic is argued that the Jews have purposely text was. Only we may safely conjecture spoiled an allusion to that cross which was that the Masora was a faithful attempt to to them a "stumbling-block." But again restore the Hebrew Scriptures to their orig- must we vindicate the ancient guardians of inal verbal purity—an attempt, guided by the Old Testament. The word can only be the records of a tradition which was strength- translated "they have pierced" by either ened by the unusual fondness of a people for its ancient and only literature, and by the lattachment of a Church to its "lively" and this form of the word having almost the oracles. The puerility of so much in the whole weight of the MSS, in its favour, ap-Masoretic collection must not blind us to pears to be the genuine reading. In the its great value, for the laborious triffing of first clause of the verse there is an allusion these hoary sages has left among the rubbish to one class of animals, and in the last clause some particles of the true ore, and the mass there is reference to another. has been well sifted and washed by the keen translation therefore is,and patient labour of Bomberg, Buxtorf, and The toil of Kennicott "Dogs have compassed me, Jacob Ben Chayn, and De Rossi has not been without its value in this department of sacred literature, though the result has been sadly damaged by their defective theory of criticism and their want of a just discrimination. We might shew the value of correct criticism the 20th and 21st verses. by one or two examples, did our space Our version reads thus, "Thou hast multi- gums or the Septuagint, because the text of plied the nation, and not increased the joy ': they joy before thee," &c. The sense is What is now wanted for this sphere of labour contradictory, and the fault is that of some is a scholar of sound learning and practised old scribe who apparently copied from Hebrew scholarship, who should undertake dictation. The Hebrew adverb "not" has a revision, upon principles of acknowledged the same sound as the pronoun meaning "to it," though the words are differently spelled. The error is thus very easily accounted for, and the correct reading is, "Thou hast multiplied the nation, and to it increased the joy: they joy before thee." It is a blunder somewhat akin to that which might be committed by an English Lowth, how he is ever tampering with the clerk, if writing off as another read, he confounded, from haste and similarity of sound, the verb "know" with "no,"-the monosyllable of negation.

It has often been alleged that the Jews have, in at least two places, and from anti-Messianic predjudice, tampered with their Scriptures. But we cannot acquiesce in the charge. The first passage alleged is Psalm xvi. 10,-"Neither wilt thou suffer thine Holy One to see corruption." The Hebrew text now reads, "thy holy ones," as if, by a this effort of Bellarmine, Canus, Huntley, plural form, there had been an attempt to Morinus, and Father Simon, roused the podestroy a pointed and personal reference to lemical prejudices of the Protestant scholars,

They originated, however, the plural is in reality the better reading, and of K'ri and K'thib. When a that it gives an intensity of meaning to the

The assembly of the wicked has clasped me, I They have clasped LION-LIKE my hands and my feet.

The dog and the lion are again introduced as the emblems of pollution and ferocity in

Little assistance can be got for the criti-But we only notice Isaiah ix. 3. cism of the Old Testament from the Tarthese versions is itself in a deplorable state. stability and scientific application. former days of critical conjecture are hap-pily over. Houbigant even attempted in two large quarto volumes to reduce such guess-work to the precision and elevate it to the rank of a science. Every one must have remarked in the elegant pages of Bishop text, and ever suggesting emendations without warrant, and even without necessity, as the deeper grammatical skill of subsequent expositors has sufficiently demonstrated.

We now look back with wonder at the former struggles of Hebrew critics. time was when the Hebrow text was held to be immaculate in every consonant, vowel, But the Popish divines, in and accent. hopes of exalting the Latin Vulgate, assailed it with more fierceness than skill, and We apprehend, however, that the so that they fought for the uniform veroal

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integrity of the Jewish Scriptures-a chimera of the Complutensian Polyglott, under the and for ten years succeeded. Neither at accuracy or completeness. Hebrew text, as then printed, was in every letter and point divine and entire. They denied the infallibility of the Pope, but they hugged an opposite delusion—the infallibility of the text. The first was a dogma which early church-history; the last was a romance. codices were sufficient for the purpose.

originated in the self-lauded speculation of a treatises in defence of the Trinity, and the family of tradesmen. The first Elzevir edition appeared in 1624, at Leyden, and the slovenly translation from the Latin version second, which was published in 1633, has in the preface to the reader those words, textum of the Trinity remains a distinctive and imergo habes nunc ab omnibus receptum-" you perishable tenet of New Testament revelahave here a text now received by all." This tion. Though the doxology to the Lord's clause, at first only a printer's puff, has veri- prayer, as found in Matthew vi. 13, may not fied its own prophetic truth, for the Elzevi- have originally belonged to it, such sentirian text has become the textus receptus of ments of homage are in perfect harmony Protestant Christendom. This text rested with Christian supplication. The doctrine on Beza's edition, and Stephens' third, which of the atonement is not impugned, whether itself was based on the fifth of Erasmus, we read in Acts xx. 28, "the Church of God," and that scholar followed to a great extent or as we ought probably to read, "the in his fourth and fifth editions the text of Church of the Lord" (Christ) " which he has the Complutensian Polyglott. Such is the purchased with his own blood." The Godaccidental lineage of the common text of head of the Saviour remains paramount in the New Testament. Was it not a kind I Tim. iii. 16, whether we read, "God was and wise Providence which secured that the manifest in the flesh," or perhaps according few MSS. used by these printers and editors to the weight of authority, "who was manishould contain a text so good—so fair a copy fest,"—God being the nearest antecedent, of the gospel and epistles of the Apostolic Though the words in Acts viii. 37, containages? There was no systematic arrange- ing the reply of Philip to the Eunuch when ment or learned consultation. The editors

which the comparison of a few MSS, might patronage of Cardinal Ximenes, had but a at once have exposed. Neither party had few MSS, from Rome, and these apparently the spirit of genuine criticism; the Catholic of modern date, for the copy which they assailants were prompted by an unworthy printed in 1517. Erasmus had but five motive, and their Protestant antagonists MSS for his first edition of 1516, and actufanatically defended an untenable position, ally himself translated into Greek the last When even the Protestant Ludovicus Cap six verses of the Apocalypse. Robert Stepellus so plainly proved that readings varied phens for his first edition had sixteen MSS., in hosts of places, and that the apparatus of but he followed their authority only in 37 vowel-points and accents was of compara- instances, though he differed from the Comtively recent origin, the Reformed Churches plutensian in 581 places. Beza liad some new knew no bounds of indignation and alarm. MSS. and other documentary assistance, They tried to suppress his Critica Sacra, though he did not use them with critical Thus out of Geneva, Sedan, or Leyden, was the book these careless and undesigned sources was suffered to be printed. Both the Buxtorfs the received text extracted by the hardihood and Glassius entered hotly into the control and trick of the Elzevirs. To enumerate versy; and the Swiss churches, in their panic the various editions which have been printed and folly, created a new test of orthodoxy, would be of little interest. Suffice it to reand enacted a statute that no one should be mark, that amidst all that has been done for licensed to preach the gospel who should the textual criticism of the New Testament, not solemnly and publicly declare that the -amidst this great accumulation of various readings, only a few important passages have either a doubt thrown over them or are matter of debate, and the faith of the Church is uninjured by the result. Though the famous dispute about the passage in 1 they denounced from reason, scripture, and John v. 7, 8, concerning the three heavenly witnesses, be now regarded as settled-the which it needed neither faith nor argument clauses being found in no ancient Greek MS. to dispel-for good sight and a few Hebrew or version, not even in the Vulgate before the eighth century-no Greek or Latin fa-The received text of the New Testament ther having quoted them even in their formal words as they appear being apparently a -though such is the case, still the existence

third edition of 1589.

^{*} The Greek text from which our English version is taken, is chiefly—almost wholly—that of Beza's the same time to uphold the authority of the Latin or Romish Church.

he asked to be baptized, "if thou believest other apparatus of more modern Greek. A features themselves cannot impart.

ment.

crept into the text, whereas, during every pro- disparagement. cess of transcription, defective vision, momenwritten, the form and size of the letters, the codices belonged. lines called stickoi, and the employment or theory has been adopted and elaborated by omission of the signs of interpunction, and Hug, Griesbach, and Scholz. Griesbach's

with all thine heart thou mayest," are now MS. on parchment, without separation of allowed on all hands to be an interpolation, words, written in ancient characters, and we should refuse nevertheless to admit an devoid of accents, points, and ecclesiastical adult to baptism, save on the personal pro-fession of his faith. But yet while such are antiquity. But it is not enough to know the the ultimate facts in regard to the criticism age of a MS.; its country is an additional of the New Testament, we cannot but re- element of authority. The seribes of Alexjoice in every effort to give us the ipsissima andria, clated with the superiority of their verba of evangelists and apostles. The provincial orthography, were in the habit of smallest particles are often the means of changing the spelling of the works which exhibiting peculiar beauties and emphasis in they copied, and they did not limit such pethe process of inspired thought or narration, dantie and wieked operations to common as the smallest lines of the face give it a and classical authors, but they also carried meaning and expression which the larger them into the transcription of the sacred books. So that, while we agree generally with Tis-We have already alluded to the great chendorf and Tregelles in assigning a high auxiliaries of criticism - manuscripts, ver- value to the MSS. A, B, C, D, &e., -the sions, and early quotations. The chief diffi- most ancient uncial MSS., yet we have occulty lies, however, in the application and casional hesitations to go all the length of practical treatment of these elements of their estimate, because the majority of these judgment. The theory is plain, but the art is one of peculiar and intricate delicacy. The illustrations in our subsequent remarks think with Dr. Davidson, that what are are confined principally to the New Testa- called junior and cursive MSS., are often under-estimated. Whatever be the faults For the correction of the text there exist of Scholz's edition, and they are many and hundreds of MSS., few of them containing unpardonable, we think that some of his the whole of the New Testament, and many arguments in favour of the high authority of of them Lectionaries, that is, divided so as several eastern MSS., have never been fully to be used in the church service. Some of represented or met. For, first, those Bythese codices reach back at least to the fifth zantine codices were the work of a people century. It is a proof of their great age, who had no pride in scholarship, and were that some of them had been written over under no temptation to alter the inspired with more modern literary works, but diction. May it not be presumed that their chemical ingenuity has contrived to remove copies would be taken in the simple conthe last penmanship, and leave the original scientiousness of a good and honest heart? writing to be deciphered. In estimating the Again, these oriental codices had their origin authority of MSS., it is ever to be borne in in the very countries in which the epistles mind that mere number is of little weight, and two of the gospels at least had their Twenty MSS, may have no more weight than earliest circulation. Their agreement, moreone, as the whole score may have been over, with the textus receptus is also remarkcopied from one another, or may have come able, as shewing their accordance with the from a common source. Again the age of a codices best known, and of readiest access MS. is always an element of value, because in Europe. The mere age of these castern the less seldom a MS. has been transcribed, and junior MSS. should not therefore operthe less likelihood is there that errors have ate conclusively to their entire and uniform

It has sometimes been thought that the tary inattention, or accidental mistake, may introduce variations. At the same time mere cation—that the national characteristics of ago is not a sufficient criterion, for a MS. of the copyists are so decided that MSS. might the ninth century may have been copied be arranged according to the regions where from one of the third, and is therefore really they have been produced. A new rule of older in its reading than one of the sixth value would in such a case be established, century, taken from one of the fourth. There and the authority of a reading would be deare many means of determining the age of termined not by the number or age of MSS. a codex from the material on which it is in its favour, by the family to which such Bentley and Bengel colour of the ink, the presence or absence of suggested such an arrangement, and the

system, which created an immense sensa-jor commentator will be able to derive his tion on its first publication, was assaulted conclusions in the quietness and solitude of with peculiar virulence and ability by many his own study. Why should every investidistinguished scholars at home and abroad, gator be obliged for the sake of collection and it soon sank into disuse, nay, it was all to bury himself for months in the British but abandoned by its author himself before Museum, or be forced to travel to Patmos, his death. He divided MSS, into three Jerusalem, or Mount Athos, or be compelled great recensions - the Alexandrian, the to knock humbly and often at the doors of Western, and the Byzantine-deriving the the Vatican, till some suspicious cardinal classification from alleged peculiarities in give him a tardy admission, which probably the MSS, and in the quotations of the places him under the surveillance of a church-fathers in the respective countries. Jesuit secretary or director? But considerable pressure was employed in adjudging the MSS, to the various localities, authority in the correction of the text. By the boundaries between the ideal kingdoms a careful examination of the words of a verwere elastic and variable; some codices de- sion, we may be able to learn what was fied all ethnographical position, and the found by the translator in the original. But system became so confused, arbitrary, and such a process is rather intricate, for the complicated, as to cease to be of any prac- character of the version itself must be detical and permanent value. Hug's hypothe- termined, and the state of its own text assis, which claimed its parentage in times so certained. If it be a literal translation, the reafar back as the third century, in the revision soning as to the words of the original may have of Lucian in Syria, and of Hesychius in some degree of certainty; but if it be a free Egypt-both of them preceded by Origen version like the Targums, or a version of a -has met a similar fate with that of Gries- version like so many made from the Sepbach. The modified systems of Scholz, tuagint and Vulgate, then it is all but im-Rinek, and others, need not be mentioned possible to derive any assistance from it. If nor discussed. The sum of the matter is, its own text, like that of the Seventy, be that there appear to be two distinct classes of corrupted and uncertain-if it should stand manuscripts-the Eastern and the Western in need of a healing process to be practised -the former characterized generally by towards itself, then it can scarcely be used having such variations as flow from common in the emendation of the sacred page. infirmity, and the latter by such as spring from wilful and critical emendation. Yet Septuagint was executed about 270 years the balance is often upon the whole very before Christ, in Egypt, and in the reign of equal. Dr. Davidson shews from Rinck, Ptolemy Lagus. The style of the earlier that from an examination of the text of the books has a deep Alexandrian colouring. first epistle to the Corinthians, in cases The version is plainly the work of different where the Western differed from the East- hands, some of them wretchedly qualified ern MSS., only thirteen readings not in the for the important task, as may be seen in Eastern could be safely preferred. Let us lame and miserable version of Samuel and earnestly hope that proper principles will Kings, Psalms and Isaiah. Modern criticguide the future editors of the New Testa- ism has discarded the fantastic fables about ment, that the value of a reading will be the origin of this translation, such as the judged by other and safer criteria than cells in the Isle of Pharos, in which the those of any theory, the ingenuity, intri- seventy-two translators were daily caged up, cacy, and modifications of which deprive it and their versions separately made, but yet of all workable adaptation to enlightened agreeing with minute and miraculous idenand progressive criticism. A new and a tity, as if they had been produced from true path has at length been opened. Tis stereotype plates. We agree with Dr. and progressive criticism. A new and a tity, as it they nad been produced from true path has at length been opened. Tis-stereotype plates. We agree with Dr. chendorf has made some progress in it; Davidson, that there was a germ round and we fouldy trust that Tregelles will ex-which the myth has wound its agglomora-hibit a decided advance over all his contem-tions. Hody and Fraenkel exceed the poraries and predecessors. Tischendorf's limits of evidence in rejecting the whole as publication of separate valuable codices a romantic tale. The translation originated cannot be too highly recommended, and the under the patronage of an Egyptian king, amount of minute, wearying, and perplex- and was made by Alexandrian Jews, either ing labour with chymical tinctures, magnify- to satisfy the wants of a religious communing glasses, and reflected lights, can scarcely nity, among whom the knowledge of Hobrew be imagined. Let fac-similes of the most might be falling into desuctude, or to be important documents after his example be placed as a literary curiosity in the famous

The ancient Versions are also a source of

The ancient Greek version called the printed or lithographed, and then the editor royal library. Amidst the strange whims

of literary fondness for an admired produc- how they read in their copies of the New of literary fondness for an admired product how they read in their copies of the New tion, must be ranked the recent attempt of Testament. If they had cited scripture with Mr. Grinfield to vindicate the inspiration professed accuracy, we should have come to and canonical authority of the Septuagint— a direct knowledge of the state of the text an attempt which is but the renewal of an in each century, and in the various countries old freak of Isaac Vossius. The text of the in which those ancient writers flourished. Septuagint was very corrupt in the days of Origen, when that scholar set himself to the and they had no concordances in those task of revision, and published his famous days to assist them in turning to the proofs or passages which they wanted. In cases of been preserved and collected. Even after controversy they were obliged to be accurately and the state of the result of the state of the New Yorks and Parsons rate, but there is little doubt that their tranthe labours of Grabe, Holmes, and Parsons rate, but there is little doubt that their tranamong ourselves, the text of the Seventy is in a world, if not a hopeless state, and as to assimilate them to its current text. Therefore cannot furnish much assistance They also cited Scripture often according either to the criticism or exegesis of the Old Testament. The imperfect versions of put upon the verse or paragraph themselves, later Greek translators-are of very un- not two sparrows sold for a farthing, and equal service in the same department.

Testament was executed probably about the correctly, but no less than five times he end of the second century. Its very blunders shew that it was made immediately into the snare." But is not a similar pracfrom the Greek original, and its venerable tice common among ourselves? For exage and general accuracy make it of great ample, the following clauses are usually value to the critic, notwithstanding the Ori- misquoted in sermons and prayers, and we ental peculiarities of its style. The text of have marked the supplemental works in the Philoxenian Syriac version cannot how- italics: ever be depended on with all its bald liter-

version of the Old Testament, and his re- A real and "conversation becoming the gospel." vision of an older text of the New Testa- "And our bodies washed" as "with pure water." ment. And here again the learned world is under great obligation to Tischendorf, who Were we to think of correcting the English has published the best codex of this ancient text by means of such quotations, into version. We need not allude to other ver- what a sea of uncertainties would we soon sions, but content ourselves with saying, be plunged! that for the restoration of the text, the authority of versions must, from the very na- we have given, that the weight of MSS, is ture of the case, from the difference of lan-superior to that of versions and quotations. guage, and the varying qualifications of We cannot therefore understand on what translators, be greatly inferior to that of principle Dr. Davidson has in both his vol-MSS. It involves an uncertain process of umes placed versions first in his numeration inference from the words of the version, as of authorities. The division does not apto those of the original whence it was pear to us to be logical. For versions do pends on the fidelity and scholarship of the of age, as all of them are not older than translations implies accurate and extensive MSS. in its favour, but all versions and should most certainly be able to read them usually be dubious, but MSS, and versions fect in Mill's qualification as a critic that he quotations will preponderate over versions. did not understand the Oriental versions, and so he fell into many blunders from con- authorities for and against it, is there no colsulting awkward Latin translations.

Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion—three It is said, for example, in Matt. x. 29, "Are one of them shall not fall on the ground," The Peshito-Syriac version of the New &c. Origen sometimes quotes this passage

ever be depended on with all its bald literalities, for it has been greatly tampered with.

The Vulgate contains Jerome's Latin
"Look on" us m "the face of thine anointed"
"Look on" us m "the face of thine amointed"

It is clear from this brief account which taken; a process the value of which de not deserve the first place even on account versionist. The critical use of these old many extant codices. If then a reading has erudition. He who quotes their authority quotations against it, the conclusion will with precision and facility. It was one de will outweigh quotations, and MSS. and

Now, if any reading has equi-ponderant lateral method left of arriving at a satisfac-The early Christian writers in their epis- tory judgment? May there not be some tles, expositions, and treatises made a very few additional evidences, which, though apliberal use of the inspired oracles. It might parently insignificant as the small dust in therefore be deduced from their quotations the balance, may yet exercise a slight but something in the style, form of thought, or critical absurdities.

Thus have we stated the general theory stinctive discovery of the gennine text? of Biblical Criticism. But the great diffi-

syntax or etymology. longer and simpler being probably the product of a copyist, who slily insinuated his original integrity.*

There is no one who has attempted to words or clause from which the others have racy of modern printing. These rolls were sprung, is authenticated to be the original text. Mere conjecture is to be sternly discarded. If any one look into Bowyer's model of any one look into Bowyer's model of the New Testanent which our translators have tic erudition can make itself; and how excludition can make itself; and how excludition can make itself; and how excludition problems of the second chapter of the egetical predilections, theological leanings, and superficial philology on the part of Barrington, Owen, Markland, and Woide, have text. Mere conjecture is to be sternly dis-

appreciable influence? May there not be produced the wildest and most worthless of

There is no doubt that such a species of in-ternal evidence may and ought to have its application of such general laws. There are weight. Were we able to identify ourselves so many elements of conflict which must be with an author, and throw ourselves completely into the current of his thought, in unravelled; so many points of evidence to pulses, and diction, then we might be qualibe ascertained, and so many estimates to be field to imagine what is the genuine reading, in any controverted clause or vocable. But the various authorities, that it requires no expected the independent of the indep so much of this judgment is subjective-so little patience, tact, and experience to arrive much of it is dependent on personal taste, at a true judgment. Haste is to be deprethat no great reliance can be placed upon it. cated, and rashness is to be deplored. Above The recent discovery of an old volume of all, we need an earnest faith in Scripture, as Shakespeare supplies a case in point. There a grand preservative against heedlessness are hundreds of passages in the bard so corrupt as to be obscure beyond remedy. No been blamed—we believe unjustly—for theopossible sense can be extracted from them, logical bias, but none of them had a great and the critics have long outdone one andepth of pious reverence for the Word of other in the variety and violence of their God, as a volume truly inspired. Matthael proposed emendations. But the readings blended a low scurrility with all his critical on the margin of the recovered tome, solve efforts. The industry of Scholz was not these difficulties often in the simplest way, equalled by his attention; and negligence and put to shame the learned ingenuity of in such a work, disguise it as we may, is a Pope, Malone, Warburton, Dyce, and Col. want of conscientiousness. If the critic felt lyer. How few of their laborious guesses that he has to do not with doctrines, but have been proved to be lucky anticipations! with the very sources of them; that his con-At the same time, there are certain general cern is not with evidences but with the prior canons which are of some assistance in the question, whether an alleged Divine docudelicate attempt to weigh internal evidence. ment has in it nothing but the unchanged Word of God; and that his business lies not And first, it is a law-the authority and in interpretation, but in securing for the intersafety of which every one will recognise-preter that text which the Spirit of God that the more difficult reading is to be pre- has judged the fittest for the impartation of ferred to the simpler reading. Critics and saving truth, surely there is no amount of copyists were always tempted to make plain labour which he will spare, no sources of aswhat they could not comprehend, to alter sistance which he will indolently neglect, no an idiom which they deemed harsh and lia- form of literary training from which he will ble to be mistaken, and to simplify what timidly shrink, but he will work, collate, seemed to them a rare or difficult form of judge, and decide in a spirit of manly and Therefore, of two prayerful dependence on Him who claims readings, the shorter, more difficult and idio the book as his own, and who will not be matic, is probably the correct one; the unmindful of any effort to keep it as He

according so his grammatical skill. Again, read these aged manuscripts, and struggled that reading is the best which can be proved among their shapeless characters, retouched to be the parent of all the variations. The words, amended spelling, ceaseless contracgenealogy of the conflicting lections can tions, and undivided clauses, who will not sometimes be traced, and that form of the rejoice in the wonders, elegance, and accu-

dear, scarce, and not easily replaced, but passed triumphantly through the ordeal. "the skin of an innocent lamb should be of Rome, have come down to us in such unmade into parchment," thus accused Lord impaired fulness and accuracy, that we are Say,-"Thou hast corrupted the youth of placed as advantageously toward them as and whereas before, our forefathers had no other book but the score and the tally, thou ing chronicles and statutes for forty years, hast caused printing to be used, and contrary to the king, his crown, and dignity, thou hast built a paper-mill."*

In conclusion, it is matter of congratula-

* Shakespeare's Henry IV.

printed books are jealously guarded in their English infidels of the last century raised a correctness, are uniform in their readings, premature pean over the discovery and and may be multiplied by myriads. It was publication of so many various readings, a sad mistake to imagine that the inventor They imagined that the popular mind would of the art was in league with the devil, for be rudely and thoroughly shaken, that Chrisnothing has so disturbed the kingdom of tianity would be placed in imminent peril darkness as the printing press. Everywhere of extinction, and that the Church would be with its hundreds of translations of Scrip-dispersed and ashamed at the sight of the ture, as out of an inexhaustible arsenal, it has tattered shreds of its Magna Charta. But ture, as out of an inexhaustible arsenal, it has lattered shreds of its Magna Charta. But assailed his empire. With our modern paths are result has blasted all their hopes, and the per so fair and firm, made out of that filthy oracles of God are found to have been preag which was trodden in the wintry mire served in immaculate integrity. The storm of our streets; with our ick so dark and which shakes the oak only loosens the earth tenacious, our binding so compact and elegant, and our types of every variety of shape the tree to strike its fibres deeper into the and size, we enry not the former days of soil. So it is that Scripture has gloriously glossy vellum, gilt letters, illuminated margins, bulky scrolls and jewelled reeds. We around it a dense "cloud of witnesses," from retain, indeed, many of the old names with the ruins of Nineveh and the valley of the guns, ourry scrolls and jewelled reeds. We laround it a dense "cloud of witnesses," from retain, indeed, many of the old names with the ruins of Nineveh and the valley of the our modern apparatus. Our paper is but the old Egyptian papyrus under a slight dispatched by the result of the paper of the our volume has its origin in the Pharaoh; from the rolls of Chaldee parasheet which was closed up by being rolled phrasts and Syrian versionists; from the or wrapt round a cylinder. Our books are protected still by beards, but not of the original wooden and clumsy material, and antiquarians. The scepticism of history has though the venders of literary wares here no been silanced by the vivid as rachivities of though the venders of literary wares have no longer their crazy stands upon the streets, the ancient and eastern world. And if the yet they will not part with the name of sta external annals of Israel be confirmed, attioners. When we speak of a man's style,
testation is given by this same process to
that religious and supernatural element, lic graver with which gentlemen of other days scratched upon their tablets. The Bi. Our present Bibles are undiluted by the ble itself has its name from the inner rind lapse of ages. While the world has suffered of a tree, of old employed by the scribe. its boasted classics to be so contaminated Book is but the wood or bark of the beech and blurred, the Church rejoices over the with an altered proounciation; and leaves fair page of her precious books, and amidst are plainly taken from the grove and con- all the variations presented, can put her unverted into a literary foliage. What an wavering trust in the records of the evanhonour when they are connected with that gelists, and glow with cordial sympathy at tree, the "leaves of which are for the healing the minstrelsy of Isaiah, believing that the of the nations!" Like every invention, our far descent of these venerable treasures has present forms of publication once created no little dissension and opposition. That same their identity. Those oracles written amidst Jack Cade, the turbulent representative of such strange diversity of time, place, and the populace, who resolved that "seven condition,—among the sands and cliffs of halfpenny loaves should be sold for a penny," Arabia, the fields and hills of Palestine, in and who thought it a lamentable thing that the palace of Babylon and in the dungeons our realm, by erecting a grammar-school, the generation which gazed upon that "book of the law" to which Moses had been addor those crowds which hung on the lips of Jesus as he recited a parable on the shore of the Galilean lake, or those churches which received from Paul or Peter one of their tion that here, as elsewhere, the Bible has epistles of warning or exposition. Yes, the river of life which issues out from beneath the throne of God and the Lamb, may, as it

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flows through so many countries, sometimes | contrary,* that we can hardly believe the bear with it the earthly evidences of its advocates of slave-labour themselves are chequered progress, but the great volume of convinced of it. We do not mean, however, its waters has neither been dimmed in its transparency nor bereft of its healing virtue.

ART. V .- 1. The Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin. By Harriet B. Stowe. London, 1853. 2. The American Slave Code in Theory and Practice: its Distinctive Features shewn by its Statutes, Judicial Decisions, and Illustrative Facts. By WILLIAM GOODALL. London, 1853.

It is with sorrow that we feel constrained, in the interest of humanity, of religion, of the sacred name of liberty, and of the future progress of our American brethren in the career of temporal prosperity and moral dignity on which they have entered, to return to the painful subject of chattel-slavery, as it exists, and as it is sanctioned by law, in America. We avail ourselves of the opportunity offered by the publication of the works placed at the head of this article, to direct attention-shortly, but if possible, emphatically-to the phases of a social evil, concerning which public opinion needs to be enlightened, so long as many millions of our race are deprived, by human law, of their position and rights as human beings. In so doing, we are well assured that many of those who are closely related to this malignant growth in American national life, would willingly remove it without delay, if they saw how this could be done safely, and without injuring the interests which seem to be intertwined with its roots. The inconvenience which accompanies a great social change blinds men's minds to the facilities for its accomplishment. An institution on which the worldly fortune of an influential part of a community, and even the permanence of a great nation, is supposed to depend, is sure to have arguments, real or apparent, enlisted in its service. The slavelabour of the world, and especially of America, is no exception to this rule.

The line of defence which has been followed by some recent champions of chattelslavery is formed chiefly by a comparison of the happiness-the comfort and contentedness, of the slave population, with the supposed miserable state of the free labouring classes in Europe, and especially in Great the Britain and Ireland. As to the happiness of slaves, there is so much definite proof to the

to discuss that evidence on this occasion. As to the free-labour population of Britain and Ireland, we may say, we hope without offence, that the comparison is just a specimen of that national vanity on the part of our Transatlantic neighbours, which, we confess, is to be found, more or less, in all countries. It may be worth while to illustrate its fallacy.

While most persons are ashamed to manifest their self-conceit, by proclaiming the superiority which they think they possess as individuals, there is no end of their boasting respecting the superiority of the nation to which they belong. It seems as if, unconsciously, they wish to mingle their own merits with those of the society of which they are members,-as men invest their money in a joint stock company, to reap the profit of the investment. Nor is this weakness confined to renowned and highly civilized nations: tribes of savages are as much addicted to it as the most enlightened communities. Not only did the ancient Greeks, to whom all other people were barbarians, act on this principle, but the modern Greenlanders, standing four feet high, indulge in the same feeling, and regard the rest of the world as foreigners, much to be pitied in not having a taste for whales' It is thus that enlarged vanity is too often substituted for patriotism, and the love of party for the love of truth. Meantime, uncandid feelings and great social evils are maintained by the exchange.

The Americans of the United States are apt, on this principle, to attribute to their own wisdom and sagacity a great deal of what, if they consider the matter calmly, they should ascribe to the favourable circumstances in which they are placed. In the immense territories over which their banner floats, there is as yet little occasion for crowding into a narrow space great masses of human beings, so as to produce that excess of labour over the demand for it which we witness in old countries. As population increases in the east, the west opens its forests and prairies to the superfluous hands and mouths, and it is as easy for unoccupied men in America to find new lands and habitations, as it is for swarms of young bees to establish

^{*} See especially advertisements of runaways-Key to Uncle Tom, pp. 346-363.

new settlements. population is at present the cure for superabundant labour; it hinders, in a great de-gree, any serious fall of wages, checks poverty in its first stage, and thus tends to prevent the degradation and crime to which poverty so often leads. Let their country be once densely peopled, and the Americans will find underpaid workmen and workwomen in their towns, and labourers scantily remunerated in their fields; nay, wherever slavery shall be maintained, it will then be impossible for free labourers and artisans to exist at all.

But, even as it is, some American writers form their analogies in a very peculiar man-ner, which serves to conceal facts that are essential to the argument. They first fix their eyes upon the most favourably situated portions of the States, and their most creditable aspects; then they overlook the proper points of comparison, and turn to the least favourably situated portions of Europe, and their least creditable aspects. By this process, the United States may certainly be made to appear superior in every respect to every country in Europe; for certainly some men there are better and wiser than many There is no doubt whatever that Boston is wealthier and more learned than St. Kilda or Skibbereen. This is just as if one were to propound the fact, that the summer in Petersburgh is warmer than the winter in Paris, and then to draw the conclusion that Russia is a warmer country than France. We repeat, that persons of other nations are so much accustomed to argue thus, that it is certainly not an exclusively American method; but then, it has been so largely used of late by their newspaper and other writers in controversies about slavery, that it seems not improper to take this occasion for pointing out a favourite popular fallacy.

When Americans talk of English needlewomen, Irish labourers, the vice and misery of our lower classes, the neglected state of the many parentless children in our cities, &c., they seem to forget that at least equal wretchedness and vice is even already to be found in some of their own cities, under their far more favourable circumstances for the diffusion of worldly sufficiency. Not to speak of the Southern States, where the curse of slavery has especially debased the free poor population,* Boston, Philadelphia, and New York have lately been visited by an enlightened and friendly French savant, Mons. Ampére, who is evidently quite dis-

This swarming of the posed to do justice to America, and his reports concerning those eities contain descriptions of classes as neglected and dangerous to society as those of European cities, In Boston, he was present at the festivities on the occasion of opening a railway to Canada. "Everywhere," he says, "is to be read posted up, Beware of pickpockets."* With respect to the state of religion, he quotes Joseph Tuckerman, whose researches result in the astounding fact, that in the much lauded chief city of New England, out of 12,000 families, there are 5622, who, in consequence of their poverty, do not belong to any church, are not attached to any re-ligious congregation. Tof New York, he writes:-"In a city of 500,000 souls, like New York, through which thousands of emigrants pass every day, the fluetuating, and consequently dangerous population, necessarily amounts to a considerable figure. It would require a very particular municipal supervision; and this supervision is clearly not what it ought to be. In the evening, certain quarters are infested by determined banditti, called rowdies, who seem to have a taste not only for robbery, but for violence and murder. The other day, some of those wretches went into the house of a Frenchman, and murdered him from a mere caprice of ferocity." " Crimes are increasing rapidly in Connecticut and New York." The following is also worth considering: "The alms-house which already exists, and the work-house which they are building, will not be sufficient. Women cannot go and cultivate the lands of the west; they must live in towns. Hence, without speaking of the rest, the wretchedness of the needlewomen of New York, is almost as great as that of the needlewomen in London. Here this wretchedness is aggravated still more by the horror " (one of the effects of negro of servitude, slavery.) "These poor girls would rather starve than not sit down at their masters' tables. The servants are usually Irishwomen. The needlewomen earn only six or eight sous a day, and at Baltimore \ sometimes only three sous," ** &c. (For Philadelphia, see p. 599.)

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This author does not relate these instances of distress and crime for the purpose of depreciating the institutions of America, or the character of the inhabitants of the Northern States; nor do we quote them with any

^{*} See Key to Uncle Tom, Part iii. chap. 10. † "Promenade en Amérique," in the Revue des deux mondes. 1853.

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^{*} Vol. i. p. 296. † The Religious Principle and Regulation of the

Ministry at large.

‡ See pp. 585, 590, for some startling facts concerning spiritual destitution in the Northern States.

§ P. 1047.

‡ Baltimore is a slave town. ** Vol. ii. p. 155.

such intention, but simply to shew that pov-| country, and we should like to hear the circumstances over which the external arrangements of society have often little or no control. But such is not the case with the evils produced by slavery; they spring directly from, and are fostered by, the institution itself. To place American slaves upon the same level as the free labouring poor, or even on a higher one, as has been done, indicates a strange perversion of judgment in those who do so. The American slaves are degraded by law. No talent, no virtue, no exertion of their own, can raise them in the scale of society, nor even better their condition more than their masters Nay, the more talent, virtue, and power of exertion they possess, the more wretched they must be, from the comparison of what they are with what they might be under an equitable government, and from a consciousness of the utter hopelessness of their efforts to succeed in being treated as rational beings.

But we warn Americans against believing that, as a fact, the majority of the labouring people in Great Britain and Ireland are in a state of wretchedness and degradation at all approaching that of their slaves. As to the domestic slaves, who are most favourably situated, it would be an insult to compare with them the servants, male or female, who form voluntary engagements with masters whom they may legally leave whenever they think fit-whom they can summon before magistrates if they consider they have any complaint-and against whom, in any case of alleged injustice, they are as free to raise actions as the first nobleman of the land. Can a slave leave his master if he be not properly fed? Can he invoke the protection of any law, be he kicked and cuffed ever so much? What legal protection has the slave girl? As to our artisans and tradespeople, it is either ignorance, or something worse, to name that sturdy, independent class, advancing daily in intelligence, along with negroes working without wages, subject to the cowhide, and kept in brutish ignorance. will the comparison hold between bondsmen and our peasants. We assert that the latter are better fed, better clad, and better housed.* This matter of fact may easily be tested. We know that slaves run away frequently in search of freedom; but we never heard an instance of a free labourer longing for slavery. Let some adventurous slave-dealer beat up for recruits in this

But it is surely needless to pursue this reasoning. We should harldy feel ourselves bound to follow a calin, logical argument with a ruffian, who should attempt to justify himself for knocking his neighbour down with a bludgeon, by referring to the injuries which people receive from slipping on ice, or treading on orange-peel,-who should maintain that a broken head is a broken head, whether caused by accident or by his cudgel.

In the case of slave-labour, all the poverty, tyranny, ignorance, and other evils which it produces, are directly fostered by the will of the Legislature. But when we look to the state of the free labourers and poor, we cannot possibly charge the governments under which they live with any such sin of commission: their poor are not kept down purposely for the supposed benefit of a favoured class. Free states, have, indeed, sometimes ignorantly thrown impediments in the way of the progress of the humbler classes, as well as of all others, by sins of omission-by narrow-minded and ill-judged legislation. In this country, how-

erty and its consequences exist in America answer of the most wretched Highland or as well as elsewhere, and are the result of Mayo peasant to a proposal to become a slave, even with superior food and lodging, If free labour is sometimes underpaid, this is simply, as every one ought to know, the necessary result of the superabundance of labour. There is no force of law applied to prevent any who cannot earn a sufficiency in one occupation, or in one district, from choosing a more profitable employment, or from migrating to where labour is in greater demand. Good laws can do no more than faciliate to each individual-by protecting him in a full liberty of action-the use of all the opportunities which providence may place within his reach. None but the wildest socialist can suppose it the duty of rulers to provide, by direct means, labour and remunerative wages for all the citizens. indeed, their duty to provide facilities for the education of all : but it would be insane to expect a government to supply capacity or will for those whom it assists in being educated; and difference in the ability and diligence of individuals must always occasion gradations of rank and wealth in society. Poverty, ignorance, and crime, in free and enlightened countries, depend, partly on outward circumstances which cannot be calculated at all, and partly on the faults and deficiencies of the individual sufferers. They can therefore in general be no more laid to the charge of governments or of the higher classes, than tempests which destroy ships, or the failure of crops which occasions fam-

^{*} A peck of corn a-week is the allowance of a slave, which he must grind himself.

ever, the tendency of legislation has long cently heard from America itself, concerning been to remove all impediments to the social elevation of any class, as much as this can be done by laws. And we say frankly to American advocates of slavery,-point us out weak places in our social institutions, and we will thank you; we hope to consider your criticisms with calmness and candour, be they ever so harsh and bitter, and to examine and re-examine our social condition, so as to endeavour to regulate it more nearly by the principles of reason and instice. We have given proofs that we are in carnest; they societies, and in our Statute-books. Raikes, Wilberforce, Brougham, Peel, Chalmers, Shaftesbury, even O'Connell, Father Mat-thew, and Cobden, in their various designs for improving the condition of the people' have met with abundant sympathy and sufficient co-operation to carry them out, in spite of the lamentations of interested classes, and the partial disagreements of friends. In fact, we have been quietly removthe ancient social edifice, gradually erected evils under the sun. by our forefathers, and replacing them with solid new ones-whether native or imported, as we have found them suitable to strengthen the fabric, and to make it conducive to the welfare of all who are within the precincts of the British constitution. Even on this ground, then, we feel that we have some communities of the race.

But, after all, it is not necessary that before we do so everything should be abso-"involuntary servitude." with huge beams in our own."* Now, slave-law. eyes so completely as to prevent their seeing the plainest precepts of human justice. It even makes them pervert the Bible itself, slavery. to justify their national sin, and stifle the expressions of horror for the oppression and pity for the oppressed, which are forced from millions of Europeans by the faithful voice, re-

the" peculiar institution" of the Southern States.. Does our Lord, when he condemns rash judgment, also mean that until we are absolutely perfect we must not express an opinion upon sin in others? If this were If this were true, where is there a man, whose conscience is in a healthy state, who would undertake to become a minister of His Gospel? Could any man stand up to declare the will of God to his fellow men, if the condition for doing so were that he should be following that will himself in an absolutely perfect are contained in the acts of individuals, of manner? Could any Christian perform his plain duty to his erring brother, in reproving him for his sin, if he were bound to wait until he himself should have "no sin?" Nay, could any man profess to instruct others, on the condition that he should have exhausted all that can possibly be known of the subject which he intends to teach? is, therefore, not because we consider our-selves or our British institutions perfect that we proclaim aloud that chattel-slavery, in ing one after another the mouldering stones of its own nature, ranks with the most dreadful

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We call it a national sin of the United States, and we will do so as long as the majority of their people do not prove to the world, by their acts, that they regard it as injustice, and as an evil so enormous that no sacrifice can be too great to secure its entire abolition. But most of the anti-slavery maright to look beyond our own political jority in the Free States are persons who, boundaries, and to speak our minds honestly perfectly conscious of the moral wrong inand unreservedly about the questions which flicted upon many of their fellow-citizens, affect any portion of our brethren in other are contented to wink at the injustice from motives of a supposed expediency. with sorrow that we refer to the fact that those religious bodies who formerly inscribed lutely perfect with ourselves; though it the most manly denunciations * against seems to be the opinion of a portion of the slavery in their authorized formularies, have, American press, that as long as there is ig- generally speaking, receded more and more norance, vice, and poverty in any European from their original principles, with the falcountry, no European ought to find fault lacious hope of conciliating slave-holders and with what the American President terms slave-dealers, until they now find themselves, They call it, even in the Free States, in a measure their "extracting motes from our brothers' eyes, accomplices, through the atrocious fugitive And the chief benefit to be exwhether chattel-slavery be a mere mote, we pected from the recent very numerous and will again consider; but, mote as it is, it influential expressions of public opinion in appears certainly to fill the orbit of their Europe is, that they may quicken the consciences of this large class in the Free States, regarding the incurable evil of slavery. They may thus be encouraged to renewed exertions, for the purpose of removing the scandal, not only by employing direct influence which the constitution affords them over their legislature, but also concen-

^{* &}quot; New Orleans Picayune," January 1, 1853.

^{*} Key to Uncle Tom, pp. 407, 408.

lie opinion against slave-holders and others good grain sown in it.* in the Southern States. Many of these persons, no doubt, like St. Clare, see the immoralvoice of the majority, they are wanting in energy to act upon their convictions, until they are supported by the general sentiment of the Free States and of Europe.

Since the act of justice by which Great Britain liberated her coloured people in the West Indies, the national evil of slave labour has become more and more intense in men were beginning to see its immorality and unprofitableness, when compared with free labour, and where, consequently, everything seemed to promise freedom to the oppressed-have been turned into great breeding-tracts for the Southern States, whence human animals are exported in thousands to be worked and flogged to death, in the swamps and under the heat of Mississippi, Arkansas, and Louisiana; thus adding the horrors of an internal slave trade to the wretchedness of the existing bondage. Instead of any mitigation of the evils of slavery, and any diminution in the number of slaves, those evils are aggravated, and those numbers are increasing. They are growing with the growth of the Republic. The longer the poison is retained, the more difficult it is to eradicate it from the body politic.

We had long lamented the existence of slavery in the United States; we had considered it a marvellous inconsistency on the part of a nation possessing a true love of liberty-a foul stain upon a community laying claim to be members of the Christian Church. We could not help perceiving what a triumph the advocates of political despotism obtain when they can point to a country where free institutions do not prevent a tyranny, more oppressive, on a portion of the people, than exists under any European government, and the more galling to the sufferers, as it stands out a glaring contrast to the unbounded liberty of another Nor could we close our eyes to the effect, on the minds of those opposed to Christianity, of this widely-spread immorality, in a professedly Christian commu-nity, in which persons even attempt to justify the system from that book which is the charter of the Christian faith, when we reflected that, through a weakness of the human mind, men are disposed to attribute numan mind, men are disposed to attribute to the religion itself the evil deeds of its professors, although the εame men would be

trating an enlightened and disinterested pub-1 slow to attribute the tares in a field to the

All this had long been a matter of conviction with us. We knew, too, that wherever ity of the institution, but bewildered by the chattel-slavery prevailed, grievous suffering must inevitably follow; and hence, when we read Mrs. Stowe's Uncle Tom, whatever we felt, in common with all other readers in this country, it never occurred to us that there might be exaggeration in it. We were sensible that there could be no exaggeration in the matter, and that all she describes may, and a great deal must follow from the very America. It has spread with the acquisition nature of the system itself. We are told, of new territories by the Union: and the indeed, not to judge of a system by its States of Kentucky and Virginia—where abuses. As well might a man talk of the abuse of smuggling, of debauchery, of highway robbery; the thing itself is an abuse, and no wisdom of man can make it useful. So far, therefore, we did not require the complete justification of Uncle Tom's Cabin which Mrs. Stowe has now published in her Key; although for several reasons we think the book is a seasonable one. It admirably refutes the charge of exaggeration-of delineating merely the abuses of slavery-it refutes the arguments of the advocates of slavery drawn from its existence among the Jews, and from the silence of the Apostles, and shows not only the tendency of Christianity to extinguish slavery, but the fact that it has done so in the European Churches. 1 It is well calculated to open the eyes of the favourers of this American institution, to confirm the wavering, and to furnish an armory of facts to the friends of freedom. style of the book, also, is not less captivating than that of her former work; if there be any tediousnesss, it is in the unavoidable accumulation of instances, in order to justify her original propositions. We do not deem it necessary to present specimens to our readers, for all now know what Mrs. Stowe can do. We refer to it for proofs of our arguments; and all who feel an interest in this subject, will no doubt be anxious to read it for themselves.

The second work at the head of this arti-

* See Archbishop Whately's Evidences of Christian Religion.

† We would not vouch that there are not smugglers and highwaymen who consider that their profession, when properly carried on, is necessary and justifiable; as to debauchery, Master Slender seems to have been inclined to make nice distinctions when he promises; "I'll never be drunk whilst I live again, but in honest, civil, godly company, for this trick: if I be drunk, I'll be drunk with those that have the fear of God, and not with drunken knaves."

Merry Wives of Wiudow, Art. I. Sc. 1.

‡ We would further add, that this extinction is ex-

cle-to which we also refer our readers for notions of what is right and proper towards facts—contains a concise view of the Laws them; the law makes no distinction between of the Slave States, together with expositions a virtuous and a vicious master, a religious ican legislators. The book is, as might be ruffian. As slaves are chattels-property; the general reader than the Key. Its great and sold; and this barter must take place fute a charge of exaggeration against a work not be encumbered with the wife and infants of fiction like Mrs. Stowe's Uncle Tom; but of the article to be bought; hence the sepayour book is as impregnable against such a charge as Euclid's Geometry, since, like that, it consists of propositions and demonstra unquestionably true." The work is divided into three parts: The relation of Master and Slave; Relation of the Slave to Society and to Civil Government; and Relation of the Slave Code to the Liberties of the Free. And in these the Author exhausts the whole subject of slavery, not in its abuses, but as sanctioned by the laws. As such it must be upheld by the law in the slave states. If the Vade Mecum of the friends of the slave. It affords ample proof of the legal difference between the slaves of America, and the free labouring poor of Great Britain and Ireland.

If the laws of man permit not only chattel-slavery, but sanction the buying and selling of human beings like cattle, it follows that the holders of slaves must have absolute power over them. Since they do not offer their work people the inducement of wages to labour for them, they must be allowed to compel them to do so, by punishments as severe as they may please to inflict; and as slaves are regarded by law as property, the supposed owner must be legally protected against the risk of losing them, by the right of pursuing deserters from the yoke of servitude, of claiming them, and of shooting them down if they resist. Men find the strength of the horse, the ox, or the elephant serviceable to them, because they use these animals as unreasoning instruments of their will and pleasure; therefore the more nearly the human animal can be kept in the ignorance and mindlessness of the beast, the less likely he will be to feel his wretched condition, and to endeavor to free himself from it. Hence it is prudent, and in a certain sense merciful, to make laws against the education of the oppressed class. Again, as the master is absolute, there can be no appeal from his will, and so there is no protection for the slaves from any amount of ill-treatment, nor can they ever be permitted to give evidence against their masters.

Thus, the whole relation between the slave-holder and his bondsmen and bonds women, is left to be regulated by his own monthly periodical.

of them by judges, and the opinions of Amer. and an impious one, a discreet man and a expected from its nature, less attractive to like every other kind, they may be bought praise is that it is rigorously demonstrative, as often as one man has more slaves than he Iu a letter prefixed from Judge Jay, he says requires and another is in want of hands: of it-"It is more easy to make than to re- the buyer requires a specific article, he canration of families may take place to any extent, and the marriage-tie must be disregarded. Moreover, the slaves of a bankrupt The book is not only true, but it is are sold as well as the rest of his property; they are therefore liable to be scatteredfor the benefit of his creditors; and so are the slaves of a proprietor who dies leaving several heirs-for the benefit of those heirs. All these points are clearly proved in Mr. Goodali's book.

And this is a plain outline of the system we add to this what we know, from our general study of human nature,-of the characters and dispositions of men, it is clear that unless slave-holders form a class of angelic beings, sublimated from those gross earthly passions and motives which actuate men in Europe, this system must involve an amount of individual suffering, mental and physical, which no imagination can exaggerate.

It is not, as we have said, our present object to accumulate actual instances of illtreatment. The British public have from time to time received sufficient trustworthy illustrations of the working of the system from individual cases-several of these were given in a former article of this Journal. And any who are still sceptical, have the opportunity of investigating others in the two books to which we have referred.* We confine ourselves to the effects of the system as they must proceed from it wherever it should be allowed to exist, and we have contrasted these with the nature and consequences of free labor. Human nature is the same everywhere, and therefore everywhere man entrusted with absolute power is prone to use it to the utmost extent, and apt to abuse it. No people seem to be more aware of this than the Americans themselves, in the safeguards with which they have surrounded their political liberty; yet they commit to the hands of a class, powers which are not possessed by the most despotic sovereign in Europe. And these powers are delegated to overseers and others, who by

^{*} See also the Anti-Slavery Advocate, a London

habit must become hardened to the sufferings, sympathy for thousands of unknown sufferof their fellow-men. We have in our poseres; whereas our feelings are highly excited
by the unfortunate glazier who is killed under
we can vouch, and which we give here as a
specimen of the effect produced by slavery
most effective method of rousing the symon the moral condition of those engaged in it.
pathy of mankind in general, is to individu-

" Smithfield, * Convict Depôt, December, 1844. "Sig.-I hope you will excuse the liberty I have taken in writing to you; but as I have been informed that there is a person wanting to fill the situation of executioner in Newgate, and believing that through you, or to you the applicat on must be made for such situation, I therefore beg to state that I am at present a convict under sentence of seven years' transportation, and now in Smithfield prison; and in order to give you to understand that I am competent to fulfil the above situation, I have for the last eight years served on board the 'Will-of-the-Wisp,' a slaver on the coast of Africa, and have distinguished myself as an able seaman; and to shew that I have nerve to perform the duties of hangman, I have known myself, when we have been closely chased by Her Majesty's Cruisers, to despatch and throw overboard 150 negroes in half-an-hour; and if I am fortunate enough to obtain said situation, I hope by my future good conduct and strict attention to the duties which I will be called on to perform, to give general satisfaction. I will patiently await your answer. If you think proper you can call on Mr. Lamb, the governor of this prison, who has known me for some years past, who, I am convinced, will give a satisfactory What induces me to apply for carracter of me. this situation is, I am a married man, and the thought of being banished from my native country and from my beloved wife, is more than I can bear; and the hopes of obtaining the said situation and my liberty, fills me with feelings of emotion which I am unable to express.-I have the honour to be, your obedient servant. To the Governor of Kilmainham Jail."

The writer of this letter is a European; he is tenderly attached to his "beloved wife," and yet he showed his nerve by despatching 150 negroes in half-an-hour. Such are the hardening effects of irresponsible power on men, who, in other situations, might not have been worse than their neigh-We consider slave-holders, overseers, and dealers no worse by nature than other men; but neither do we consider them any better, and therefore we say again, that taking together the slave-laws and the natural tendency of men to be corrupted by such a system, every kind of suffering may reasonably be imagined as inflicted on their slaves,

Any one may come to this conclusion from the premises we have supplied. But it is a matter of daily observation that general statements bear with only a slight effect upon the majority of mankind. The description of a battle produces but a transient

That there should be counter efforts of all kinds in America is not wonderful. There is the opposition of the interested who dread the loss of wealth; there is the opposition of the timid who fear all sorts of harm from an agitation which may issue in vast changes. It is alleged especially that the agitation of this question must dissolve the central government of the Union, and issue in a disrupton of the connexion between the Free and the Slave States,-Now, in the first place, the Union is already little more than nominal; each individual State rules itself almost as independently as if there were no combined organization. The occupation of Texas was carried out by adventurers; the same process is now going on with respect to Mexico; and the conduct of the central Government with respect to the piratical expedition to Cuba clearly illustrates the weakness of the central ties. These ties are relaxing daily through the system of electoral autonomy fostered by the democratic spirit; they must be still more relaxed by the formation of new, States, and the love of conquest with which so many seem now to be infatuated.

In the second place, for various reasons, a separation between the Free and the Slave States might prove anything but a misfortune to the former. In a moral point of view they would be great gainers. present they are in reality, and in the eyes of the world, responsible for the existence of slavery in any part of the Union, especially since the passing of the fugitive slavelaw; for they help to carry out its consequences, not only by being under a legal obligation to become hunters of men, but also through the degradation attaching to slavery, which taints and corrupts their social institutions, and which extends even to free negroes (among whom are included many as white as those of European blood) the stigma which is inflicted on their still enslaved brethren. So long as slavery exists in a country, the free negroes are considered an inferior race. Where slavery has been abolished, the negro gradually takes his

sympathy for thousands of unknown sufferers; whereas our feelings are highly excited by the unfortunate glazier who is killed under our eyes by a fall. The recognised and most effective method of rousing the sympathy of mankind in general, is to individualize the sufferings of a class, so as to concentrate it upon examples, to bring vividly before the imagination truthful representations of the working of a system, so as to shew its effects in action. And this is what has been done so admirably in the writings of Mrs Stowe.

^{*} A prison in Dublin.

pened already, in spite of various difficulties, in the British colonies; and in Europe colour offers no bar either to political or social advancement.

It is this unmanly prejudice against free negroes which originated the well-known projects of colonization to Liberia and Cape Palmas. We confess that at one time, when we had not studied the subject so deeply, the institution of colonies in which free negroes might become familiar with the working of liberal institutions, imbued with civilisation, and made acquainted with Christianity, seemed to be highly desirable; and we still think that, with a view to the important object of the civilisation and conversion of Africa, the plan has its favourable side. But when, by more full information, we learn that this colonization scheme was merely intended as a kind of transportation for a portion of the inhabitants of the States, and that all sorts of persecution were used to induce the negroes to leave their native land, we were compelled to modify our opinion, and to regard the colonization scheme as another instance of the flagrant inconsistency of a people calling themselves In fact, as far as modern customs permit, it is much the same as the krypteia of the uncient Spartans, who occasionally thinned the superabundant population of their helots, by making their young men lie in wait for and slaughter them. This prejudice against free negroes is one of the direct results of slave labour.

It eannot be an antipathy to African blood as such; else we should not find whites cohabiting with blacks, mulattoes, and quadroons, and raising up families by them. When a man eats a hearty dinner without saying grace, we may suspect him of want of religion, but not want of appetite, or disgust for the food. Nor again, would the gentry of the Southern States be surrounded by negro servants, who sometimes become pets with them, as dogs and birds do among We can understand the higher and more enlightened classes, everywhere, not associating with their inferiors, because neither their manners nor their education make them suitable companions; but in the Free States, the lowest and most ignorant white considers himself superior to the most cultivated negro, and American society approves of his sentiment. Thus serfdom, while it is abolished in most despotic countries in Europe, flourishes in its worst form in a country boasting of its political and per-

place besides his white brother; as has hap- the glory of having plotted against them! But the substitution of free instead of

slave-labour would imply, it is said, incalculable loss to individuals, and consequent injury to social prosperity in all the States. Now it is indeed certain, that some merchants in the Free States do find their interests promoted by their connexion with slaveholders and their traffic in slave-produce; and it is therefore natural-considering how prone men are to look to the present rather than to the future, and to delude themselves concerning the morality of their actions -that they should be advocates or palliators of slavery. But we do not allow that connexion with the Slave States is of any real advantage, immediate or prospective, to the inhabitants of the Free States generally. The remarkable increase of population, which under present circumstances is an element of strength to the Union, is taking place almost exclusively in the Free States : far from increasing in the Slave States, many of the white population there, are actually emigrating from them to the far west. Our space forbids us to enter into details concerning agriculture, commerce, education, literature and other elements of civilisation; but let any Briton or American consult the published statistics of the Union, the decennial increase of the free and slave population. and compare the areas of the two divisions, and he will see where the advantage liesin freedom or in slavery. The benefits of the connection are entirely on the side of the south; and as the north will have nothing to lose by severing that connexion, the citizens of its States, having right and justice on their side, should fearlessly proceed on the clear path of duty marked out for them by the spirit of the Gospel and the natural love of liberty. Let them not be scared by the ill sound of sectarian aboli-tionism. They should remember that in every cause, good as well as bad, there are always some who, under the impulse of feeling, are apt to become enthusiasts and even fanatics. Let not the enlightened and the thoughtful public of Britain or America be turned from a philanthropic enterprise by the alleged fanatieism of "abolitionists;" let them view the professed object of these parties with a comprehensive eye, and elevated above the real or imagined follies with which they have surrounded it. In Great Britain also, before the abolition of colonial slavery, we had much irregular enthusiasm, which in fact has accompanied every great reformation in the world. With human sonal freedom, looking with contempt on nature as it is, no important political or monarchical governments, and receiving social change can be accomplished if its leawith open arms every charlatan who has ding advocates are destitute of enthusiasm

And there is no time to be lost. We times represented as peculiarly requiring rejoice in any mitigation of the horrible coerced labour. Yet in fact, free labour has system; but we believe that no cure, short already been tried, and found to succeed in of total abolition, will suffice to remove the plantations of cotton and also of sugar. In degradation and suffering which inhere in the States themselves small proprietors an essentially vicious social institution. Let have been hiring labourers for the former, the slaveholder and the general Christian and have found it profitable. Free-labour community once behold in the slave a brother, cotton is at present exported in considerable and he must be set free. Conscience will quantities to England. The Colonies in not permit an enlightened Christian people Africa, Liberia, and Natal, are raising it, to sanction permanently the laws of slave la- and so is Abbeokuta, on the south-west bour. There cannot indeed be a more pain- coast. India is making rapid progress in ful feeling for a man of humanity and reli- cotton produce; and when our hardy emigion than to be depending upon such labour. grants in Australia apply their hands to this Slaves will not (as a general rule) work department, the slave-holders had better look unless they are forced to do so; and thus he about their English market. is placed in the alternative either of having his With respect to sugar the case is still work done imperfectly, or of using means stronger. Everywhere (with one exception) which are fit only for brutes. Nay, by the the production of sugar by free hands is incising somewhat less cruelty than his more the West India islands appear to have taken corrupt neighbours.

The great practical point, in the meantime tant event. is that all or at least a large majority, in the their institutions to the changed circumstan-United States, should be persuaded that ces, and they are now, accordingly, rapidly slavery is essentially unjust and sinful. When improving, especially in Barbadoes. once this point is gained, no sacrifice will be in Jamaica, among other short-sighted measconsidered too great to secure the emancipa- ures, they established and still maintain a tion of the slaves. That sacrifice, we believe, system of protective duties on provisions, will not, after all, be so considerable as many which raises the necessaries of life to such think. It is said indeed that none but negro prices, that the coloured population prefer slaves are fit to produce cotton and sugar; but tilling the ground instead of working for even supposing this were true, surely slavery wages which would not enable them to embraces many who are not engaged in these live.* pursuits. Domestic servants and artisans, need not be slaves in the Southern States advocates, that emancipation has not failed any more than elsewhere. they are so, degrades labour in the eye of ones, although there that measure was comthe free, and besides makes it dificult for plicated with great political excitement them to find work. As to the economy of coming from the mother country. Prubuying slaves, instead of hiring servants dence, coupled with justice, would render and tradesmen, experience shews this to be the righteous act, we are certain, perfectly is everywhere found to be a far greater in to its vast beneficial consequences in future ducement to work, than the fear of chastise- years, none can sufficiently appreciate them. ment, especially to those who have become They are in a degree obvious in what has hardened to the latter. Chastisement may been achieved in all free countries. As yet, force men to work, but it cannot force them but little has been done in the application of to work well, pected from those whose hearty good-will Slave States, and this must be attributed in accompanies their labour; and this state of a great measure to the numbing effect of the mind is best secured by making it men's "institution." While new instruments of interest to exert themselves, through the fear scientific agriculture, which astonish us here, of losing their employment, and by giving them the hope of bettering their condition,—not to speak of the general beneficent effects of independence of character.

All this applies, of course, to every kind of work; but that of the plantations is somewhat the some some statements of the plantations is somewhat the some some statements of the plantations is somewhat the some statements of the plantations of statements. them the hope of bettering their condition,

usages around him and by the laws, he is in creasing. That one exception is Jamaica, one sense as little free as his slaves. He is where the local legislature seems to have coerced by the latter in a hundred ways done its best to ruin the planters. At the which give him no choice but that of exer-time of the enancipation, indeed, none of wise measures corresponding to that impor-Gradually they have suited

> We therefore assert, in opposition to slavery The fact that in the British West Indies nor in the French The allurement of good wages safe, even at present, in America. And as Good work can only be ex- the immense resources of machinery in the

are invented in the Free States, every pro-|intense feeling of many in these times to cess is still carried on in the south in the whom the study of the past is a deep moral rudest manner. Machinery would lessen necessity, and who long for a history which mere animal labour of men, and would enhance the productiveness of the soil and of what it bears. Thus the planter, with his slave labour and defective implements, is able to extract only one-third of the saccharine which is contained in the sugar-cane. In France, for instance, when they first made beet-sugar, they obtained only one-tenth of the well-known works of Mosheim, Gieseler, the saccharine contained in the root; but by successive social and mechanical improvements they now succeed in extracting eighttenths.

There are many other considerations which shew the advantages of Free over Slave labour; and even what we have said, has been more in hints than fully developed. Our principal object has been to combat the assertion, that American slaves are happier than many British free people; to refute the calumny, that our Government and our wealthy classes do not as much for their labourers of this country, as the slave-legislatures do for theirs; and to remind those free labour substituted for American slavery, of the triumphs which, through God's blessing, were gained by popular opinion, when slave-labour was abolished by European governments in obedience to its voice.

ART. VI .- 1. Select Metrical Hymns and Homilies of Ephraem Syrus. Translated from the Original Syriac, with an Introduc-Göttingen, a Presbyter of the Church of England, Translator of the Festal Letters of Athanasius from an Ancient Syriac Version. London, 1853.

2. Bardesanes Gnosticus, Syrorum primus Hymnologus, Commentatio Historico- Theologica quam scripsit Augustus Hahn. Lipsiae, 1819.

3. Visit to the Monasteries of the Levant. By the Hon. ROBERT CURZON, Jun. Fourth Edition. London, 1853.

4. The Nestorians and their Rituals. By the Rev. G. P. BADGER, M.A., East India Company's Chaplain. 2 vols. London, 1852.

Dr. Arnold has somewhere remarked that histories, instead of being too much dialect of Syria;* that although the Sacred prolonged, are too brief and superficial. The remark expresses, we are sure, the

shall be more than a mere syllabus of names, and dates, and external events,-which shall connect these with the human hearts and intellects whence they have received life. As regards a history of the Church the matter seems to stand thus. We have something more than its grand outlines in and Neander: yet even the amplest and richest of these books leaves behind it a feeling of dissatisfaction, if it be intelligently and earnestly read. Our conceptions are painfully dim, when we are eager to obtain a close and familiar knowledge of the everyday movements of the Christian community. Our reading has also awakened a keen craving for information more minute and life-like. We thus are grateful for supplemental books,—like Neander's Tertullian and Julian and Chrysostom, or, indeed, for any contributions which may in some measure help us to imagine the actual Christianity of the past and the distantin Europe and the States, who desire to see fitted as the picture often is to expand the sympathies and abate prejudices.

One marked characteristic of recent research into other forms of Christian life is the special attention now given to the venerable but sadly decrepit Christian communities of the East, whose formularies exist in languages cognate with the ancient Hebrew. For ages these have been considered, it may be, as objects of curiosity and mournful retrospect, but also as remote from the hopes and living interests of modern Christian civilisation. Happily this indif-ference is beginning to disappear. The works tion and Historical and Philological Notes. of Curzon, Layard, Badger, Fletcher, and By the Rev. Henry Benees, Ph. D. of many others, have made Englishmen in some measure familiar with the interesting communities on the mountains and in the valleys of Syria and Egypt. The generation which has disclosed the long-buried monuments of Nineveh, and in which the eyes of the politicians of the world are keenly directed to the East, has brought into high relief the present forms and feeble vitality of the Christian institutions of Ethiopia and Syria.

Among the Oriental Churches those of Syria should always hold a first place in the affections of Christendom. The New Testament, it is true, in wise adaptation to the wants of coming ages, was given to the world in Greek. But we remember that our Lord and his disciples spoke in the

[·] From various causes, especially their captivity

were called Christians first at Antioch.

The works placed at the head of this Peschito translation. tures, known as the Peschito, until the present age. It bursts upon us at the earlier epoch in all the effulgence of a sanctified intellect, and then gradually declines to the misty and scarcely animated productions of modern ecclesiastics.* Then the language was spoken by nations of great political influence and refinement, and was made to express every shade of thought and passion; but now it has ceased to be an organ of a people, and only lives in Church formularies, and occasional controversial or diplomatic productions. A patois, in which fragments of Syriac are discoverable among the overlaving Arabic, may still be found in retired religious communities; but with these rare 372; but it continued to exert an important influence, especially in translations, down to the time of Bar Hebraeus, or Abulpharag, in the thirteenth century.

We might devote an article to the Syriac version of the Old and New Testaments alone, of which the excellences, though

in Babylon, the Hebrews lost their dialect, and adopted the Aramman or Syriac, thus becoming, in the decline of national greatness, more assimilated with the surrounding peoples. It was the language of Syria therefore, and not a corruption of Hebrew, as is sometimes supposed, that was vernacular to our Lord and his apostles. The Hebrew was still the sacred longue; but the language of ordinary life was, provincialisms excepted, that used at Damascus, Antioch, and Edessa.

* Joseph, a Syrian patriarch, who died in 1714, wrote a treatise on the Nestorian Controversy respecting the person of Christ.

† Since writing the previous sentences, we have received from a gentleman, lately returned from Persia, a Number of a Magazine, printed and published by the American missionaries in Oroomiah, in ed by the American missionaires in the definition of that country. We have been agreeably surprised to find, that although there is a great admixture of words of Persian and Arabic origin, the Syriae is sufficiently prominent to give to the language its character. The work is in quarto, and is entitled, "Rays of Light." It consists of missionary and miscellaneous articles on religious subjects. We reliable to the honor sumption joice in this happy symptom.

penmen wrote in Greek, it was in Syriac generally acknowledged, are far too little that they heard their Master's utterances, and understood. The fact that Syriac is so first preached the coming of the "Kingdom" closely allied to Hebrew, would prima facia, of Heaven." In Syria, too, Christianity ob- confer importance on a version of the Old tained its earliest triumphs, and the disciples Testament into the cognate tongue, apart from the acknowledged fidelity of the How much more article offer an occasion for presenting some does the fact that our Lord and His apostles information—new and curious even to the spoke in Syriae, confer value on the trans-student—concerning the life and literature lation of the New Testament, made at a of this section of ancient Christendom, time when the language was vernacular to Syriae Literature, in its existing monuments, those who executed it? It is not improba-embraces the whole period from the date of ble that in this Syriae version we have, in the invaluable Syriac version of the Scrip- many cases, the exact words employed in their public ministrations by our Lord and His apostles. And yet this precious monument of ancient piety and learning was not known in Europe until the middle of the sixteenth century, when Iguatins, the patriarch of Antioch, sent Moses of Merdin to obtain the aid of the Roman Pontiff in printing it, Compared with the Greek original and the Latin Vulgate its criticism is but recent, and therefore scanty and imperfect.*

In order to convey to our readers some idea of the remains of the past, to which so high a value is justly attached, we may describe briefly a Syriac manuscript, which we had lately an opportunity of inspecting in the British Museum. After glancing at exceptions, the language has long been a other objects in that grand national reposi-dead one.† The era of its triumph and tory, we made our way to the manuscript glory may be said to have declined soon department, where the written lore of past after the death of ETHRAEN, in the year ages, which once slumbered in darkness and was the prey of worms, shakes itself from the dust, and puts on the garb of Russia binding, under the supervision of Sir Frederick Madden. The resurrection of these faded parchments has, in many cases, raised human thought from the charnelhouse, and given immortality to what was long considered dead. This is the temple of their fame, in whose niches that which remains of the poet, the philosopher, the historian, or the divine, is now enshrined. This is the palace of the former great ones of the world of mind, where, in silent state, each shall sit, probably until the day of

^{*} No want is more pressing in relation to Biblical learning than a good critical edition of the Syriac Scriptures, formed by the aid of the numerous ancient MSS, which are now known to exist. We believe such a task is contemplated by the Rev. W. Cureton, and earnestly hope he may be able to complete it. To say nothing of the stores of the Vatican, there are materials in our own Museum of the highest value in relation to such a recension. Manuscripts of the Holy Scriptures have been brought from begypt at the expense of our Government, and are waiting for some practised hand to unlock their treasures. Criticism, on the Greek side, has pretty nearly exhausted its stores, and it may therefore be hoped that attention will now be turned to this rich, but scarcely cultivated field,

doom, disturbed only by the curious student with concentrated attention. We will not

years.

We begin with the venerable relies which have more than their antiquity to recommend them-the manuscripts which God thine own spirit! Sabar Jesu, thou wast has made the depositories of the documents; on which our faith as Christians is built. This is a Syriac manuscript from the collection of Rich, named after that successful explorer of Oriental treasures. To preserve it from injury, it is enclosed in a case, which, when opened, presents a compact volume of the size which we moderns call royal thickness. It is bound in Russia, its contents being lettered on the back. This is a copy of the version of the New Testament in Syriac, which we have already mentioned; it is described in the catalogue as exceedingly old, the inscription of its transcriber fixing its completion in the year of the Greeks 1079, or A.D. 768, making its present age nearly eleven centuries. A man may well feel awed when opening a production written by hands so long since shrouded in the tomb, in regions far away, and relating to topics so sublime. The material is the finest vellum, more or less discoloured by age; indeed, much more so than some of the Nitrian manuscripts a century or two earlier. The writing is in double columns, and, like most ancient documents, is exceedingly correct, clerical errors being comparatively rare. The ink is very thick in consistence, more like a pigment, making the letters stand out somewhat in relief; and, except where damp has injured it, the writing is quite intelligible, as though written but yesterday. The titles of the separate books, and the headings of the ecclesiastical divisions, are written in red and green ink, of so good a colour that they give the page a gay appearance. The beginning of the volume, as far as the third chapter of Matthew, is lost; but the deficiency has been supplied, in a larger character, by a more modern writer. A note informs us that the work was finished more than a thousand years ago by a certain Sabar Jesu. in the monastery of Beth Cocensi.

O Sabar Jesu! we mentally exclaimed, on whose handiwork we are now looking, who wert thou? what was thy history? what drove thee from the world to the company of monks, and what was the extent of thy literary labours? This age knows nothing of thee but thy name, thus inscribed by thyself in red letters at the close of thy great undertaking. Thy course was silent and contemplative, for a work like this could only be wrought in the solitary cell, and

or desultory visitor. But let us spend a say, On thy soul may God have mercy, as thy short time with these spectres of other fellow-scribes so often write at the close of their tasks; but we will hope that, while giving to after ages this monument of Christian truth, thou didst feed upon it in different in thy language, thy dress, and thy habits, from the men of this generation, but thou wast a Christian, and didst, we hope, drink of the same living waters as supply our wants, and we therefore gladly call thee brother. We trust thou art now at rest, and wilt stand in thy lot at the end of the days!

Edessa appears to have been renowned octavo, and about two inches and a half in for its literature very early in the Christian Tradition ascribes its conversion to Thomas the Apostle. There are reasons for thinking that these translations of the Bible were made there; but it is certain that the place was celebrated for its schools of learning. Asseman states,* that "in the city of . Edessa there was a school of the Persian nation, established by some one unknown, in which Christian youths were taught sacred literature." Indubitable proofs are furnished by Dr. Burgess, of a very early literary vitality in this celebrated city. Here Bardesanes flourished in the second century, and here Ephraem preached and wrote in the fourth. Much curious information respecting Bardesanes, especially in relation to the Syriae Hymnology, is found in the scarce tract named at the head of this paper. He was a Gnostic Christian, who, by the charms of oratory, and by musical adaptations to hymns and other metrical compositions, bewitched the people with his heresies. His works have perished, except some fragments found in the writings of Ephraem; but, from the testimony borne by ancient writers, he must have been a man of rare genius, able greatly to influence the public mind.

It was in opposition to the influence exerted by the memory and the writings of Bardesanes, that Ephraem, the Deacon of Edessa, as the "champion of Christ, put on his arms, and proclaimed war against the forces of his enemies." Thus originated a noble monument of Christian literature, in the form of a set of polemical homilies, which have come down to us in the original Syriac. They are entitled, in the Roman edition, Sermones Polemici adversus Haereses. They contain an account of the heresies which disturbed the Eastern Church in the four first centuries, more copious, perhaps, than is extant in any other record.

It thus appears that from the time of the formation of the Peschito versions to

^{*} Bibliotheca Orientalis, tom. iv. p. 69.

Ephraem, the Syriac language was employed | Scriptures excepted. we must look to Ephraem as the great master of Syriac literature, for in his time the language was in its complete manhood. How much he wrote it is impossible to say; but his surviving compositions are voluminous, and have yet, for the most part, to be introduced to the public. It is doubted by some whether he understood Greek: it is certain that he did not write in it; and, consequently, his works extant in that language are only translations. Yet it is by these versions that he is generally estimated as an author, his genuine Syriac writings having been neglected, in the too prevalent ignorance of that language. Great facility is given for the study of them by the magnificent edition published at Rome by the Assemans in the early part and about the middle of the last century. In six large folios, nearly all the confessed works of this celebrated Father of the Church have been collected, and edited with a critical sagacity and elaborate care which must ever confer honour on the editors. Three volumes contain the Greek translations, and three the Syriac originals-the latter being in nearly all cases productions different from the former. these three volumes, about one and a-half are occupied with a Commentary on the Old Testament, which deserves more attention than it has yet received. The other volume and a-half contain hymns and homilies on every variety of topic concerning Christian life and doctrine.*

The Syriac writers after Ephraem are very numerous, but none possess his genius. They are all referred to, with notices of their lives and characteristic catalogues of their known writings, in that marvellous production of learned industry, the Bibliotheca Orientalis of J. S. Asseman. This work, like the edition of Ephraem just referred to, we owe to the patronage of the Popes, and the treasures of the Vatican-would that two such potent instruments were always as usefully employed !- both turned to account by the master minds of the Assemans and their coadjutors. It may be confidently said that this work contains literary wealth not likely to be soon exhausted; and that Syriac Literature is more indebted to it than to any work besides, the editions of the Holy

We have said enough to shew that Syriac Literature is very extensive in its existing monuments, and that it supplies abundant materials for a laborious scholarship yet to work upon. But we must now turn to an aspect of it singularly interesting and remarkable, as exhibited to us in the volume of Dr. Burgess. We quote his words :-

"When the student comes in contact with the Syrian Church Literature, either in manuscript or printed books, he is attracted by the singular fact, that much of it is in a metrical form. We lay stress on the word student, because a superficial investigation will leave the phenomenon unnoticed, as has indeed happened to men of learning Both in manuscripts and printed books the metrical verses of this literature are generally written as prose, only a point indi-cating the close of a rhythm, and that not always; so that such works may be consulted occasionally, as books of reference, without their artificial construction being perceived apart from all marks of distinction, as soon as these compositions are read and studied in their individual completeness, their rhythmical character becomes evident, sometimes from the poetical style of what is thus circumscribed by these prosodical measures, but always from the moulding and fashioning which the language has to undergo before it will yield up its free-dom to the fetters of verse. This then is the sphere of our present undertaking, and it will be our duty to trace up this metrical literature to its origin as far as historical light will guide us; to say something on the laws by which its composition appears to be regulated; to glance at its existing monuments; and then, more especially, to treat of the works of Ephraem, the great master of this literature, a few of whose compositions are now brought before the English public."-Pp. xxii., xxiii.

Now, when it is known that all the extant writings of Ephraem in Syriac, with the exception of his Commentary on the Old Testament, are composed in this metrical form, and that in the Roman edition they occupy a folio volume and a half, it may excite surprise that this extraordinary feature should not have had more attention, and engaged

As a catalogue, it as an important instrument for affecting the indicates where materials for illustrating the public mind. We have no doubt that many Syrian Church, its language and literature, works of genius appeared in the long in are to be found; but it does far more than terval, as well as those of Bardesanes. But this. It gives lengthened extracts from the writers enumerated; to such an extent indeed, that Syriac lexicography would be marvellously enriched if these stores alone were properly examined and applied. There is only one deduction to make from the praises we are able to bestow on both these works-the edition of Ephraem and the Bibliotheca-they are necessarily very expensive, and consequently not always available to those who might make good use of

^{*} It is from this portion of Ephraem's writings that Dr. Burgess has selected the pieces translated in his volume. He has accompanied the translations his volume. He has acc with some valuable notes.

vast amount of composition had consisted the charm of variety to his compositions in merely of hymns, its neglect would have accommodation to the popular taste of been less surprising; but it includes every Edessa. Sometimes his pieces have rhymes, description of subject, from discourses of but these are of rare occurrence; somegreat length to the short hymn properly so times they have similar endings in the designated. We have here polemical treatises lines. It is a singular fact, that while the on doctrine, religious poems, meditations, great number of forms and metres in our and prayers.

It would be considered an extraordinary the metrical form of his writings should not pricious and faneiful arrangements. of mere literary curiosity. It concerns the the attention and life of the worshippers. whole Christian and ministerial life of these reveals views of early Christianity most in- to by Dr. Burgess :teresting and curious. As far as we can judge from existing documents, all Ephraem's pulpit efforts were metrical, and his hearers

were instructed from time to time with com-

positions of rare felicity of invention and strength of argument, clothed in a form

highly poetic.

The metrical writings of Ephraem have, for the most part, far more than the external and adventitious form of poetical composition; they are essentially poetic in their conception and execution. We cannot now present proof of this; but our readers may judge for themselves, by the few pieces which Dr. Burgess has translated. We cannot compare him with any of his predecessors, from the want of any of their remains, but he is favourably contrasted with those who come after him. For the greater part, the latter are circumscribed by the few topics especially related to them as Biblical thoughts, is copious in his fancy,

The external form of Ephraem's versifi- the invention to Bardesanes,

scholars in the diligent study of it.* If this to have exercised much ingenuity, in giving modern hymn-books is a ground of objection with some persons on the score of circumstance in the case of any Greek or taste, the hymns of the Syrians of the fourth Latin author, whose works are printed, that century go far beyond them in their cabe recognised; and yet this is what has is to be presumed, these were all accomhappened to Ephraem. It is a fact which modations to musical times, we have prespeaks loudly of the little attention given sented to us a Christian service, endeavourto Syriac learning. Nor is this a matter ing by every possible variety to keep up

But there is another notable feature of communities of Syria and their pastors, and these compositions, which is thus referred

"Historical evidence is quite conclusive as to the popularity of the practice of alternote singing in the early Syrian Church, and as to the important use made of it both by Bardesanes and Ephraem, as an instrument for moulding and fashioning the public mind. And its in-And its influence is founded in nature, exciting as it does an interest in a public service, and keeping alive an enthusiasm in more private musical performances. . . . There are at least two distinct forms of this practice manifest in the works of Ephraem. The first has the character of the dialogue, or rather of the amœbæic poems of Theocritus and Virgil; when two persons, or more, carry on a conversation on a tepic forming the subject of the composition.

. . . But the second form of the responsive chant is more common; it consists of a chorus at the end of each strophe, formed either by a repetition of a portion of the poem, by a prayer, or by a doxology."-P. liv.

When we ask the very natural question, Churchinen, and can lay no claim to general -Who invented these metres, or first inliterary knowledge and genius. But Ephra-troduced metrical compositions into Chrisem, while confining himself very much to tian worship? we get no reply, the whole matter being involved in obscurity in the and has a considerable creative imagination. first and second centuries. Tradition assigns cation is varied, but in all cases the rhythm the son of Bardesanes, is said to have been is reckoned by syllables-not by feet, as is educated in Greece, and afterwards to have generally the case in the Greek and Roman improved upon his father's discovery, by verse. The Syriac metres are six in num- the introduction of Greek metres. We inber, consisting respectively of four, five, six, cline to think that the Syrians very early seven, eight, and twelve syllables. Each of introduced into their language the metrical these is found in strophes or stanzas of va forms of the Greek and Latin literature; rious lengths, from three or four to twenty but whether the Church originated the pracor thirty verses. Many pieces are com-tice of metrical writing, or adopted it and posed of different verses. Ephraem appears improved upon it, is probably still an open

spersed, and it is from these shorter pieces

The editors of the Syriac works of Ephraem are not to blame for this, for they have, in their prefaces, pointed out all the metrical pieces, and expatiated on Syrian Christians many hymns are interpolated out of the control of the their various merits.

that the current opinion respecting the char-acter of the metrical writings has been Churches. This may be conveniently done, formed. Certainly if Ephraen had only as far as the latter are concerned, by con-written these shorter pieces, they would have been worthy of attention; but the A great difference will, with a few excepvalue of the metrical literature is greatly tions, be at once perceptible in the freedom enhanced by its being the vehicle of discourses on controversies, and doctrines, as well Ephraem, contrasted with the parrow and as matters of Christian practice. homilies, thirteen in number, on the Nativi- and Latin hymn writers. The Greek and ty, occupy forty folio columns of Syriac, Latin hymns are mostly only adapted for and may be properly considered as a con-ecclesiastical use, while a great number of tinuous work, although thus divided for Ephraem's pieces have an interest as extenconvenience.

Our readers may perhaps expect a specimen of the Literature we have been describing, and we select the first hymn from the tionalism and theological polenic. volume before us. It is in Tetrasyllabic true the controversies respecting by metre in the Syriac, and consequently terse and compressed in its composition.

ON THE DEATH OF A CHILD. "Oh my Son, tenderly beloved! Whom grace fashioned In his mother's womb, And divine goodness completely formed. He appeared in the world Suffering like a flower; And Death put forth a heat More fierce than the sun, And scattered its leaves And withered it, that it ceased to be. I fear to weep for thee, Because I am instructed That the Son of the King hath removed thee To His bright habitation.

"Nature in its fondness Disposes me to tears, Because, my son, of thy departure. But when I remember the bright abode To which they have led thee, I fear lest I should defile The dwelling-place of the King By weeping, which is adverse to it; And lest I should be blamed For coming to the region of bliss With tears which belong to sadness; I will therefore rejoice, Approaching with my unmixed offering.

"The sound of thy sweet notes Once moved me and caught mine ear, And caused me much to wonder ; Again my memory listens to it, And is affected by the tones And harmonies of thy tenderness. But when my spirit groans aloud On account of these things, My judgment recals me, And listens with admiration To the voices of those who live on high; To the song of the spiritual ones Who cry aloud, Hosannah! At thy marriage festival."

To appreciate the genius of this Syrian divine it is necessary to compare his hymns . In three volumes. Halle & Leipsic, 1841-1846.

A set of mere doctrinal productions of the Greek sive as human nature. This characteristic is doubtless attributable in part to his freedom from the fetters of religious conven-It is true the controversies respecting heresics had distracted the Church before his time, but they had not resulted in the hard stercotyping of the mind in the prescribed formulas which soon afterwards took the place of a free exposition of Scripture, and obstructed the development of religious life.

This remark suggests some examination of the relation of the early religious life and literature of Syria to the forms of Christianity which now prevail in that country. If our readers wish to pursue the sad comparison at greater length than our space will now permit, we refer them to the volume of Dr. Burgess and the Bardesanes of Hahn for the former period; and for the modern Churches, to the other works placed at the head of this article. By these aids very different are the pictures we get of the working of Christianity in nearly the same places, but at eras separated by fifteen centuries. How comes it that in the one epoch there is life,ardent, impassioned, and practical; in the other, only a slight movement in the debilitated members, and a hectic flush upon the brow?

In ancient times, there were doubtless fixed ritual arrangements by which the Syriac Churches were governed, but, whatever they were, they were not so cumbrous or stringent as to destroy the freedom and paralyze the action of the religious life, ecclesiastical system then existing allowed a latitude in the conception of new methods of Christian operation and in carrying these into action. While moving within the orbit of a Church system, Ephraem was not rigidly confined to any linear course in it, but could move right and left as his conscience might guide him, or as the profit of the people might seem to demand. The public service of that age seems to have admitted a variety of form; its boundary

a death, Ephraem was wont to compose a religious teachers labour among them as

at Edessa flourished. chanical routine gradually took the place of palians. We presume the lively volume of spontaneous movement; age by age eus- Mr. Curzon has been seen by most of our tom became stronger in its influence, and readers. It contains valuable information at length assumed the office of a supreme concerning the Eastern forms of Christianity, arbiter in the Church. Some centuries after and humorously, yet affectingly, describes Ephraem, his successors were satisfied with the living death of the Syrian and other his thoughts, and ceased to put forth their monasteries in these regions. Imperceptibly, yet surely, like the gathering frosts of winter, conventionalisms that the field to which we have introduced and church laws bound all free aspirations our readers, may soon be occupied by diliin their icy chains, until the Syrian Churches gent labourers. Dr. Burgess, in particular became what they now are. The times has devoted himself, apparently amid many changed, but men did not change their modes of action with them. The language which he has few companions. He is an of Ephraem ceased to be a living one, and enthusiastic Syriac scholar. His book is a hymns and liturgies of the Church. No Christian life and literature of the East in active spirit appeared, to accommodate the the fourth century; presented too in a manutterances of Divine truth, to new and diffethe want of apostolic life and doctrine?

lines were sufficiently elastic to allow of Christianity can be expected among these novelties in the external accompaniments of ancient Syriac Churches, until the barrier of For example, on the occasion of conventionalism is thrown down, and their piece appropriate to each special instance, Ephraem did at Edessa, adapting their teachand which, as the case might demand, la ings and operations to existing wants and mented the premature decay of the flower circumstances. Various efforts have been of infancy and youth, the mysterious removal of the head of a household, or the delegant the tomb of ripe old age, each but it is plain that too much attention has instance suggesting fitting Biblical topics been given to their antiquities, and too little and consolations. The great variety of this to their practical religious wants. If it is class of his writings shews us that every true that a superstitious attachment to that opportunity was embraced of turning the which is old, has led to the low state of sorrows of the bereaved to the best account these communities, it must be desirable to -his Syriac pieces on death, as far as pub- correct rather than cherish that feeling, and lished, amounting to eighty-five. Great to move stagnant thought by opening up public events were in a similar way sugges- new channels. In this way the American tive of materials for public worship. Sev- missionaries among the Nestorians in Persia, eral homilies exist, written in the times of referred to by Mr. Badger, have acted, and pestilence, from which Syria suffered so apparently with signal success. The Bible And this freedom to adopt new is translated into their modern tongue; momodes of teaching was not confined to oc-dern religious books are distributed; schools casional services, it evidently pervaded the established, and the gospel preached in ordinary performance of divine worship, the living language of the people, Mr. Putting all these signs and motives of vig- Badger's work, we may add, is deeply inteorous life together, we are at no loss for a resting throughout; but he is, in our opireason why, in the fourth century, the Church nion, much too hard on the American missionaries, and disposed too little to value But, as time rolled on, system and me-their labours, because they are not Episco-

We conclude with an expression of hope, yet continued to be the vehicle of the real contribution to our knowledge of the ner well fitted even for popular reading. In rent circumstances; and even if genius had these hymns and metrical homilies of the conceived the design, it was immediately Edessau teacher-many of them fit utterepressed by the doctrine that what was rances of the tenderest and liveliest emonew could not be sanctioned because it was tions of a Christian,-we see vividly how irregular. When we read the works written Christianity, after its three centuries of treby modern travellers who have visited these mendous struggle, had conquered its way to Churches, we learn that they now pride the world's heart, and became the moving themselves on their orthodoxy and zeal for principle of their life to thousands in the ecclesiastical forms and traditions, or main- regions of Syria. We are grieved to think, tain the direct succession of their ministers with Dr. Burgess, that there are some good from the apostles. A sorry substitute for people among us who look with suspicion, at least, on literary labours like his,-fitted It seems that no restoration of earnest as these labours are to remove exclusiveness by an incursion among past and dis-|she succeeded in September 1749. She was tant forms of religious thought and worship. created Countess Temple a few weeks after-Surely those who tremble at the resuscital wards, and died in October 1752, being tion of an Ephraem or a Chrysostom, can succeeded in the title and in the estates of not be easy among the more daring foes of Stowe and Wotton by her eldest son, Rithese irreverent days. In truth, every his chard Grenville. toric light struck out between the time we live in and the time of the humiliation of duals Richard Grenville had three sons, the Son of God, throws some part of its ra- James, Henry, and Thomas Grenville, and diance on the great objects presented in the one sister, Hester Grenville, who was mar-New Testament, and may help us to grasp ried in 1754 to William Pitt, afterwards these more firmly as historic facts.

the Correspondence of Richard Grenville Earl Temple, K.G., and the Right Honourable George Grenville, their Friends mand of his Majesty's ship Defiance. and Contemporaries, now first published from the Original MSS, formerly preserved at Store. Edited, with Notes, by WILLIAM JAMES SMITH, Esq., formerly Librarian at Stowe. 5 vols. Svo., pp. 2325. London, 1852.

2. History of England from the Peace of Utrecht. By LORD MAHON.* Vol. v. Who was Junius? London, 1851.

3. Quarterly Review, December 1851. Ju-2111/8.

THE valuable manuscripts so long known been previously enveloped.

Temple and his younger brother the Right the Crown. Honourable George Grenville, the two eldest surviving sons of Richard Grenville, Esq. of Wotton, by Hester Temple, sister and co-heir of Richard Temple, Viscount Cobham of Stowe, to whose peerage

Besides these two distinguished indivi-Earl of Chatham, and was the mother of the late William Pitt. The three younger brothers had all sat in Parliament. James and Henry, who held high offices in the State, died, the one in 1783 and the other ART. VII .- 1. The Grenville Papers, being in in 1784, and Thomas, who was a captain in the navy, was killed in the action off Cape Finisterre, in May 1747, while in com-

Earl Temple, the most distinguished of this family of politicians, and, as a claimant to the honour of Junius, now more than ever an object of public interest, was born September 26, 1711. He was educated at Eton, and after travelling for upwards of five years in France, Switzerland, and Italy, he returned to England at the time of the general election of 1734, when he was chosen representative of the burgh of Buckingham. In subsequent Parliaments, previous to his succession to his mother's title in 1752, he sat for the county of Buckingham. In 1736 he married Miss Anne Chambers, under the name of the Greuville Papers, and one of the daughters and co-heirs of Thomas so anxiously looked for by the politician as Chambers, by whom he obtained a considera-well as the historian, have at length been ble accession of fortune. In 1755, when his published. They relate to a period of great brother-in-law, William Pitt, was dismissed interest to the history of England, that ex- from his office of Paymaster of the Forces, citing and instructive period in which Ju- Earl Temple had an opportunity of shewing nius wrote and America rebelled; but the generosity of his nature, by pressing upon though they throw much light on many him, through his sister Lady Hester Pitt, vexed questions which then agitated the the acceptance of a girt of £1000. The letpublic mind, they have left Junius in the ter in which this offer was made, and those same shroud of mystery with which he had of Lady Hester and Mr. Pitt which followed it, are written with much taste and feel-The correspondence contained in these ing. This little incident, as Lord Mahon volumes extends over a period of more than has stated, is the origin of the charge frethirty years, commencing in 1742 and ter-quently made against the memory of Pitt, minating in 1777. It consists chiefly of that "when expelled from office he consentletters to and from Richard Grenville Earl ed to accept a pension of £1000 a-year from

> When Mr. Pitt became Secretary, in November 1756, Lord Temple was appointed First Lord of the Admiralty, and in the following year he became Lord Privy Seal. At the close of 1758 he was made Lord Lieutenant of Buckinghamshire, and in 1760 a Knight of the Garter. During the greater part of Mr. Pitt's administration Lord Tem-

^{*} Lord Mahon, while composing the 5th and 6th volumes of The History of England from the Peace of Utrecht, published in 1851, was allowed by Mr. John Murray, to whom they belong, to peruse and make use of these papers.

Lord Mahon's History of England, vol. iv. p. 35.

ple took an active part, and in the conduct | ham, on the ground of ill health, resigned, of the war, by which Mr. Pitt was so much in 1768, a reconciliation took place between frequent illnesses with which he was afflicted.

When Mr. Pitt quitted office in 1761, on the question of war with Spain, Lord Temple resigned his office of Lord Privy Seal. His brother, George Grenville, however, adhering to the policy of Lord Bute, remained in his office of Treasurer of the Navy, and thus occasioned that unfortunate estrangement with Lord Temple and Mr. Pitt, with the last of whom it continued for many Lord Temple now became an active and energetic opponent of the administration of Lord Bute; and in consequence of his having encouraged and patronized the celebrated demagogue John Wilkes, by appointing him Lieutenant-Colonel of the Buckinghamshire Militia, he was dismissed from the Lord Lieutenancy of Buckinghamshire, in May 1763. When his brother George became First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1763, a reconciliation took place. The reconciliation was effected through the Honourable Augustus Harvey, in May 1755, and the two brothers ever afterwards continued upon the most affectionate terms.

Although Lord Temple was several times laurel of Junius. invited by the King to give his aid in forming a ministry, yet he never again accepted office. In 1766, when Mr. Pitt was summoned by the royal mandate from "farming, grazing, haymaking, and all the Lethe of Somersetshire," to form an administration Lord Temple from Stowe, and offered him the headship of the Treasury. In his interview with the King on one day and with from conciliatory. He suggested to the King "the exclusion of the present men," and he demanded from his brother-in-law an equal share of patronage and power. Pitt, however, resolved to exercise the supreme power, and Temple retired to Stowe, " indignant, as he himself wrote, at the idea of being stuck into the ministry as a great cypher, at the head of the Treasury, surrounded with other cyphers, all named by Mr. Pitt."* The ministry was formed " without the Grenvilles," and Pitt, now Earl of Chatham by his own request, was bitterly estranged from his distinguished relative, to ill health prevented him from discharging When Lord Chat. the duties of his office.

distinguished, he received from him the him and Lord Temple, and with the excepmost powerful aid throughout the long and tion of the taxation of America, in which he supported the views of George Grenville, they acted together on all political questions while in opposition. During the latter years of his life Lord Temple retired from politics, and devoted himself to the embellishment of Stowe, where the remains of his taste for architecture and landscape gardening are still to be seen. Lady Temple died in 1777, and from that time he associated chiefly with his nephews and nieces, and more particularly George Grenville, junior, who succeeded to his title and estate, and who had recently married the daughter and heiress of Earl Nugent of Gosfield Hall. While driving in the park ridings at Stowe, he was thrown from his pony carriage. His skull was fractured by the fall, and he continued insensible till his death, a few days after-wards, on the 10th of September 1779, Such is a brief notice of Lord Temple, now a claimant for the shadow of Junius. He he continued in opposition till 1765, when was endowed with a nature bold and generous. As a politician he was honest and straightforward, and as an author and a public speaker he excelled many of his contemporaries. We shall presently see on what grounds he has been invested with the

George Grenville, the younger brother of Lord Temple, was born on the 14th October 1712. Though called to the bar after leaving Eton and Oxford, he devoted himself to politics, and represented Buckingham in Parliament from 1741 till his death in 1770. according to his own pleasure, he summoned In December 1744, he was appointed a Lord of the Admiralty, and in June 1747 a Lord of the Treasury. In 1754 he was made Treasurer of the Navy; and with Mr. Pitt on the next, his manner was far little interruption he retained that office till May 1762, when he became Secretary of State under Lord Bute. In the following October he exchanged that office for that of First Lord of the Admiralty, and on the resignation of Lord Bute in 1762 he became Prime Minister, occupying the posts of First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer. After his dismissal in July 1765, when the Marquis of Rockingham became the leader of the Whig party, he never again occupied any position in the Government. Mr. Grenville did not possess the genins and talent of his brother. He was pre-eminently a man of business, deepwhom he had been so deeply indebted when ly versed in the forms and business of the House of Commons, and anxious to gain by honourable means the reputation of a useful public servant. He was austere in his * Lord Mahon's History of England, vol. v. p. 238. manners, though warm in his friendships,

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and being cautious and deliberate in pass- ties, of this unwearied attention, and of this ing his judgment, he was inflexible in his unblemished integrity, again serving his country resolution. His plan of drawing a revenue of the highest and most important offices of the country in one of the highest and most important offices of the country of the from America by the Stamp Act, was an of State."-Preface, p. xv. unfortunate measure, universally condemned of State to Lord Hillsborough, "makes to March 31, 1807. no difference in my establishment or manner of life. Everything goes on at home in the same way. The only difference is, that my children's fortunes would be increased by my being in, beyond what they would be if I remained out; and that is being as little dependent upon office as any man who was not born to a great estate can possibly be." The following account of Mr. Grenville was published by an anonymous writer a few months after his dismissal from office in 1765, and is given by Mr. Smith as a just summing up of his character.

"Calm, deliberate, economical, and attentive ; steadfast to business early and late; attached to no dissipations or trifling amusements; always master of himself, and never seen either at White's with the gamesters, or at Newmarket with the jockies. Regular and exact in his family, and discharging, in the most exemplary manner, every social and religious duty. What is a labour and a fatigue to other men was his greatest pleasure, and those who knew him best in the management of affairs acknowledge that his discernment, capacity, and application, were quick, enlarged, and indefatigable. No Minister was ever more easy of access, or gave a more patient or attentive hearing to such as applied to him; and though he entered upon the management of affairs at the most critical conjuncture, with many and great prejudices on certain accounts against him, yet his steady, upright, and able conduct, had conciliated the minds of men to him; and nothing, perhaps, would give the wiser and more rational part of mankind better hopes and better expectations, than to see a man of these distinguished abili-1 possibly have been intended by their author

Mr. Grenville was married in 1749 to from the fatal consequences which attended Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Wyndit. The diary of Mr. Grenville, which is an ham. She died in December 1769, and her important part of the manuscripts he left husband survived her only till the 13th of behind him, contains an account of the prin- November 1770. By this marriage Mr. cipal political events with which his name Grenville had three sons and four daughters, was connected. It throws much light on His eldest son George, who succeeded to the party conflicts of the day, and from its the Earldom of Tennele, was afterwards containing an account of his daily conversa- created Marquis of Buckingham, and was tions with the King when he was First the grandfather of the present Duke. His Minister of the Crown, it gives us a deep second son was the Right Honourable insight into the character of George the Thomas Grenville, whom we have met in Third, and exhibits the great confidence society, and who died recently at a very which he placed in the character and talents advanced age, having bequeathed to the of Mr. Grenville. Though long in office, British Museum the fine library which he Mr. Grenville made it an invariable rule had taken much pains to collect. His third "to live upon his own private fortune," and youngest son was William Wyndham, which was small, laying up for his family afterwards raised to the peerage in 1790 as the emoluments of office when he enjoyed Baron Grenville. He succeeded Mr. Pitthem. "The being in or out," he said to as First Minister of the Crown, and filled Mr. Knox, who had been Under Secretary that exalted office from February 11, 1806,

Such is a brief notice of the two leading statesmen who flourished during the period to which the Grenville Papers refer, and during which Junius launched his thunderbolts against the highest authorities in the state. Independently of the general political interest which necessarily attaches to the correspondence and manuscripts of men of rank and talent who have filled the highest offices of government, the Grenville Papers were for a long time supposed to contain documents which disclosed the secret of Junius. It was confidently stated that there had been discovered at Stowe "a box with three seals," containing the original letter of Junius to the King, bearing the real name of the author, and also the "original letter to Lord Mansfield," It was likewise asserted that a letter was found which placed the claim of Charles Lloyd, the private secretary of George Grenville, beyond the possibility of a doubt, and that there were other letters found "in concealed places behind the shelves of the library." Mr. Smith assures us that these reports are entirely fabulous. The only letters addressed to Mr. Grenville by Junius are three in number. They are undoubtedly in Junius's hand-writing, one of them without a signature, and the other two with his well-known initial C. These letters neither disclose the name of their author nor afford the slightest clue to its discovery; Mr. Smith is of opinion that they may even be considered as "creating additional difficulties," and that they may

any particular regard for them. They were carefully indorsed like his other letters, and tied up in packets alphabetically arranged. When Mr. Smith was, in 1827, assisting the Rev. Dr. Charles O'Connor, his predecessor as librarian at Stowe, in arranging the portion of Mr. Grenville's correspondence that had been brought from Wotton to Stowe many years before, they discovered the packet containing the letters of Junius. Dr. O'Connor at first believed that the author of them was the Hon, Augustus Hervey, from similarity of hand-writing, but this idea became untenable when it was found that Mr. Hervey was at Lisbon for the recovery of his health in December 1769, when Junius was most actively at

Previous to the publication of the Grenville Papers statements were in circulation. that certain members of the Grenville family had made remarks on the subject of Junius, which are not justified by any documents found at Stowe. Pinkerton, for example, has stated in his Walpoliana that Mr. Grenville himself once told Sir John Irwin that he had that morning received a letter from Junius, saying that he esteemed known to him. Mr. Taylor, the author of Junius Identified, asserts also, that "there is preserved at Stowe a private unpublished letter written by Junius to Mr. George Grenville, wherein he desires him to refrain from making any attempt to discover the author, as it might do him harm, but could produce no satisfactory result, adding, that in proper time he would declare himself." It was also reported that Mr. Thomas Grenville "had some peculiar knowledge respecting the authorship of Junius;" but in addition to the reasons given by Mr. Smith, we may state, that we have now before us a letter addressed to the writer of this article, and dated 26th January 1837, from which it appears he had no such knowledge. There can be no doubt, however, that persons intimately connected with the Duke of Buckingham's family did propagate the opinion that the Grenville papers would disclose the secret of Junius. Several years after the discovery of the letters of Junius to George Grenville, the writer of this article had opportunities of conversing twice on the subject with the late Lord Nugent, who not who made this statement in a way incapable of being misunderstood. Lord Nugent

to render his concealment the more effectual. | was made acquainted with the theory,* then Mr. Grenville does not appear to have had unpublished, that the Letters of Junius were written by Lachlan Macleane; and he was distinctly asked if it would be prudent to publish that theory when there was a probability that it might be contradicted by the letters at Stowe. He gave it as his opinion. that it would not be prudent to make such a publication; and the proposer of the theory was for many years influenced by his opinion. Combining all these facts, we venture to regard is as not very improbable that there may have been in the archives of Stowe letters or documents which it may have been considered imprudent to preserve. The ghost of Junius, which, according to vulgar rumour, seems to have at one time haunted the Grenville roof, may have been Lord Temple himself, the Junius of Mr. Smith: and we think there are few members of that loval and distinguished house that would not have been willing to exorcise it. It is indeed strange that the librarian at Stowe and the personal friend of so many members of the Buckingham line, should have had the boldness, without some encouragement from those most deeply interested in the discussion, to associate the name of Grenville with that of an author who, had he been discovered in the time of Mr. Grenville, and might soon make himself George III., would have been hung at Tyburn and embowelled as a traitor.

Next in improbability to the theories that Chatham, Chesterfield, and Sackville were the authors of Junius, are the two more recent ones that Lord Lyttelton and Lord Temple are entitled to that unenviable distinction-unenviable, doubtless, if attached to aristocratic names,-to individuals whom it debases and dishonours, yet greatly to be envied if achieved for political adventurers, who, amid the intrigues of faction, may have been driven from office, and who may thus have regarded themselves as martyrs to kingly power, or as victims of political persecution. We do not believe that there is a noble family in the British empire who would claim for an ancestor the literary fame of Junius, when blackened by person-alities that would have convicted him of slander, or by deeds that would have brought him to the scaffold. It is among men like Francis Barré, Macleane, Wilkes, and Horne Tooke, that the reality of Junius will be found, when the dark shadow of his name shall have received the rite and the purification of baptism. If a nobleman occupying only led him to believe that the secret was a high official position, and thus personally contained in the records of his family, but connected with the sovereign, Junius can

^{*} See this Review, vol. x. p. 97, November 1848.

no longer be regarded as a patriot. If a in the Edinburgh Review* has made this commoner, with liberal opinions—a func- combination of opinions a simple test for tionary driven from office—a secretary in- ascertaining the political counexion of Junius. sulted by his chief, or a protégé of states- Sir Philip Francis did not combine these men who encouraged and aided him in his two opinions, and was not a Grenvillite. exposure of the profligacy of public men, in His opinions on the taxation of America his denunciation of political corruption, or were strictly coincident with those of Lord in his attacks upon unconstitutional govern- Chatham. He rejoiced that America rement, we may overlook his failings in con- sisted with success, "because it was a trisideration of the impulses which he obeyed; and in the soundness of his principles ous wrong, of courage and virtue over and the sacredness of his cause, we may tyranny and force." In reference to the forgive the virulence with which it was Game Laws, Junius declared them to be advocated.

Mr. Smith, or of the members of the Grenville family. The late Duke of Buckingham was not unwilling to be of the same lineage with Junius, and he neither discouraged the theory of his friend nor thought it improbable that Lord Temple was Junius, Our readers will therefore be gratified with a notice of the facts and arguments by which Mr. Smith has advocated the claims of Lord Temple, and we cannot but confess that, however unsuccessfully, he has done this with much ingenuity and talent. The elapart of the third volume of the "Grenville Papers." It accupies 216 closely printed pages, and is entitled, "Introductory Notes relating to Lord Temple and the Authorship of Junius."

Mr. Smith commences his argument by an examination of the claims of Sir Philip Francis, which had been advocated by Mr. Macauley and Lord Campbell, and more recently, with very great ability, by Lord Mahon.* The claims of Sir Philip have rested principally upon the similarity or even coincidence of certain parallel passages and phrases which have been used by him and by Junius; but Mr. Smith justly pronounces them "to be entirely worthless as regards the question of the authorship, as they prove nothing more than that Francis, like many others, had been a diligent reader of Junius, an admirer and an extensive imitator of his writings." But if the phraseology of Francis was similar to that of Junius, statesman, he maintained the lighest popular have been supposed to write, and often principles on the Middlesex election. Grenvilles alone, of all the parties of the day, combined these opinions, and an able writer

umph of unquestionable right over outrage-"oppressive to the subject, and incompati-These views do not seem to be those of ble with legal liberty," while Mr. Francis argued in their favour, and voted again-t their repeal. Without following our author any farther on this part of his subject, we may refer the reader for many powerful arguments against the claims of Sir Philip to a series of able articles which appeared in the Athenaum, and to the article on Junius in this work, which we have already mentioned.

In the general character and temper of Lord Temple, Mr. Smith finds one of the most striking points of similarity to Junius. borate article on this subject forms the first Smollett, though in the pay of his political enemies, describes him as a nobleman of distinguished abilities, zealously attached to the interest and honour of his country, while Horace Walpole calls him "a malignant man, who wrought in the mines of successive factions for thirty years together," and in another place as a person "accustomed to run and meet faction in the highways," According to Macaulay, "his talents for administration and debate were of no high order, and his character was turbulent and unscrupulous." "It was supposed," he continues, "that Lord Temple secretly encouraged the most scurrilous assailants of the Government, . . . Pamphlets made up of calumny and scurrility filled the shops of all the booksellers, and of these pamphlets the most galling were written under

the direction of the malignant Temple."

The attachment of Lord Temple to Wilkes is another strong feature in his supposed identity with Junius. This attachhis opinions on the great political questions ment is sufficiently evinced in the different of the day were diametrically opposite. letters from Earl Temple to Wilkes, pub-Junius supported the cause of authority lished in the "Grenville Papers," They against America with George Grenville, the are written with all the warmth of real author of the Stamp Act, while, with the same friendship. They are such as Junius might

^{*} Hist. of England, vol. v. p. 230, &c.

^{*} Vol. xliv., June 1826.

[†] It is a curious fact, that a work was published in America in 1831, by a Mr. Newhall, in which Lord Temple is identified as Junius, in a series of letters addressed to a friend at Salem.

evince the point, antithesis, and vivacity of sarily placed him in the attitude of hostility that writer. He gives advice to Wilkes to the king; and when taken in connexion precisely as Junius did,-"I beg you to with the personal feelings which we have weigh your own conduct very maturely. mentioned, justifies Mr. Smith, in so far as You have to deal with a very strange world." this point is concerned, in identifying Tem-"I hear with pleasure various testimonies ple and Junius. No other claimant had concerning the great credit you have gained; such reason for systematically abusing his and there is no note that sounds more sovereign, and if Temple was not Junius, he sweetly in the ear of your affectionate may well be regarded as his patron or his friend." In other letters Temple addresses ally. him as "his Dear Marcus Cato," and as "his Dear Senator," and their correspondence is marked with the utmost sincerity and warmth. Lord Temple supplies him with money as well as advice, and Wilkes submits himself to his guidance with the docility of a child. In so far, therefore, Mr. Smith's theory is entitled to our consideration.

In every attempt to find out Junius, it has been thought necessary to discover the he assailed his enemies. His marked hosplanation. On this point Mr. Smith has entipathy to Scotchmen which Mr. Smith can it." inference. to him respecting the appointment of a expression rather intended to chide his correspondent for his known hostility to the Walpole."

The bitter animosity of Junius against the king receives a satisfactory solution upon Mr. Smith's theory. The dismissal of Lord Temple from the Lord-Lieutenancy of Bucks, in terms evidently contemptuous, could not fail to excite his wrath against the king; keenest manner the provoking silence with which his resignation was received in 1761, as well as the treatment he experienced on for him to form a ministry with Mr. Pitt. The relation in which Lord Temple stood to Mr. Wilkes and the North Briton-the patron and friend of the former, and a contributor to, and defender of the latter-neces of himself.

this point is concerned, in identifying Tem-

The knowledge evinced by Junius of the technical forms of the Secretary of State's Office, and with the business of the War Office, have been repeatedly, and with some reason, urged in favour of Sir Philip Fran-Between the seventeenth and twentythird year of his age, he spent a number of months at intervals in the Secretary of State's Office, and having been eight years in the War Office, and aspired to be Deputy-Secretary of War,* he could not fail to personal or the public grounds upon which possess the knowledge exhibited by Junius. Admitting these facts, Mr. Smith endeavtility to the Scotch is a fact so striking, that ours to shew "that Lord Temple was much every theorist has struggled to find its ex- more intimately acquainted with the Secretary of State's Office than Mr. Francis could tirely failed. In one of Temple's letters to be, and that he had also the opportunity of Wilkes, published in the North Briton, he knowing very particularly every thing that even condemns the wholesale abuse of the passed in the War Office." When Mr. Pitt Scotch nation in which that Journal had in | was Secretary of State, he confided, when in dulged. In the House of Lords, too, he de ill health, the duties of the office to Lord clared that he had always condemned the Temple, invariably consulted him, and attacks upon the Scotch and upon the Tories "much of the success of the war has been in that paper; and the only instance of an- attributed to Lord Temple's management of At this time Lord Barrington was find in his idol, is erroneously inferred from Secretary at War, and therefore Lord Teman expression which does not authorize the ple, while transacting business with that When Wilkes, as Lieutenant- office, must have had ample opportunity of Colonel of the Bucks Militia, had written becoming acquainted with its details. Lord Temple, too, had been an early friend of surgeon to the Regiment, Temple ironically Lord Barrington's, as members of "the replied, "I hope he is a Scotchman,"-an Band of Youthful Patriots, who assisted in destroying the administration of Sir Robert Hence the statement of Junius, Scotch than to express any feeling of his that "he and Lord Barrington had been old acquaintances." The bitter hostility of Junius to the Secretary of War, which tells so favourably for Francis when he was expelled from office, is used with equal force by Mr. Smith. The continuance of Barrington in office after Temple had resigned, his adhesion to the Rockingham administration, his and it is well known that he felt in the motion to expel Wilkes from the House of Commons, and his speech on that occasion, which Lord Temple himself heard, were sufficient reasons for bringing down upon the occasion when the king, in 1766, sent him his anonymous vengeance. Mr. Smith

^{*} When this appointment was refused to him, he resigned his clerkship. Junius says that Barrington expelled him—an expression, as Mr. Smith remarks, very unlikely to be employed by Francis in speaking

justly remarks, that through Mr. Calcraft, | Papers improperly than not at all, and he his intimate friend and the patron of Fran- justifies this supposition by the following cis, Temple had an easy access to all those facts :intrigues in the War Office "which enabled Junius, under a variety of signatures, to gratify his personal pique against Lord Bar-rington." Mr. Smith has pursued this line of argument with great success; and in applying it to the cases of Lord Hillsborough, Lord Suffolk, Mr. Wedderburn, Mr. Whately, and others, he has placed it beyond a doubt that, generally speaking, the friends and enemies of Junius were the friends and enemies of Temple.

Dr. Waterhouse, in his "Essay" on Junius, has given it as his opinion, in which Mr. Smith entirely concurs, "that the writings of Junius emanated from one mind, and yet not without assistance." Some person, he adds, must have been privy to them; but this aid must have been confined to the writer's own household-to his nearest family connexions—subordinate to one great over-ruling mind. "Such a friend," says Mr. Smith, " Lord Temple found in his wife -the partner of his joys, his sorrows, and his labours-who was not only his amanuensis, but who had talent enough to assist him in the composition of his writings, whose praise was sufficient to support his vanity." The statement of Junius that he was the sole depositary of his own secret, is considered by Mr. Smith as quite compatible with the theory of Lady Temple being his amanuensis. Junius's statements about his incognito are not very consistent. In his letter to Mr. Grenville, of 6th February 1768, he states, that he may hereafter, perhaps, claim the honour of making himself known to him. He elsewhere states, that he is the depositary of his own secret, and that it should die with him; and yet, in one of his private notes to Woodfall, he says, "The truth is, there are people about me whom I would wish not to contradict, and who would rather see Junius in the Papers, ever so improperly, than not at all." this statement, if it be truth, we cannot believe it to be falsehood, has always appeared to us to place it beyond a doubt that there was a principal and a subordinate engaged in the letters of Junius, and that there was an eminent political writer associated with one or more men of rank and influence, from whom he derived his information, and who prompted and urged him on in his The theory of Lady Temple being the confident and amanuensis of her husband is the lowest possible justification of the statement of Junius. Mr. Smith goes so far as to regard her as the person, or one of the people who would rather see Junius in the

"In some of the letters to the Dukes of Grafton and Bedford may certainly be found expres-sions very characteristic of the playful and spiteful mischief of Lady Temple's pen, particularly with reference to the Duke of Grafton and the Lovely Thais at the Opera-house; to the Duke of Bedford and the alleged sale of Lord Tayistock's wardrobe; or the Venerable Certrude'-her rout at Bedford House a fortnight after Lord Tavistock's death, and her disposal of the gowns and trinkets of the Marchioness of Tavistock-the peculiar and dreadful nature of the malady with which the Princess Dowager was afflicted, and the supposed extraordinary treatment of it, as further described in an additional note, still suppressed by Mr. Woodfall. These are matters, to a knowledge of which his information could scarcely have extended without the gossiping assistance of Lady Temple."

In connexion with this discussion, it is a remarkable fact, that there is a decided resemblance between the handwriting of Junius and that of Lady Temple. Having had occasion to examine with special care the fac-simile of Junius's handwriting in Woodfall's edition of his works, and having examined all the originals in Mr. Woodfall's possession, we willingly give to Mr. Smith's theory the benefit of this resemblance. Mr. Smith, however, has deprived his argument of much of the value of this admission, by asserting that the handwriting is entirely in an acquired hand, and sufficiently distinct from Lady Temple's usual hand to escape detection, without the most close and careful examination. It is, however, but justice to Mr. Smith to quote, in support of his argument, the following remarkable passage :-

"Mr. Charles Butler, in his Reminiscences," speaking of the authorship of Junius, relates, that having been intimately acquainted with Wilkes, upon some occasion of their meeting, the conversation accidentally turned upon the sub-ject of Junius, and that Wilkes totally disclaimed the authorship for himself, and treated the supposition with ridicule. Upon Mr. Butler expressing a wish to see the originals of the letters which Junius had addressed to Wilkes, they were produced, together with a card of invitation to dinner, from old Lady Temple, written in her own hand, and upon comparing it with Juniu's letters, they thought there was some resemblance between them. Mr. Butler does not assert that any conversation passed with respect to the possibility of Lord Temple being the author: but it may be considered rather a significant fact, that the handwriting of Lady Temple, and the original letters of Junius, should happen to be found

[•] Third Edition, 1822, p. 81.

together, and that they should have been so convince you of my zeal, if not of my capacity readily produced by Wilkes for comparison." to serve you.

Mr. Smith obtains a considerable support to his theory from the repeated assertions of Junius, that he was a man of "rank and fortune,"-that he was a man of leisure, " standing clear of all business and intrigue, -that he was "above a common bribe,"that he was, in his writings, "far above all peeuniary views,"-and that in point of money, Woodfall "would some way or other be reimbursed." Although the able writer in the Athenaum has very justly remarked that we must often judge of Junius by his opposites, we are not willing to believe that these statements were made to deceive Woodfall, and that he claimed the privileges of wealth and of rank in order to protect him from being discovered, confess, however, that we cannot reconcile with these statements other assertions which seem to prove that Junius was a political adventurer, anticipating wealth and station from his labours, and looking forward "to that solid independence, without which no man can be happy or even honest." In his three letters to Mr. Grenville, written in 1768, before he had committed himself under the signature of Junius, and before any danger could arise from the discovery of his name, he approaches that distinguished statesman as an author anxious for his approbation, and looking forward to some advantages from his patronage. The object of his first letter to Mr. Grenville is to enclose a Paper, pointing out the injustice of a tax of 3d, in the pound upon all articles sold by auction, which it was supposed Lord North was to introduce into his budget. The motive of the author is not very manifest, but we think it may be discovered from a careful study of the letter itself.

" London, 6th February, 1768 "SIR,-The observations contained in the enclosed paper are thrown together and sent to you, upon a supposition that the Tax therein referred to will make part of the Budget. If Lord North should have fallen on any other scheme they will be useless; but if the case happens, and they should appear to have any weight, the author is satisfied that no man in this country can make so able an use of them, and place them in so advantageous a light as Mr. Grenville.

"It is not. Sir, either necessary or proper to make myself known to you at present. Hereafter I may perhaps claim that honour. In the meantime be assured, that it is a voluntary disinterested attachment to your person founded on an esteem for your spirit and understanding, which has and will for ever engage me in your cause. A number of late publications, (falsely attributed to men of far greater talent,) may Junius's.

to serve you.

"The only condition which I presume to make with you, is, that you will not only not shew these papers to anybody, but that you will never mention having received them.—C." *

Few of our readers will believe that such a letter upon such a subject-founded too upon a rumour merely that Lord North was to propose an obnoxious tax, could have been written by his elder brother, Lord Temple, or by Lord Lyttelton, men of rank and station. Few of our readers will deny that it is the letter of a political writer, recommending himself to Mr. Grenville on the testimony of a number of his late publications, which may convince him of the author's zeal and capacity to serve him. If the object of Junius was simply to prevent the imposition of the obnoxious tax, why did he not send his enclosed paper to the public, and put it in the power of all the members of the Opposition, as well as Mr. Grenville, to avail themselves of his observations? The truth of these views will be placed beyond a doubt by a perusal of the second letter of Junius to Mr. Grenville, written seven months afterwards, and long before there could be any reason for carrying on a system of deception to prevent the discovery of his name.

" London, 3d September 1768.

"SIR,-It may not be improper you should know that the public is entirely mistaken with respect to the anthor of several late publications in the newspapers. BE ASSURED THAT HE IS A MAN QUITE UNKNOWN AND UNCONNECTED. He has attached himself to your cause, and to you alone,* upon motives which, IF HE WERE OF CONSEQUENCE ENOUGH TO GIVE WEIGHT TO HIS JUDGMENT, would be thought as honourable to you, as they are satisfactory to himself. At a proper time HE WILL SOLICIT THE HONOUR of being known; he has present important reasons for wishing to be concealed.

"Some late papers in which the cause of the country, and the defence of your character and measures have been thought not ill maintained; others signed Lucins, and one or two upon the New Commission of Trade, with a multitude of others, came from this hand. They have been taken notice of by the public.

"May I plead it as a merit with you Sir, that no motive of vanity shall ever discover the au-thor of this letter. If an earnest wish to serve thor of this letter. If an earnest wish to serve you gives me any claim, let me entreat you not to suffer a hint of this communication to escape you to anybody .- C."

^{*} Had we not seen the original of this letter in the handwriting of Junius, we should have doubted its genuineness from its strange punctuation and bad

[†] The italics in this letter, not the capitals, are

In his observations upon this letter, which say with truth, almost everything that, for two we consider a very valuable one in the Junius controversy, Mr. Smith admits that it distinctly informs Mr. Grenville, "that the writer was a person of obscure condition and unknown to fame;" and he admits, also, that he knows this "to be even now the opinion of those for whose information on this subject, and for whose extensive knowledge and critical acumen he has the greatest respect and admiration," "but after long reflection," he adds, "I cannot arrive at the conclusion that Junius was otherwise than the exact reverse of that which, in the present instance, and for his present purposes, he professed to

Now we ask Mr. Smith, or rather a disinterested reader, for Mr. Smith has a theory to support, what could be the present purposes of Junius ?-his purposes in 1768. Is it not clear that he was recommending himself to the notice and patronage of Mr. Grenville, by making him acquainted with the number of his contributions to the newspapers, and with the value attached to them by the public. He even specifies letters signed Lucius, of which three had appeared in the Public Advertiser previous to the date of the letter to Mr. Grenville; and it was therefore in Mr. Grenville's power to communicate with Lucius through the medium of the newspapers. That he had not then communicated with him is obvious from the third letter of Junius, which is equally valuable with the second in throwing light on the station of its author.

" London, 20th October 1768.

"SIR,-I beg leave to offer you a letter, reprinted in the enclosed paper, under the signature of Atticus," as finished with more care than I have usually time to give these produc-The town is curious to know the author. Everybody guesses, some are quite certain, and all are mistaken. Some who bear your character, give it to the Rockinghams; (a policy I do not understand;) and Mr. Bourke (Burke) denies it as he would a fact which he wished to have believed.

" It may be proper to assure you that no man living knows or even suspects the author. I HAVE NO CONNEXION WITH ANY PARTY, except a voluntary attachment to your cause and house. It began with amusement, grew into habit, was confirmed by a closer attention to your principles and conduct, and is now heated into passion. The Grand Councilt was mine, and I may years past, has attracted the attention of the pub-lick. I am conscious these papers have been very unequal; but you will be candid enough to make allowances for a man who writes absolutely without materials or instruction. For want of hints of this kind, I fear I frequently mi-take your views, as well as the true point, wherein you would choose to rest the questions in which your name is concerned. But this is an inconvenience I must continue to argue without a remedy. for you as I would for myself in the same circumstances, as far as I understand yours. Until you are Minister I must not permit myself to think of the honour of being known to you. When that happens you will not find me a needy or troublesome dependant. In the meantime, I must console myself with reflecting, that by resisting every temptation of vanity, and even the great desire I have of being honoured with your notice, I give you some assurance that you may depend upon my firmness and fidelity hereafter."

This obsequious letter removes all reasonable doubt respecting the object which its author (not yet Junius) had in view in corresponding with George Grenville. sends him testimonials of his capacity as a political writer, and anticipating his return to power, he promises to make himself known to him when Minister, restraining himself in the meantime from thinking even of the honour of being noticed by him, of which he has so great a desire. A more decided offer of political service was never Lucius, and made to a British Minister. Atticus, and C., now one individual, complains that he is obliged to write absolutely without materials or instruction,-apologizes on this ground for not doing justice to the views of Grenville and the questions in which his name is concerned; and though he considers the inconvenience without remedy, he obviously desires to be placed in communication with the ex-Minister, and to receive from him materials, hints, and instructions, for the dexterous use of which he seeks to be rewarded when that ex-Minister is in power. He is then to be a dependant, but not a needy or troublesome one, and till that event takes place, he is to console himself by the reflection, that by maintaining his incognito he is giving a pledge to the patron whose favour he is bespeaking, that he will, in the future, be a firm and fuithful ally.

If we have not given the correct interpretation of the motives under which these letters were written, it is not because we are misled by any preconceived notions of our own respecting their author. Throwing aside all such notions, we are simply discuss-

^{*} Originally published in the Public Advertiser of the 19th October 1768. In a previous letter signed Atticus, he states that the greater part of his property is invested in the funds, but that rumours of events likely to affect his fortune made him change the in-

[†] This clever satire upon the ministry, dated 22d | Edit. 1812, vol. ii. p. 482.

October 1767, is published in Woodfall's Junius,

Junius controversy. Was Junius a man of rank and fortune, that is, a nobleman, such tain that these three letters, written before Lucius and Attieus assumed the name of Junius, and before Junius had made himself amenable to the laws of his country, and placed his person and his property in danger, decide this question. Whatever Junius wrote afterwards was written to deceive the public, and conceal his name, and like all deceivers, he overshot the mark at which he aimed, In a letter dated 12th April 1769, signed Junius, and written after he had attacked Sir William Draper and the Duke of Grafton, he distinctly acknowledges that "he had refused offers which a more prudent or a more interested man would have accepted," and in order to put down this charge which had been preferred against him by Sir John Macpherson, and at the same time to meet the other charge of Silurus, that he was a man of obscure origin and low bred, he states for the first time that his rank and fortune place him above a common bribe.* In support of these views we may refer to Junius's first letter to Wilkes, dated 21st August, 177.1, where he warns him "not to be too

* This letter was not in Junius's own collection of his letters published in 1772. It is a sort of reply to the Monody written by the late Sir John Macpherson, Governor-General of India, and entitled, "The Tears of Sedition on the Death of Junius." The author of the Monody charges Junius with being a partisan of Wilkes, and bought off by the Min-

istry.
Poisoned was Junius? No; 'Alas, he fell
Midst arrows dipped in Ministerial gold.'
Midst arrows dipped in Ministerial gold.'
Letter of Mon To which Junius replies that his " Letter of Monday

will convince the author that I am neither a partisan of Wilkes, nor bought off by the Ministry."

In the same poem the author refers to Silurus, a writer in the Public Advertiser, as the successful opponent of Junius.

"Accursed Silurus! blasted be thy wing!

Accuracy States, busined to try wing: That grey Scotch wing which led the unerring dart! In virtue's cause could all that's satire sting A bosom with corruption's poison fraught ?? Woodfall in his edition of Junius, vol. iii. p. 201,

note, has quoted a portion of Silurus' attack upon Junius, remarking that Silurus "assumes a personal

Knowledge of Junius."

"I know Junius," says Silurus, "and I am not surprised that he calls aloud for blood. Bred among the dregs of mankind, he imbibed their vices, and acquired that hardness of heart which is usually pro-duced by crime. Possessed of some ambition, versed in the low arts of adulation, he wrought himself into the confidence of the vain by unmanly flattery, and rose from obscurity by means which dishonoured his patrons." Silvus was the signature of James Macpherson, the cousin of Sir John, and the translator of Ossian, and it is well known that he was personally acquainted with Sir Philip Francis and Macleane.

ing as a jury man the leading question in the | hasty in concluding from the apparent tendency of this letter, to any possible interests or connexions of my own," and at the same as Lord Temple and Lord Lyttleton, or was time distinctly states that "he does not dishe a political adventurer like Sir Philip claim the idea of some personal views to Francis and Colonel Macleane? We main- future honour and advantage," and that "these views are not little in themselves,"

While perusing the three letters to George Grenville, we have frequently asked our-selves the question. In what spirit were these letters received? Did George Grenville seek the acquaintance of his devoted admirer the eloquent Lucius and Atticus? Did he long for the society of the gay and witty author of the "Grand Council upon the Affairs of Ireland?" Did he convey to his liberal auxiliary the hints, materials, and instructions, which were needed to defend aright the patriot's cause? Was he so dead to feeling as to deeline, by silence, the glowing friendship so generously offered him? Was he so callous to the claims of genins as to spurn the rising Junius from his threshold? Was he so regardless of the interests of his party and of his family as to undervalue the proffered alliance of an auxiliary whose eloquenee shook the throne and the empire? Or did he rest satisfied with doequeting the letters of his worshipper, and strangling them with red tape for the benefit of posterity? It was put in George Grenville's power at any time to communicate with Junius; and though nine months after the date of the last letter we find Junius saying that he was not personally known to Mr. Grenville, (a prudent assertion at the time,) we cannot doubt that communications must have taken place between them,-that Junius might have derived all his knowledge of the Court and the Cabinet from George Grenville and his party; and that Lord Temple and his friends might have been "the people about him whom he did not wish to contradict, and who had rather see Junius in the papers ever so improperly than not at all."

The next topic in the Junius controversy, and a most instructive one it is, taken up by Mr. Smith, is that of the Letter to an Honourable Brigadier-General, Commanderin-Chief of His Mojesty's Forces, published in London in 1760, and reprinted and edited in 1841 by Mr. Simons of the British Museum. In the opinion of Mr. Simons, and we believe of every person who has carefully perused it, it was written by Junius. We have already, in our former article on Junius, given a full account of this remarkable pamphlet, and as Mr. Smith freely admits that it was written by Junius, it is unnecessary to say anything more on this point than is contained in the following paragraph from Mr. Simons' Introduction :-

"Some months since, in the performance of the country and of the adminstration to such his duties in the Library of the British Museum, the writer met with a pamphlet which, in his judgment, hore a close resemblance to the style and composition of Junius, It was referred, as well to some friends, as to other gentlemen of impartiality and judgment; and the unhesitating opinion of all being, that the pamphlet and the letters of Junius were by the same hand, it is

now submitted to the public. "This letter was written, if not by a soldier, at all events by a person well skilled in military offairs. In style, phraseology, and matter; in sarcastic irony, bold interrogatories, stinging sarcasm, and severe personalities; in frequent taunts of treachery, desertion, and cowardice, it so closely resembles the compositions of Junius, that the identity of their authorship scarcely admits of a doubt. Allusions to Lord Townshend's skill in caricature, and to the remarkable passages in his dispatch of September 20, 1759, announcing the surrender of Quebec, 'This was the situation of things when I was told that I commanded,' and ' the Highlanders took to their broadswords,' frequently occur both in Junius and in this letter. Several passages in it evince also that strong prejudice against the Scotch, which is another characteristic of Junius."

Now it is very curious to see how Mr. Smith deals with the great fact that this letter was written by Junius, and how he struggles to make it the production of Lord Temple. He of course does not notice the preliminary difficulty that Mr. Simons considers it as the work of a soldier, or of a person well skilled in military affairs, because neither of these characters are applicable to Lord Temple; but he endeavours to draw an argument from the following aneedote, which was related by Thomas Grenville to Lord Mahon, to whom we owe its publication.*

" A slight incident connected with these times is recorded by tradition, and affords a striking proof how much a fault of manner may obscure and disparage high excellence of mind. After Wolfe's appointment, and on the day preceding his embarkation for America. Pitt, desirous of giving his last verbal instructions, invited him to dinner, Lord Temple being the only other guest. As the evening advanced, Wolfe, heated perhaps by his own aspiring thoughts, and the unwonted society of statesmen, broke forth into as strain of gasconade and bravado. He deew his sword, he rapped the table with it, he flourished it round the room, he talked of the mighty things which that sword was to achieve. The two ministers sat aghast at an exhibition so unusual from any man of real sense and real spirit. And when at last Wolfe had taken his leave, and his carriage was heard to roll from the door, Pitt seemed for the moment shaken in the high opinion which his deliberate judgment had formed of Wolfe: he lifted up his eyes and arms, and exclaimed to Lord Temple, 'Good God! that I should have entrusted the fate of

In order to connect Lord Temple with Wolfe, so as to assign a motive for attacking Townshend, he says that Wolfe owed his appointment to Mr. Pitt and Lord Temple, principally, it is believed, at the recommen-dation of the latter; and he adds, that the great interest taken in the fate of Wolfe by Lord Temple is traditionally known by the preceding unecdote. Without deigning to notice the impotence of this last observation. we may ask Mr. Smith on what authority it is that he states that Wolfe's appointment was made by Lord Temple in conjunction with Mr. Pitt, and who the individual or the individuals are who believe that the appointment was made principally on the recommendation of the former? We presume that Mr. Smith has no authority for the first statement, and that he is the individual who believes the second. That Wolfe owed his appointment to Mr. Pitt alone, is obvious from the anecdote so well related by Lord Mahon; but if this is not sufficient evidence of the fact, we can place it beyond a doubt by the following quotation from Walpole's Memoirs of George II .- " Considering that our ancient officers had grown old on a very small portion of experience, which by no means compensated for the decay of fire and vigour, it was Mr. Pitt's practice to trust his plans to the alertness and hopes of younger men. This appeared particularly in the nomination of Wolfe for the enterprise on Quebec. Ambition, industry, passion for the service, were conspicuous in him. He seemed to breathe for nothing but fame, and

hands.' "

^{*} As a counterpart to this disagreeable, though interesting story, we are constrained to lay before our readers another anecdote of this illustrions General, with which they will more deeply sympathize. We give it in the words of Professor Playfair, who had it from Professor Robison himself, who was tutor to Lieutenant Knowles, the Admiral's son, though afterwards rated as a Midshipman in the Royal William. "Professor Robison happened to be on duty in the boat in which General Wolfe went to visit some of his posts, the night before the battle, which was expected to be decisive of the fate of the campaign. The evening was fine, and the scene, considering the work they were engaged in, sufficiently impressive. As they rowed along, the General, with much feeling, repeated nearly the whole of Gray's Elegy (which had appeared not long before, and was yet but little known) to an officer who sat with him in the stern of the boat; adding as he concluded, that 'he would prefer being the author of that poem to the glory of beating the French to-morrow."

—Biographical Account of the late Professor Robison, in the Edinburgh Transactions, vol. vii p. 499. Edinburgh, 1815. This anecdote is told less correctly, though more beautifully, by Lord Mahon, who seems to have taken it from Grahame's History of the United States. See his Hist. of England, vol. iv. pp. 243, 244.

compass his object. He had studied for this purpose, and wrote well. Presumption in himself was necessary to such a character, and he had it. He was formed to execute the designs of such a Master as Pitt."

Feeling his inability to connect the name of Temple with the authorship of the attack upon Lord Townshend, Mr. Smith may be considered as abandoning this hopeless task, when, in the absence of reason, he thus

appeals to his imagination :-

"The want of appreciation, on the part of General Townshend, of the merits of Wolfe, and that peculiar feature of Lord Temple's character, which always induced him to adopt and resent the quarrels of those whom he had loved or protected, would account for the attack upon Townshend, in the letter to a brigadier-general, added, perhaps, to some other real or fancied provocation, of which it would now be a hopeless task to endeavour to ascertain the cause. It is not a very improbable conjecture that Townshend's well-known character for caricature might have been exercised at the expense of Lord Temple, whose tall and awkward figure would have afforded him ample opportunity for ridicule."

After this discussion, we have no doubt that our readers will concur in the opinion that Lord Temple was not the author of the Letter to a Brigadier-General. He was, in no sense of the words, the friend or patron of Wolfe, to induce him to become his defender. He was not a soldier or a military student, to qualify him to write such a letter; and, like Junius, he had not served under one of the Townshends, and had not been 40 times promised to be served by the other. In excluding Temple from the honour of writing the letter under our consideration, we exclude, on the same prounds, Sir Philip Francis, who was at the time only 20 years of age, and could have no motive whatever for writing it, even if he had possessed the talent and maturity of intellect which such a production demanded.* Macleane, who was the friend of Wolfe,-who shared his glory at the siege of Quebec,-and who had served under Townshend, is the only person that has yet been named who was in the position to have written the Letter to a Brigadier-General,-the first production, doubtless, of Junius.

Mr. Smith proceeds to connect Temple with Junius, by means of an angry quarrel which Junius had with Scavola, (James

lost no moment in qualifying himself to Macpherson,) a strenuous defender of the ministry. As Lord Chief Justice, Lord Camden had declared, in the affair of general warrants, that an hour's loss of liberty to an Englishman was inestimable; while, in speaking of the suspension of the law in 1766, for preventing the exportation of corn, he alleged that the suspension was only a forty days' tyranny at the outside. Lord Temple irritated Lord Camden by placing these two statements in contrast, and in revenge for the insult, Lord Camden "drew a character of Lord Temple hypothetically," and concluded, that if the character he described applied to any person, "it must be to one of the narrowest, most vindictive, and most perfidious of human beings." Under the signature of Bifrons, Junius, in a letter dated 23d April 1768, thus attacks the ministry and Lord Camden :--

> "If I were to characterize the present ministry from any single virtue which shines predominant in their administration, I should fix upon duplicity as the proper word to express it. would not here be misunderstood. I do not by this mean only the little sneaking quanty, commonly called double-dealing, which every pettifogging rascal may attain to, but that real duplicity of charreter which our ministers have assumed to themselves, by which every member of their body acts in two distinct capacities, and, Janus like, bears two faces and two tongues, each of which may give the lie to the other without danger to his reputation. This is the present Catholic political faith, which, unless a man believes, he shall not get a place; and if people would attend to this, they would be able to account for many of our great men's actions, which are unaccountable any other way.

By this rule, a man may say, as a Judge, that the loss of Englishman's liberty for 24 hours only is grievous beyond estimation; and then, as a minister, declare that forty days' tyranny is a trifling burthen, which any Englishman may

Many months afterwards, as Mr. Smith remarks, these words were repeated by a writer in the Public Advertiser, under the signature of Scavola, who undertook the defence of Lord Camden in opposition to Junius, Junius was unusually excited by this attempt to represent him as Lord Camden's enemy, and in a private note to Woodfall* he thus ceals with his anonymous opponent :-

"Serevola I see is determined to make me an enemy to Lord Camden. If it be not wilful malice, I beg you will signify to him, that when I originally mentioned Lord Camden's declaration about the corn-bill, it was without any view

[#] It is a curious fact, that the officer who wrote the refutation of this letter, which was published also in 1760, declares that the author of the letter " surely must not have been in England." Macleane had not returned from America.

^{*} Woodfall's Junius, vol. i. p. 239, December 5, 1771.

of discussing that doctrine, and only as an instance of a singular opinion maintained by a man of great learning and integrity. Such an instance was necessary to the plan of my letter. I think he has in effect injured the man whom he meant to defend."

In a recent note to Woodfall, written five days afterwards, accompanying the letter of Philo-Junius to Scavola, he adds,-

"I should not trouble you or myself about that blockhead Scævola, but that his absurd fiction of my being Lord Camden's enemy has done harm. Every fool can do mischief, therefore signify to him what I said."

And in a third note, dated December 17th, he says to Woodfall,-

"Say to-morrow, 'We are desired to inform Screvola that his private note was received with the most profound indifference and contempt.' I see his design. The Duke of Grafton has been long labouring to detach Camden. This Screvola is the wretchedest of all fools and dirty knaves!"

It is obvious from these quotations that Junius felt deeply the attack of Scavola, and felt it the more deeply because he himself was in the wrong, and acting in bad faith. In the letter of Bifrons, of which we have given literatim the first paragraph, he charges Lord Camden with duplicity, by quoting Lord Temple's contrast of the two opinions given by Lord Camden-a duplicity which he characterizes at the end of his letter as a "stale legerdemain by which a man dexterons at the art, may play his two characters like cups and balls-speak, write, read, lie, promise, swear, and you can never catch him till the box drop out of his hand." Scavola justly and ably takes advantage of this virtual attack upon Camden; and Junius finding that his cause has thus been injured, exhausts his epithets of scurrility upon Scavola, and basely attempts, by the merest quibble, to shew that he did not attack Lord Camden. In this opinion we have the concurrence of Mr. Smith :- "There is Screvola, and nothing which apparently could warrant the very harsh terms applied to him by Junius in his private note to Woodfall, unless, indeed, as I believe, that the assertions of Scavola approached too near the real truth of the case, and that Junius was not, at any time, so near being unmasked as by this wretched fool and dirty knave, Sca-vola, who had the unpardonable temerity to accuse Lord Temple of being the Patron

Temple was the Patron of Junius, was maintained by Sir John Macpherson under the signature of Poetikastos, and by another anonymous writer in a letter addressed to THE BROTHERHOOD OF STOWE.

In the years 1769, 1770, and 1771, a very intimate correspondence and interchange of communication was kept up between Mr. Calcraft, Lord and Lady Chatham, and Lord Temple, but not one of Mr. Calcraft's letters, at this period, to Lord Temple has been preserved among the Grenville papers. Mr. Smith has ingeniously availed himself of this correspondence in support of his theory. Contrary to the advice of Lord Chatham, Lord Granby had voted for the expulsion of Wilkes, in May 1769, and it is well known regretted the vote which he gave, and was disposed to resign. Previous to the expulsion of Wilkes, Junius knew all that was going on between these parties. He wrote to Woodfall that Lord Granby was already staggered, and he enclosed, for instant publication, a letter to Lord Granby, under the signature of Your Real Friend, and dated 6th May, in which he calls upon him in the most earnest manner to embrace the present opportunity of "recovering the public esteem." Although this remonstrance produced no effect upon Lord Granby, vet he was so far shaken by it as to listen to the frequent attempts of Lord Chatham and Lord Temple to detach him from the government, and induce him to resign his employments and join the opposition. On the 8th May, 1770, Lord Chatham says to Calcraft, that "the expectation of the public was never more fixed upon two great men than upon the Marquis of Granby and Lord Camden." In Calcraft's reply he informs Lord Chatham that Lord Granby seems very properly disposed. On the 17th January Lord Temple tells Lord Chatham that he had that instant returned from Caleraft's-that Lord Granby was there-that the King and the Duke of Grafton had been on their knees to Lord Granby not to resign -that he was inflexible as to that, but yieldcertainly," says he, "not anything very ed for 24 hours—and that it was with Calfoolish or very knavish in the letters of craft's and his (Lord T.'s) wish that Lord Chatham should take the trouble of writing, either to Lord Granby himself or to Calcraft, his opinion and warm desire "that his Lordship (Lord G.) may, to-morrow morning, go to the Queen's house, desire to see the King, and carry into execution what had been so much better done yesterday." Temple adds, "The ministry live upon moments. Heaven and earth are in motion."

Lord Chatham replies on the same day, of Junius, and William Gerard Hamilton in language and sentiment so singularly like the writer." The opinion of Scavola that those in Junius's letter of "Your REAL FRIEND," that we must give our readers an same language, and breaking up the minisopportunity of comparing and admiring try by detaching from it Lord Granby. Mr. Smith has done good service on this occa-

"I write," says Lord Chatham, "without a mind, to tell you that my solicitude is extreme and full of the most real pain till I hear that the Marquis of Granby has carried into execution a resolution worthy of himself, and that will fix for ever the dignity of his future public life, and go further than any other thing to awaken the king into a just sense of this perilous moment. I honour to veneration the unskaen determination of the Marquis's mind; but I own, I grieve that gengrosity of nature has melted him enough to grant twenty-four hours' respite to a minister's entreaties, to be numbered with whom (though but for a day longer) may be essentially useful to him, but must be irksome, and may be dangerous, in various constructions, to the Marquis, on whom every eye is fixed.
"I feel how infinitely too much I presume on

his Lordship's indulgence to me, when I venture to request him, with the most carnest and faithful entreaties, not to suffer his noble nature to be led into the snares of delay, or give to his enemies (if he can have one) a handle to lessen the lustre of his proceeding, and ascribe (though unjustly) a reluctant hesitation to an act of the most manly and noble decision. Full as my heart is of the kingdom's extreme danger and of Lord Granby's true honour and dignity, I will, through you, venture to advise and almost to conjure his Lordship to cut at once the cobweb-pleas for time, urged by a hard-pressed minister, to whom moments may be safety. My most respectful and warmly affectionate advice therefore is, that Lord Granby should demand

an audience at the Queen's House to-morrow,

and there and then absolutely and finally resign the ordnance and the command of the army."*

Before Mr. Calcraft had received this letter, he writes to Lord Chatham another,† telling him that Lord Granby had been with him, and "that, at the most pressing request of the Duke of Grafton, who used every argument to persuade him against resignation, he has postponed waiting on the king till Wednesday, when he remains determined to resign the army and ordnance." Lord Granby accordingly resigned these offices on the 17th of January 1770.

We have dwelt thus long upon this affair of Lord Gramby's, as it connects Junius in a very decided manner with the Grenville brotherhood. Junius in his secret sphere, and the Grenvillites with Lord Chatham in their more open combination, are in obvious communication, confessing the same object, using the same arguments if not the very

same language, and breaking up the ministry by detaching from it Lord Granby. Mr. Smith has done good service on this occasion in marshalling all the incidents of this combination; but admitting all his facts, we cannot admit his conclusion, that Temple was Junius. He has proved only what we think a valuable truth, that Junius, the political adventurer, was the auxiliary if not the tool of the Grenville party, receiving all his information from them, and giving them all his wit and cloquence in return.

all his wit and eloquence in return. The same conclusion may be drawn from the united proceedings of Junius and the Grenvillites on the Remonstrance and Petition of the Lord Mayor and City of London to the King, calling upon him to dissolve parliament and remove the evil ministers for ever from his councils. The triumvirate write on the subject in the same style as Junius. The proposal of Lord Chatham to go to the hall to support the Westminster Remonstrance, is mentioned in Calcraft's letter to Temple, dated Sunday, March 18th, 1770; and, in Junius's private letter to Woodfall, of the very same date, similarly, written, he announces the same fact! It is impossible that there could have been an immediate communication between these opponents of the government. Upon the subject of the Remonstrance, Junius writes two public letters, dated 19th March and 3d April. Mr. Smith informs us that he has found among Lord Temple's papers a document which he thinks certainly connected with the composition of these two letters. This document is a printed copy of the Remonstrance and Censure, cut from the newspapers of the day, carefully pasted upon a quarter of a sheet of foolscap paper, and indorsed with its title in Lord Temple's handwriting. Many of the leading passages are underlined as capitals and italics by Lord Temple, and "these particular passages contain the points and some of the same expressions to be found in the two letters of Junius," already mentioned. Within the same paper were extracts from Locke's Essay on Civil Government, which appear to Mr. Smith to contain the germs of some passages in Junius's letter of the 19th March. Mr. Smith mentions other two remarkable coincidences between the opinions and information of the triumvirate and of Junius. All these parties are decidedly in favour of Press Warrants; and no sooner does Calcraft, on the 11th November, announce to Lord Temple the fact, that great consternation was occasioned among the ministers by Lord Mansfield's suddenly resigning the office of Speaker in the House of Lords, than Junius on the very next day, Novem-

ber 12, communicates to Woodfall the same

^{* &}quot;Chatham Correspondence." Vol. iii. pp. 392

[†] These three letters are all written between eight and twelve o'clock at night of the 15th.

fact, that by this resignation Lord Mansfield | quoted in a Memoir of Mrs. Wray,* Mr. has thrown the ministry into confusion!

It is a fact of some weight in this controversy, that George Grenville, who had long been in delicate health, and for some time in a dangerous state, died on the 13th No-vember. There had been a strong attachment, both personal and political, between him and Lord Temple, who is said to have felt severely the death of his brother. Now it is a remarkable circumstance, that Junius was never more active than in November and December 1770. "He published," says a writter in the Athenœum, " a letter the very day after George Grenville's death, the 14th; and then on the 19th and 24th of November; and on the 8th, 13th, 14th, 17th, 20th, and 24th December. So says Dr. Good-to which Mr. Smith adds the letters of Phileleutherus Anglicanus on the 15th, 22d, and 29th of December, and 5th of January;" and from these facts he draws the conclusion, that Lord Temple, under such circumstances of family distress, could not have time or heart to compose these various productions. Smith has candidly admitted, that "on these dates may be grounded an objection to the theory of Lord Temple's authorship," and he has endeavoured by various arguments, the force of which we cannot admit, to weaken the force of this objection. In this opinion we follow the writer in the Athenaum,* and we are persuaded that there are few students of the Junius controversy who will adopt the sentiments to which the necessity of Mr. Smith's theory has compelled him to give utterance.

Our limits will not permit us to follow Mr. Smith throughout the numerous comparisons which he has so admirably instituted between the sentiments and expressions of Junius, and those of the three statesmen to whom we have so frequently referred. The connexion between Junius and these parties cannot be questioned, and we are firmly persuaded that every reader who has no theory to support will adopt our opinion that Lord Temple was not the representa-

tive but the patron of Junius. In support of this conclusion, Mr. Smith has himself furnished us with some very valuable facts. Mr. Daniel Wray, a deputyteller of the Exchequer, and in a position to obtain authentic information on the political topics of the day, informs Lord Hardwicke, "that the divisions are great in the besiegers' camp, particularly between Lord Temple and Camden about the author of Junius's Letters." Upon this passsage,

And in another placet Mr. Hardinge further says :-

" I know enough of Junius to know that he was of Lord Temple's school, and that he wrote that paper from hints or materials prompted by him. So far he was betrayed in one of the letters to the first Lord Camden, for in that letter he touched upon a fact, known only to three persons, Lords Chatham, Camden, and Temple. The latter, during almost the whole period of the Juniuses, was bitter against the two former; and so was Junius, though with an air of guard and candour.
"Lord Temple had not eloquence or parts

enough to have written Junius; but I have no doubt that he knew the author."

In support of Mr. Justice Hardinge's opinion, we may fairly quote the saying of Junius to Wilkes, in his letter of the 7th September, 1773, "that he would be glad to mortify these contemptible creatures who call themselves noblemen, whose worthless importance depends entirely upon their in-

fluence over boroughs." In the subsequent part of his dissertation, Mr. Smith proceeds to institute an elaborate comparison between the letters of Junius and the speeches, pamphlets, and other writings of Lord Temple; but in the performance of this task he has ascribed to Lord Temple productions of various kinds to which his name was not attached, and which, as has been well shewn by the writer in the Athenaum, there is every reason to believe were not written by himself. Conceding. however, to our author all the advantages which he may derive from such an extended comparison, we cannot see that there is such a resemblance as to justify the conclusion that Temple was Junius. United in sentiment and in purpose, pleading the same cause and denouncing the same adversaries, aud perchance in mutual communication,

8vo. Nichol's, 1818.

George Hardinge, senior Justice of the counties of Brecon, &c., and the author of the Memoir, makes the following remarks :--

[&]quot; These words are of no trivial import, and they wonderfully confirm a passage in a conversation between Lord Camden and me. He told me that many things in Junius convinced him that the materials were prompted by Earl Temple, and he mentioned in particular a confidential statement which had been made in private between Lord Chatham, Lord Temple, and Lord Camden, which, from the nature of it, could only have been disclosed by Lord Temple, through Junius, to the public."

^{*} June 18, 1853, No. 1338, p. 735.

^{*} In a letter, dated Nov. 22, 1772. See " Nichol's Illustrations of Literary History," vol. i. p. 146. † "Hardinge's Miscellaneous Works." 3 vols.

nothing was more likely than that the ex- because, with any other amanuensis, Junius denied that they were his,

Mr. Smith has written many pages on the order to shew that the letters were written by Lady Temple. He considers it quite sufficiently emblazoned. dividual should now be discovered that will occasions, that the letter had been copied, Mr. Smith naturally infers that there must

pressions of the one should resemble those would not have been the depositary of his of the other. Junius might borrow from own secret. Admitting that the hand is Temple, and Temple from Junius, in the one acquired for the purpose of disguise, we same manner as expressions have been indi- are constrained for various reasons to believe cated in the letters of Chatham, Chesterfield, it to be the handwriting of Junius himself. and others, which induced ingenious men to We cannot conceive it possible than an regard them as the representatives of Junius, anthor placed in the position of Junius, and But even if such expressions and sentiments suddenly called upon to write to his printer, had been more numerous and striking than could have his wife always at his command; they are, we never could have admitted nor can we conceive how urgent business them as proofs of equal genius and intellect, could be carried on, when the hand of the Nowhere do we find in the works of Temple master is paralyzed by the fear of detection. the mental power of Junius-nowhere his Why should Junius have taken such means eloquence-nowhere his acrimonious invec- of concealment when he wrote his first letter tives-nowhere that versatility of talent in to the Public Advertiser? At a much later which the grave is combined with the gay, period he contemplated making himself and the frivolity of the banter with the known to George Grenville, and we cannot severity of syllogism. We are not so un- allow ourselves to believe that from 1760 reasonable as to expect in the ordinary to 1774, a period of fourteen years, he had writings of any claimant to be Junius, that restrained his hand from its duties, and inforce of eloquence and dialectic power which flicted upon his wife the obligation, to disburst forth with volcanic energy from the charge them. But even if we admitted the depth of a soul stirred up by the greatness complicity of Lady Temple with Junius, we of its cause, and that sharp yet polished in- must protest against the attempt of Mr. vective in which an anonymous writer alone Smith, to strengthen his argument by incan indulge, and which carries the arrows volving her in the disgrace of being the which it tips deep into the bosom of its author of an indecent poem. In carrying victim. Lord Temple was by no means a out his hostility to the Duke of Grafton, great writer, and we cannot find in his works Junius was not satisfied with the bitter and angthing like a continuous paragraph at all witty attack upon him, which appeared similar to any in Junius. But even if such without a signature in the Public Advertiser paragraphs were found they might remove of the 23d April 1761. The Duke, whose an objection to a theory without adding to name was Henry, had gone to the opera-its probability. We are not entitled to de-house with Miss Nancy Parsons,* a lady mand more from a claimant to be Junius than of doubtful character,-sat the whole night right that mental power and sharpened wit, and by her side,—called for her carriage himself, vigour of expression, which appear more or less in all his writings; and perhaps even this is too great a demand, for there are letters certainly written by Junius which this proceeding as an outrage to his wife are not Junian, and wnich exhibit so little (who was present)—a triumph over decency, of his peculiar talent that able critics have and an insult to the company; and he seems about the same time to have written the poem of HARRY and NAN, an elegy in the subject of the hand-writing of Junius, in manner of Tibullus, in which the character of the Prime Minister and his " Thais" are We have read certain that the style of writing was "not this poem in the original MS. in the possesthe undisguised and ordinary hand of the sion of Mr. Woodfall, who seems to have writer," and therefore that "it can scarcely refused to publish it. It is a clever producbe expected that the handwriting of any in- tion, which few men would write, and which no woman would read; and yet Mr. Smith correspond exactly with that adopted by gravely sets himself to shew that "Harry Junius." He believes it to have been a and Nan" may have been written either by style of writing acquired for the express pur. Lord or Lady Temple! If we admit the pose of these and other anonymous papers. justness of his reasoning, we confess that As Junius distinctly tells Woodfall, on two Lady Temple has a better claim than her

^{*} She married Viscount Maynard in 1776. The Mr. Smith naturally infers that there must have been a manuenesis, and that this occasion, is communicated to George Greaville by amanuensis must have been Lady Temple, Mr. Whately, in a letter dated 224 April.

husband to be its author; but we are per-jof their author. We cannot agree with the common kind.*

Mr. Smith concludes his able and learned essay with the following candid observa-

" It will I fear be said, that I have been too prone to dwell on trifles, and to magnify them; that in the many and various instances of similarity of phrases, locutions, and peculiar meanings affixed to words, between Junius and Lord Temple, I may seem to have exhibited some which are not only trivial and popular, but irrelevant and inconclusive. Without, however, attaching undue importance to those coincidences which were perhaps often accidental, I have nevertheless considered it my duty to produce every particle of evidence valeat quantum; and the more so, because other theories upon the same subject have been supported in a similar manner; and because such evidence, slight as indeed it is, and even worthless in a few cases, might from its frequency or other peculiarities add some little weight to the aggregate of circumstantial proof. I may also plead in excuse that all the more important topics connected with the authorship are generally known, or have been well-nigh exhausted; and besides that I am strongly impressed with the notion that if ever Junius is satisfactorily identified, it will be from the discovery of some very trifling circumstance, which the author himself, in his anxiety for concealment, had possibly overlooked.

"If I have not succeeded in establishing my theory to my own satisfaction, it is chiefly from the absence of actual mathematical demonstration-for I must frankly confess that I should not be quite content with anything short of that decided proof; but it is my firm and deliberate conviction, that if Lord Temple were not the author of Junius, then the author has never yet been publicly named, and that he will still remain that mysterious UMBRA SINE No-MINE, to exercise the ingenuity of some more successful inquirer."

Although we have on various points expressed a difference of opinion with Mr. Smith, we consider his Dissertation as a most valuable work, and calculated to throw much light on the Junius controversy. He has, we think, placed it beyond a doubt that Lord Temple and the Grenvillite party were the patrons and allies of Junius, and in this aspect we regard the three letters published for the first time in the Grenville papers, as the most important and instructive documents which bear upon the identification

suaded that it is far above the poetical writer in the Athenaum, that Mr. Smith's capacity either of Lord Temple or his wife. "adduced proofs of personal and political Like the letter signed Junia, which Junius agreements, sympathies, and so forth, are wrote in an evil hour, and was anxious to just so much waste paper," and "that there suppress, it is full of wit and talent of no was as general an agreement and sympathy between Junius and other fierce opposition men, as between Junius and Temple." What agreement and sympathy Junins had with "other fierce opposition men, besides that of belonging to the same political party, we do not know; but we know this, that if Lord Temple had been a political writer in place of being a peer, and had exhibited in his writings that talent, eloquence, and wit, which belong to Junius, we should have been disposed to adopt the theory of Mr. Smith. The researches of Mr. Smith have thrown much light on the history of the time of Junius; he has removed difficulties by which other inquirers have been embarrassed, and we are persuaded that if Junius is ever unearthed, it will be with the aid of some of the valuable tools with which Mr. Smith has supplied us.

> As it is not probable that we shall be called upon to a renewed discussion of the Junius question, our readers will naturally expect from us some information on the new and startling claim to the honours of Junius which has lately been made by an anonymous contributor to the Quarterly Review.* This able writer has, with much ingenuity, but very little success, transferred the laurel of Junius to the brow of Thomas Lord Lyttelton, a dissolute youth of whom we know almost nothing, and whom society seems to have been very willing to forget. In an article of upwards of seventy pages, our author has exhausted the records of the times, as well as his own ingonuity, in discovering something about this forgotten individual; and almost all the in-formation on which he relies has been obtained from the pages of a work universally condemned as a shameless forgery.

> George Lord Lyttelton, who was raised to the peerage, was a man of high character,—an emineut politician,—a poet him-self, and a distinguished patron of poets. His only son, Thomas Lyttelton, born on the 30th January 1744, was educated at Eton, and was considered a boy of great parts and great ambition. He was at Eton in 1758, and from the progress which he had made in his studies, his father "hoped all that a parent's heart could desire, if God gave him life, and he continued to improve as he had done hitherto," In 1759, Lord

^{*} Sir Philip Francis was utterly incapable of writing either of these elever productions. All who knew him personally have declared that he was a man entirely destitute of wit.

^{*} Decemder 1851. Vol. XC. No. CLXXXIX. Pp. 91-163.

Lyttelton was delighted with the promise abroad during the whole of the year 1764. tour :- "I passed the last summer most Warburton." man, except in you"+

Scotland, she says that she does not expect life." more pleasure from nature's pencil than she

has had from his pen. 1

Thomas Lyttelton was now about 19, and a it impossible to marry before that time, it sented them, with a basket of flowers to was therefore proposed by his uncle that he should go abroad for a twelvemonth, and Sir Richard Lyttelton liberally provided the expense of the tour. He therefore left England in the summer of 1763, and his father writes from Hagley in September of that year, that he was just "setting out from France to go to Italy, and I hope next summer to come to him at Florence, and make with him the tour of the Milanese part of Germany, and all Switzerland, by the end of October."

Young Lyttelton seems to have remained

In the Memoirs of his father, from which these facts are taken, we do not find any farther allusion to his son, but it appears marriage was at this time arranged for him from his own poems that, at a juvenile party with Miss Warburton, a lady both of fami- given at Stowe in the year 1765, he wrote ly and fortune; but as the difficulty of some verses which were spoken by a child making settlements till he was of age made in the character of Queen Mab, who pre-

So touch the heart, or raise so pure a flame."

In the same collection we find another poem entitled Thyrasis and Mira, an ode to Miss War-t-n, in the year 1763, written before he left England, and before the projected match with that lady was broken off. It is written in a very different strain from the preceding one, and proves that it was not among the "excesses of continental life" that young Lyttelton acquired bis licentious habits.

of the opening talents of his son, who in the leading a life of dissipation and extravasummer of 1759 accompanied him in a tour gance, and waiting, we presume till the in Scotland. In a letter to his brother Wil- 30th of January 1765, when he was to come liam he gives the following notice of this of age and fulfil his engagement with Miss The match, however, was agreeably in a tour through the North of broken off, as appears from a letter of his England and Scotland, as far as Inverary. father's written on the first of January 1765. The weather was the finest I ever saw in "My son is in France, where, I believe, he my life, and I had as great honours done me will stay till the beginning of April. His by the nobility and the principal cities in match is off. If you will ask the reason, I Scotland, as if I had been a First Minister can give it you in no better words than or the head of a faction.* But much the those of Rochefoucault, who says that une greatest pleasure I had in my tour was from femme est un bénéfice qui oblige à la rési-the company of my son, whom I carried dence." In another letter dated March 11, along with me, and from the approbation addressed to his brother, Lord Lyttelton, (I might say the admiration) which his in wishing him joy on the birth of a son, figure, behaviour, and parts, drew from all laments the dissipation, extravagance, and sorts of people wherever we went. Indeed gaming of his own son in Italy, consoling his mother has given him her don de plaisir, himself, however, with the remark, "that as and he joins to an excellent understanding it appears by his letters that there is a great the best of hearts, and more discretion and energy and force in his understanding; and judgment than ever I observed in any young as his faults are only those of most of our young travellers, he hopes his return to Eng-Young Lyttelton continued to receive the land, and cool reflection on the mischief of commendations of his father, and of all who his past follies, will enable his reason to get knew him. The celebrated Mrs. Montague, the better of any recent ill habits contractof whom he was a correspondent, spoke of ed by him abroad, and that the natural him in the warmest terms. She describes goodness of his heart will give a right turn him as "a charming painter," his views of to the vivacity of his passions. But I must Scotland appearing as the scenes of Salvator not tell you, adds Lord Lyttelton, that Rosa would do were they copied by Claude; anxiety, for fear it should happen otherwise, and in mentioning her intention to visit has taken away much of the pleasure of my

^{*} We find among his poems an Invitation to Miss Warburton written probably before he left England,

[&]quot; O come, thou fairest flower, by nature's hand Made not to bloom unseen, where ardent love Invites; and midst the love-inspiring gloom Of HAGLEY's shades, deign tread the rural haunts Of universal love; for there he dwells.

Nor Flora, nor the nymphs whom gloomy Dis Beheld in Enna's grove, and instant loved With Thee could be compared, nor could their charms

^{*} Did the Quarterly Reviewer omit this passage from his quotation lest it should prove that Thomas Lyttelton, or Junius, could have no motive for abusing the Scotch?
† Memoirs, &c., of George Lord Lyttelton, vol. ii.

t Mrs. Montague's Letters, vol. iv. p. 231.

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serves that these verses " pay a very elegant compliment to the political abilities of the last Earl Temple, exhorting his Lordship in conclusion to

> ' Haste be great, Rule and uphold our sinking state."

But in the copy of the poem now before us, called an unfinished fragment, there are no The polities of the author, howsuch lines. ever, are sufficiently marked in the following lines :-

" By magic wheels through air conveyed, I come from Kew's mysterious shade, Where, in his much-loved olive grove The Thane of Bute lies sick with love! And with him lurks in close disguise The goddess with a thousand eyes, Imperial policy of late Yeleped the demon of debate, Of loud debate, of lawless might, Of tyrant rule, of sovereign right."

From this period it is difficult to follow the movements of Thomas Lyttelton. Though sometimes living in seclusion, he his father's house." was occasionally found in select societies, particularly at the parties of Mrs. Carter, who is said to have "admired his talents February 16, 1772 :and elegant manners as much as she detested his vices." In her Memoirs, written by Mr. Pennington, we find the following account of him :-

"With great abilities generally very ill applied; with a strong sense of religion, which he never suffered to influence his conduct, his days were mostly passed in splendid misery; and in the painful change of the most extravagant gaiety, with the deepest despair. The delight, when he pleased, of the first and most select societies, he chose to pass his time, for the most part, with the most profligate and abandoned of both sexes. Solitude was to him the most in-supportable torment; and to banish reflection he flew to company whom he despised and ridi-culed. This conduct was a subject of bitter regret both to his father and all his friends."

The only means of restoring such a man to decency and reason, was to obtain a suitable occupation for his mind, and a position which would connect him with the busy world. His friends therefore exerted themselves to return him to Parliament for the burgh of Bewdley, but having secured his election by illegal means, he was unseated on the 28th January 1769. On the 18th May 1768, however, he delivered his maiden speech, on the outlawry of Wilkes, which, in the opinion of Walpole, exhibited "parts and knowledge, and conciliated much favour,' though, as Walpole adds, "his character was ter to Lord Mansfield.

Earl Temple. The Quarterly Reviewer, ob- uncommonly odious and profligate, and his life a grievous course of mortification to his father." *

Having thus brought down the history of Mr. Lyttelton to the 21st January 1769, the date of Junius's first letter to the Public Advertiser, we are anxious, now that he is a claimant to be Junius, to read his history in the next four years during which Junius was most actively engaged in those intellectual and engrossing studies in which he must necessarily have been engaged. ingenious writer in the Quarterly Review, with all his means of information, candidly confesses that "for a period of three years after Mr. Lyttelton lost his seat-that period during which Junius wrote his acknowledged compositions-we hardly find a trace of him in any of the contemporary letters or memoirs that have fallen under our observation," and he subsequently adds, "we do not know on what terms Thomas Lyttelton stood with his family while Junius was most actively engaged in correspondence with the Public Advertiser; but just as Junius concluded his . great work + Thomas Lyttelton returned to

On this event Lord Chatham thus congratulates Lord Lyttelton, in a letter dated

"The sincere satisfaction I feel on what I hear of Mr. Lyttelton's return, with all the dispositions you could wish, will not allow me to be silent on so interesting an event. Accept, my dear Lord, my felicitations on these happy beginnings, together with every wish that this opening of light may ripen into the perfect day. what it is (thank God) to be happy hitherto in my children; and I grieve for those who meet with essential disappointments in that vital part of domestic happiness. May you never again know anguish from such a wound to your comfort, but the remaining period of your days derive as much felicity from the return, as you suffered pain from the duration."

To this letter Lord Lyttelton made the following reply:-

"I give you a thousand thanks for your very kind felicitations on the return of my son, who appears to be returned not only to me but to a rational way of thinking, and a dutiful conduct, in which, if he perseveres, it will gild with some joy the evening of my life."

It is quite evident from Lord Chatham's letter that the word return means Mr. Lyttelton's return from the continent, where he certainly was, as we shall by and by prove, during the three years in which Junius wrote

^{*} Memoirs of George III., vol. iii. p. 216. † January 21, 1772, by his long and elaborate let-

tain times too when, as Junius, he ought to have been in London. But we must go on with our narrative. Immediately after his reconciliation with his father, Thomas Lyttelton was married, an event which is thus noticed by Mr. Phillimore the biographer of his father. "On the 26th of June Lyttelton's returned son married Aphia, * daughter of Mr. Broom Witts, of Chipping Norton, and widow of Joseph Peach, who had been governor of Calcutta; It was an illomened marriage, and was followed by a separation; but was hailed at the time by Lord Lyttelton himself and all his friends, in the hope that it would effect a permanent change in the habits of Mr. Lyttelton." +

Some time after this event took place, Lord Chatham congratulated Lord Lyttelton in the following playful terms 1:-" I have a most longing wish to be able to be the bearer of warm felicitations to your Lordship and the happy pair on the comple-tion of an union which knits you all together for life in the sweet triple bands of paternal, filial, conjugal love and domestic happiness. May the virtues of your race guard the pious work, and fix the felicity of your family, that fortuna domus et avi numerentur avorum. I could not but smile to hear that Cupid knew his Hagley for true Paphian ground, and had taught his slow brother Hymen to mend his pace in so delightful a race, and am sure your Lordship more than forgave your flesh and blood this amiable impatience, From all I hear of Mrs. Lyttelton, I have not the least doubt that Hymen now will have his turn, and lead love for his inseparable companion."

Lord Lyttelton's reply to this letter § pos-sses a double interest. The newly marsesses a double interest. ried pair were then at Hagley, and he appears even then to have foreseen that their union was not one of very deep affection :- "My son stole a march upon me," he says, "which I shall not complain of, if he continues as sensible of the value of the prize he was in such haste to take as he was when he took it, and I do not despair that he will. my own part, the more I see of the lady, the more I esteem and love her." After expressing his disappointment that Lord Chatham and his family could not then make out their visit to Hagley, he adds-"This grieves me the more, because my Park is this year in a higher degree of beauty than I ever beheld it. . . . You give me

After his return on the death of his father, he wrote to his relative, Lord Temple, and expressed to him his feelings on that mournful event. In a beautiful letter, dated Stowe, October 7th, 1773, Lord Temple tells him "that the great figure he may yet make depends upon himself." "Henry the Fifth," he continues, "had been Prince of Wales. He knew how, with change of situation, to shake off the Falstaffs of the age, and all those forlorn accomplishments which had so long stifled and depressed his abilities." "Forgive," he adds, "an old man, and by affection a kind of parent, the hint he takes the liberty of giving, and be assured he evidently wishes to see what your Lordship calls his partiality justified by a conduct which will make him happy in calling himself your most affectionate and obedient servant."

Influenced, we hope, by this hint, and anxious, we trust, to justify Lord Temple's partiality by a conduct which would make him happy, Lord Lyttelton took his seat in the House of Lords at the opening of Parliament on the 13th January 1774. During the remaining five years of his life, he took an active part in the political transactions of the period, and distinguished himself as an accomplished speaker. His speeches, like those of Sir Philip Francis, and every other pleader for popular rights, contain sentiments and expressions like those of Junius; but we might as well maintain, were it not for its anachronism, that the plagiarists and imitators of Homer and Milton were them-

his acknowledged compositions, and at cer-|indeed, a prospect of the favour of your company at some future time; but alas! my dear Lord, before another summer comes, a high wind may blow down some of my finest old trees within the view of my house, or a cold wind may blow down me. Before another summer passed away, the cold wind did come, and Lord Lyttelton, an oak of noble growth, lay prostrate amid the beauties of his park, while the sapling which sprung from him, and shot up so rankly under his care, was casting its yellow leaf in the warmth of summer, and exhibiting every symptom of a premature and rapid decay. His Lordship died on the 22d of August 1773—Hagley had ceased to be "true Pa-phian ground"—the "sweet triple bands of paternal, filial, and conjugal love" were broken, and Thomas, now Lord Lyttelton, had refused to let "Hymen have his turn, and had escaped from the marriage roof after a residence of "not more than a few months." The writer in the Quarterly Review conjectures that Mr. Lyttelton went to the Continent, when he left his wife, as he was abroad when his father died in August 1773.

^{*} She lived to a great age, dying on the 9th April 40. In Phillimore's Memoir she is called Watts. † Memoir, &c., vol. ii. p. 773. † July 22, 1772. § July 27.

selves Homer and Milton, or that every bullets down my throat for a thousand pilferer from Junius was the reckless and years. The resistance I endeavoured to fearless demagogue who bearded the sover- make to her awakened me, but the agitaeign, and dared to avow that, as "one of tion of my mind when I awoke is not to be the people," "he loved and esteemed the described, nor can I get the better of it." mob." As well might a few bristles be held As we have not the means of investigating to represent the "mighty boar of the for- the truth of the strange story which relates est," and the dreaded tusks which " he whet- to his death, we shall give it in the words ted to wound and gnaw" his enemies.

from Junius, Lord Lyttelton's political con- of its particular details. duct was versatile and inconsistent, first the follower of the Grenvillites, and the ardent panegyrist of Chatham, we afterwards find him opposed to the principles of the great man whom he had wished to be Dietator. Again, we meet with him in vigorous opposition, and in November 1775, he rethe bribe of a seat in the Privy Cenneil, and the Chief Justiceship in Eyre! In 1779,that disastrous year in which the military glory of England was in abeyance-he became dissatisfied with the ministry. On the first day of the following session of Parliament, he went into open opposition, and in a speech of great severity and bitterness, he denounced the measures of the Cabinet.

This speech, which was the last he ever delivered, has acquired an importance, not only from a prophetic allusion which it contained, but from the sudden and inexplicable event by which it was followed. On the night of Wednesday, November 24, 1779, Lord Lyttelton was warned, we know not by what agency, that his death would take place within three days from that date. He his affairs, and added in his own hand five mons which had called him to an untimely codicile to his will. It appears too Company to the big will be appeared to the big w codicils to his will. It appears, too, from a statement in the Public Advertiser, that, a short time before his death, he had been torrits, he accounted for it by relating a dream sort of sufficialing fife," accompanied with severe which he had had the night before:—"I defend the night before in the region of the stomach. On the evening of Wednesday, the 24th of November, he was worse hurried away into the infernal regions, which had usual, and went to bed at an early hour, after appeared as a large dark room, at the end of which was seated Mrs. Brownrigg, who told which was seated Mrs. Brownrigg, who told make the season of the season of the region of foot-which was appointed for her to pour red-hot! he saw a lovely female, dressed in white, with a

of the Quarterly Review, without pledging Unlike what might have been expected ourselves either for its general truth or any

"On the 26th, Lord Lyttelton repaired to Pitt Place, his Villa at Epsom, and there he remained the day after, with a party of friends, consisting of Mr. (afterwards Lord) Fortescue, Admiral Wolseley, Mrs. Flood, (wife of the celebrated Irish orator,) and the Misses Amphlett, Throughont Saturday evening he appeared in high spiposes in the arms of the Government, with rits, but he took especial care to keep the ghostly warning in the mind of his guests, and to prepare them for the possibility of its fulfilment. At ten o'clock, taking out his watch, he named the hour, and added, 'Should I live two hours longer I shall jockey the ghost.' With this impression on his mind it would have seemed more natural for him to have waited the event with his gay company. He retired, however, to his bed-chamber, shortly before midnight, attended by his valet, who, according to the most credible report, handed him a preparation of rhubarb he was in the habit of taking. He sent the man away to bring him a spoon: on his return Lord Lyttelton was on the point of dissolution. death was almost instantaneous: and it is not surprising that, in popular opinion, it became connected with the warning he had himself taken so much pains to publish. We do not find that there was any examination of the body; according to one of the papers, it was conjectured that the cause of death was disease of the heart. mentioned the warning to some of his more But when death results from any such affection, intimate friends, but, as if incredulous of it is, we believe, so instantaneous, peaceful, and its truth, or indifferent to the result, he went even imperceptible, that the patient seems only to the House of Lords on the evening of the 25th, and delivered the remarkable speech to which we have referred, a speech rendered it is family maintained a guarded, and, perhaps, a indicious silence on the subject. The remarkable speech to which we have referred, a speech rendered is indicious silence on the subject. The remarkable speech the subject of the subje a judicious silence on the subject. The warndoubly remarkable by the prophetic declara-tion, that "though he held a place in the of the best authenticated ghost-stories on record; government he perhaps should not hold it and as years rolled on, Thomas, second Lord As if anticipating this event, he had Lyttelton, was chiefly remembered for the profia few weeks before made a settlement of gacy of his life, and for the supernatural sum-

^{*} As the Quarterly Reviewer has not mentioned mented with distressing dreams, and that Lyttelton the day and hour of his death, we shall one morning, when the party at his house supply the defect. Lord Lyttelon had, in the month had noticed his unusual depression of spi-preceding his death, been particularly subject to "a rits, he accounted for it by relating a dream sort of suffocating fist," accompanied with severe

with discussions of this kind; but at a time that historical truth had been compromised when a belief in spiritual manifestations has been taking possession of the public mind, we are unwilling that a dream, and a death like that of Lord Lyttelton's, should be viewed in any other light than as a contemplated or a casual coincidence. We have ourselves no doubt whatever that Lord Lyttelton's apparition was a dream, and that his death at the time indicated in his dream, was a coincidence of which there are numerous examples. Had he been a man in perfect health, the coincidence would have been more extraordinary; but even in that case it would not have belonged to the supernatural. As he was subject to a disease in the head which might have proved fatal at any instant-his death ceases to surprise us. Another explanation of the coincidence is less honourable to the memory of his Lordship. It was believed that he had determined to take poison, and he therefore had it in his power to make the event accord with the prediction, "It was no doubt singular," as Sir Walter Scott observes, "that a man who meditated his exit from the world should have chosen to play such a trick upon his friends; but it is still more credible that a whimsical man should do so wild a thing, than that a messenger should be sent from the dead (accompanied, we may add, with the ghost of a cock-robin) to tell a libertine at what precise hour he should expire."

Such was the life and end of a man for whom the title of Junius is to be claimed. We regret that this honoured name should be thus associated. We lament for the sake of Thomas Lyttelton himself, that he should be thus hung in chains, that the gibbet might be hallowed by the inscription Junius. Still more deeply do we regret that a name which George Lord Lyttelton adorned should be degraded in discussions where it is necessary to contrast genius with vice, and patriotism with crime; and did we believe that the new theory of Junius would gain any credit

small bird perched on her hand. The apparition commanded him to prepare himself, as he would shortly die. His lordship inquired how long he had to live. The vision replied, "Not three days, and you'll depart at the hour of twelve." At the breakfast table he told this dream to Mrs Flood, and there is reason to believe that he himself considered it a dream, as he accounted for the appearance of the bird by relating that a few days before he had taken some pains to restore a robin which had been shut up in the green-house at Pitt Place.

The details respecting his death on the 26th are given very differently in Burke's Anecdotes of the Aristoraey, vol. ii. p. 441. His disease is stated to have been "a polypus of the heart, consisting of a quantity of coagulated blood in a cyst or bag," and it is believed that his death was occasioned by the

bursting of this bag.

We are unwilling to occupy our pages with the wise or the good, we should regret by statements subversive of its decisionsby speculations without argument, and by reasonings without facts.

> With this opinion on the subject we might have left the theorist in the Quarterly to the just and indignant remonstrance of the clever writer in the Athenaum; * but having made some little inquiry about the case, we think we can bring him under a

more summary jurisdiction.

1. "The position of Thomas Lyttelton," says the Quarterly Reviewer, "in the five years from 1767 to 1772, is exactly such an one as it is reasonable to suppose that Junius occupied during the period of his writings!!" In direct contradiction to this allegation, the same writer had already told us that in "the period during which Junius wrote his acknowledged compositions, we hardly find a trace of him (Lyttelton) among contemporary letters or memoirs!" How then was he in a position to have been Junius? the writer in the Athenæum has justly said, that "the whereabouts of Mr. Lyttelton might have been settled after half an hour's search by the Lyttelton family," had the reviewer applied for it; but without this help we can tell him that Thomas Lyttelton was at Ghent on the 23d March, 1767, writing profligate poetry, when Junius was, on the 18th March, writing his first celebrated letter to the Duke of Grafton; and if Junius had been at Ghent on the 23d, he was again in London on the 10th and 12th April writing a second letter to the Duke of Grafton, and the letter signed a Real Friend. But what is decisive of the question, we find Lyttelton in Italy in 1770, Junius's busiest year, writing poetry in Venice, in June or July-writing another poem from Venice on the 20th of July of the same year, and finally inditing a long irregular ode from Vicenza on the 20th August, 1770, when Junius must have been writing the letter to Lord North, dated August 22d, 1770!

2. Assuming, what cannot admit of a doubt, that the letter to a Brigadier-General was the work of Junius, it is obvious that Lyttelton could not have written it, as he was then only sixteen years of age; and it is equally impossible that at the age of twenty-three the profligate and idle youth could have been the writer of the early letters of Junius.

3. As a specimen of the reasoning of the Quarterly Reviewer, we may give the following example :- In Junius's letter of 12th May, 1772, six weeks previous to Lyttelton's

^{*} January 17, 1852. No. 1264, pp. 78, 80.

marriage, he says that he has "just returned ! from a visit in a certain part of Berkshire."
"The family of Mrs. Peach," says the Reviewer, "was settled at Chipping Norton, Oxfordshire, the county adjoining Berks, and nothing could be more likely than that Mr. Lyttelton should have paid a visit to his relatives." Very likely indeed if Mrs. Peach or her friends had been there; but Oxfordshire is not Berks, and Chipping Norton is near Warwickshire, and far from Berkshire.

4. The principal arguments adduced by the writer in the Quarterly are drawn from a series of letters published in 1780, and entitled "Letters of Thomas Lord Lyttelton." But it is well known, and the Reviewer seems to have suspected it, that these letters were shameless forgeries, written (as the author himself confessed) by a Mr. Combe, the well known Dr. Syntax.

Junius to the Scotch is notorious. Lyttelton family letters from his father :does not expressly state his antipathy to that people, but he writes thus, (to give but one instance)." This is judicious enough, as he had no other instance to give; and the instance given, which we cannot take the trouble of copying, is a real compliment to the nately for his friend Junius he was not success-Scotch character! Who could believe that Thomas Lyttelton had any antipathy to the Scotch after his father had been received in 1759 "with as great honours by the nobility and the principal cities in Scotland, as if he had been a first minister or the head of a faction," and after his own "figure, behaviour, and parts, had been admired by all sorts of people."

Such are the grounds upon which we consider it as placed beyond a doubt that Thomas Lord Lyttelton was not Junius; and though we have nearly the same opinion of the claims of Lord Temple, we cannot but admire the ingenuity and learning with which they have been advocated by Mr. Smith. In failing, however, to convince us of his theory, Mr. Smith has, we think, made it highly probable that the real Junius acted in concert with Lord Temple and the Grenville party. If not a member of the peerage, Junius must have had men of rank and station as his allies, and, as he himself confesses, persons about him who supplied in the question, Who was Junius? him with the information he required, and whose importunities he was bound to obey.

considered as having played the principal part in this combination, Sir Philip the highest claims. We leave it to a jury Sackville, with Junius in a clergyman's of our readers to decide between them from the evidence which is now within their reach.

In our former article on Junius,* we made the following statement, which requires correction:-

45. The Rev. Mr. Parish informed the writer of this article that his father, who was chaplain to Lord Townshend, when Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, had heard Lord Townshend express his belief that Macleane was Junius; and he saw, at Dublin Castle, a print called the Tripartite Junius, in which Macleane was represented with other two individuals as his coadjutors."

The letter from Mr. Parish here alluded to having been lost, the preceding paragraph was written from an imperfect recollection of its contents. It was not addressed to us by the Rev. Mr. Parish, but by the late Mr. Woodbine Parish, Chairman of the Board of Excise in Scotland, who communicated to us a copy of the following letter which 5. "The dislike," says the Reviewer, "of he discovered while looking over some old

> " Extract of a Letter from the Rev. Henry Parish to his Brother, dated Dublin Castle, 19th April

> "The Earl of Shelburne made a very strong application for my Kerry Livings, but unfortu-

> "He applied for Macleane, his chaplain, of whom you have seen a picture in the Tripartite Print of Junius."

> The Rev. Henry Parish was at this time living with Lord Townshend on the most intimate footing. He had gone over with him to Ireland, when he was made Lord-Lieutenant,-was his family chaplain, and often acted as his private secretary. There can be little doubt, therefore, that Mr. Parish had the means of knowing the fact to which he alludes, that Lord Shelburne had asked from Lord Townshend for Macleane the Kerry Livings, which were worth £1000 a-year; and that this was a fact in which Mr. Parish was more interested than any one else. We may also reasonably assume, that in mentioning Macleane as Junius, he may have taken the idea either from the general impression at the time, or what is more probable, from Lord Townshend himself, who must have felt a very great interest

Sir Woodbine Parish, grandson of the Rev. Henry Parish, who held the Kerry Among the political writers who may be Livings, succeeded in obtaining a copy of the Tripartite Print, referred to in the preceding letter, and has kindly communicated Francis and Colonel Lachlan Macleane have it to us. It represents Burke and Lord

ant in these Livings, so as to require resi-But in whatever way we may surmount these difficulties, the direct association of the name of Macleane with Junius, country of the Teutonic race-the continenin the household of Lord Townshend, is a tal power which may keep the balance fact of considerable interest and importance, between France and Russia,

ART. VIII .-- 1. Das Leben des Minister 4 vols. Berlin, 1851.

London, 1853.

3. Panslavism and Germanism. By Count VALERIAN KRASINSKI, London, 1848.

4. The Frontier Lands of the Christian and region of the Lower Danube, in 1850 and have ceased to exist. 1851. By a BRITISH RESIDENT of twenty years in the East. 1853.

THE events of the last five years of European history form an episode almost unparalleled in modern times. The world has by the treaty of Vienna, and to conclude been astonished by the extreme rapidity with which the hopes of liberty have been raised and disappointed. The short reign of freedom has been replaced by a military despotism, united to a priestly reaction, the excesses of which have thrown into the shade those of which any defenders of liberty were guilty during that period of political saturnalia. Of all the countries which have been convulsed by these revolutions, none probably has raised fairer hopes, and produced bitterer disappointment in the minds of the

dress, seated between them; * and we can-| true friends of liberty than Germany. It is not doubt that, in the opinion of Lord Towns- melancholy to observe that a nation which hend, as well as of Mr. Parish, the clerical in philosophy, literature, and art is second figure represented Macleane. It is probato none, has notwithstanding its great theoble that these Livings may have been asked retical knowledge of political science, shown for Macleane's father, who, as a Non-juring itself in the hour of trial utterly incompeclergyman, had been driven out of Scotland, tent to make a practical application of those and as there was not then a single Protest- principles which it often admirably discussed in academic chairs and literary productions. dence, it is just possible that Lachlan Mac. And it must be added, that no nation occuleane may have thought of qualifying himself pies a more important position than Gerto hold them, which was then a very easy many in the political relations of Europe. In none should Great Britain especially be more deeply interested than in the central

Our surprise, though not our regret, on account of the retrograde political history of Germany is, however, considerably diminished when we examine the circumstances under which that country has developed itself from Freiherrn von Stein. Von G. H. Perz, the outbreak of the first French Revolution to our time. Nothing better explains the 2 Passages from my Life, &c. By BARON political character of a nation than its his-MUFFLING. Translated from the German, tory. This character, formed by the institutions under which a community has long remained, cannot be rapidly altered, and often continues to bear unmistakable traces of the circumstances by which it was formed and the Turk; Comprising Travels in the for generations after these circumstances

> We mean in the course of this article to 2 vols. London, give our readers some account of the events which have effected the transition from the feudal constitution of Germany, as it was settled by the treaty of Westphalia, to its present political organization as established with a view of the present external and internal relations of the German Confederation. In our progress we shall take note of some of the principal characters who bore a prominent part in the various stages of this history. We have chosen as an appropriate peg on which to hang our historical picture, the recently published Life of BARON STEIN, that eminent statesman who belonged, by his birth, and the early part of his public life, to the fendal period of Germany, and, by his efforts in the latter part of his career to renovate the political and social constitution of that country, to the present order of things, and who may thus be regarded as the connecting link between the earlier and the later stage of German development.

At the period of the outbreak of the French Revolution of 1789, notwithstanding some changes which had been brought about chiefly by the usurpations of the more powerful of its members on the rights of their weaker colleagues, the German Empire con-

The left hand figure is represented leaning upon a volume marked Sublime and Beautiful, and is in the act of addressing the figure in the middle dressed in a gown and bands, who is listening to him with a pen in his right hand, and a sheet of paper in his left, at the head of which is written To the King. The right hand figure is pointing to a letter lying on the table, addressed to Ld. G. S-k-lle. The general title of the picture is Junius, placed immedidiately below the middle figure, but embracing by a long brackef the other two figures.—The engraver's name is T. Bonnor.

[†] See this Journal, vol. x. p. 131, 132.

tinued in the same constitution and legal youngest son of his father, it was decided relations which it had received from the treaty of Westphalia in 1648. It possessed a complicated and ill-working state machinery; but it enjoyed a constitutional form of government, in which the rights of the smallest and weakest member of the Empire were defined and secured by law, as clearly and positively as those of the most powerful of the confederated princes. There was then (especially in the imperial cities) more legal and even practical liberty in Germany than under the governments which have since been established upon its ruins. The supreme authority of the Empire, in which all its members were represented, was vested in the Imperial Diet which met at Ratisbon. The differences between the members were decided by two imperial tribunals, viz., the Aulic Council of the Empire, which had always its seat at the residence of the Emperor, and the Cameral Tribunal (Reichs Kammer Gerieht) which sat at Wetzlar. They were composed of members delegated by the different states, and presided over by an imperial deputy. The members were composed of temporal and spiritual princes, ecclesiastical dignitaries, and the immediate nobility of the Empire.

It was to this last class of delegates that the family of Stein belonged, and a right noble and chivalrous race they were. Inheriting, since the year 1238, the castle and the lands of Nassau on the Lahn, they were distinguished by their valour, displayed both in the armies of the empire and in their private feuds. When peace was reigning at home they went abroad in quest of military adventure. They fought against France during the fourteenth century in the armies of Edward III. of England, and during the fifteenth in those of Charles the Bold of Burgundy. In the sixteenth century they embraced the doctrines of the Reformation, and this involved them in many troubles, particularly during the Thirty Years' War. The chivalrous dispositions of this ancient family not being tempered by the homely but more useful qualities of prudence and economy, their vast possessions became involved in difficulties; and it was in this condition that they descended to Philip von Stein, privy-councillor of the Elector of Mayenee, and father of the statesman we now commemorate.

In the paternal home young Stein received an excellent physical, intellectual, and moral Being destined by his parents education. to serve in the Imperial Chamber of Justice, he was sent, in 1773, in his fifteenth year, which he left in 1777. Though he was the this mission were considerable. The little

by a family compact, on account of the reckless prodigality of his elder brothers, that he should be the future head of his family, and consequently inherit the bulk of the family estates. This gave him the prospect of an independent position. But a life of ease and comparative idleness did not suit his active and energetic character, and he soon found a proper field for the exercise of his talents in the service of Frederick II. of Prussia, which he entered in 1780. The last years of the reign of Frederick were employed in jealously watching and counteracting the ambitious projects of the Emperor Joseph II, to extend the dominion of Austria at the expense of the minor States of Germany. It was in that cause that he had taken up arms in 1778, in the affair of the succession of Bavaria, which, however, terminated without bloodshed, in a few months, by the treaty of Teschen. But Joseph did not abandon his schemes of aggrandizement. He secured the non-interference of Russia by supporting the projects of the Empress Catherine against Turkey. The friendship of France was obtained by the influence of his sister, the queen of Louis XVI. And England, especially interested as she was in maintaining the independence of the German empire, on account of Hanover, was then too much occupied with the American war to give any serious attention to the distant danger which threatened the independence of her monarch's German possessions. Frederick was therefore obliged to seek within the Empire itself for the means of correcting the ambitious schemes of its head. Notwithstanding his advanced age, he applied himself with great energy to the formation of a league of German princes for the preservation of their mutual rights, and concluded a treaty to that effect with Saxony and Hanover. It was of course important to gain over to the same alliance other German princes, secular as well as spiritual, and among the latter, particularly the Elector of Mayence. As Arch Chancellor of the Empire he had great influence over the other princes. It was, however, not so easy to obtain the accession of the Elector to the treaty in question, as Austria had at his court a strong party, supported by the Russian and French ministers. It was on this occasion that, in 1785, Stein, who was then only twentyseven years old, and had no experience in diplomacy, but many connexions at the court of Mayence, was sent there in order to assist the Prussian minister in obtaining the to study law in the University of Göttingen, accession of the Elector. The difficulties of

court of Mayence presented an entangled web | fensive alliance with the Poles, he ended by of intrigues in which diplomatists, jurists, joining Russia in subverting those liberties priests, and women, actuated by public or he had solemnly promised to defend. private interest, took a more or less promithese schemes.

novel kind, and compared to which those had constructed it. which a century before had threatened their country from the same quarter under Louis William were promising. XIV. were insignificant.

August 1786, only three years before the ter. In his foreign policy, he sought to commencement of the French Revolution, establish an intimate alliance between Prusand was succeeded on the throne by his sia and the German middle as well as minor nephew, Frederick William II. The princi- States, and thus to create a power which pal traits of the new monarch's character might counterbalance that of Austria and were sensuality, love of the marvellous, and Russia. It was in consequence of this wart of perseverance. He showed his utter plan that the Prince of Orange was re-es-disregard of principle by an act of political tablished as Statholder of Holland by a dishonesty and treachery to Poland, which is almost without parallel in history. Hav-ing, in the early part of his reign, encour-acted, and that an alliance with Poland was aged the internal political reforms of that concluded. But the French Revolution, as country, and concluded an offensive and de we shall see, produced an entire change in

The new monarch inherited a State which nent part, affording a curious picture, which his predecessor had constructed by his great our limits do not permit us to introduce talents and successful usurpations, but withhere, of the manners and prevalent opinions out creating a genuine national spirit. of that time. After several months of ne-gotiation, Stein and his colleague succeeded of an army, was a well-regulated machine, in their object, and the Elector signed the Commerce, industry, and everything which treaty of the confederated princes on the 10th could be subjected to some administrative October 1785. The accession of the princi- regulation were efficiently superintended by pal ecclesiastical elector to a league devised the Government, through means of its namerby a Protestant prince, proved to Joseph ous employés, and as little room as possible that he must expect a general opposition of the members of the empire to his projects a system of over-governing was not fitted to against their independence. He was thus form independent characters, nor to generate led, on due consideration, to desist from feelings of self-reliance. It must also be remarked, that Frederick II., in constructing his Only a few years afterwards an external State-machine, had by no means given to it storm shook to its very foundations the that perfect unity of action characteristic of whole fabric of that empire, which was thus the centralization established by the Imperial saved by the diplomacy of Stein from an régime in France. The French system internal convulsion. We refer to the French constitutes an administrative engine, that Revolution, which broke out four years after regularly performs its functions, whoever the affair of Mayence, but of the imminence the individual that superintends is moved which, as well as its momentous consequences for Germany, probably none of the to which, perhaps more than to anything politicians engaged in that affair had the reless, may be ascribed the facility which motest idea. The rivalry between the courts the successive revolutions in that country motest idea. The rivalry between the courts the successive revolutions in that country of Vienna and Berlin, though favourable have been accomplished in our own days, to the preservation of the internal constitution of the empire, by no means ministerial cabinet, the members of which, contributed to its safety from external danglers. The monarchs and statesmen who then governed the principal German principal capitalities were by no means equal to the minister was confined exclusively to his own publicial emergency occasioned by the revo-lution in France. Educated in the routine traditions which served as a rule of conduct his colleagues. The Prussian machine of to the cabinets of Europe, they could not government was thus ill calculated to form measure the unexpected force of the revolustatesmen with enlarged views, and it could thonary element. They were thus ill quali-work well only so long as it was kept in fied to cope with dangers of an entirely motion by the firm and skilful hand which

The first years of the reign of Frederick The minister, Baron Herzberg, who enjoyed his confidence, Frederick II. of Prussia died on the 16th was a man of great ability and high characthe foreign policy of Prussia, and Herzberg quick, but narrow perception, a sound was replaced by another minister.

the fall of Napoleon, took place. al character of Francis.

to him that government was a responsibility the Emperor himself. imposed upon him by God, and that he

judgment, great tenacity of will, the gift of was replaced by another minister.

Austria, though repeatedly defeated by expressing himself in a simple and approFrederick II., and deprived by him of
Silesia, was superior to Prussia by the extent personal memory, a remarkable tact in
of her territory, the number of her populatreating commonplace people, whom he
tion, and her material resources. These gained every the expression on his great advantages enabled Austria repeatedly to good nature, as well as by the readiness repair the defeats which she had sustained with which he paid attention to all the defrom the arms of republican and imperial mands addressed to him. In the affairs of France, whilst a single unfortunate campaign against the same power, laid Prussia tails. His views were neither deep nor entirely prostrate. The Emperor Joseph II. comprehensive, nor was he possessed of that was a zealous reformer, and introduced some magnanimous spirit which is ready to envaluable improvements; among others, the counter any obstacle in the public service, Austrian law of religious toleration, and and which can inspire others by the force of those salutary checks on the Romish Church, example. He considered a strict adhewhich restrained her from meddling with rence to the established order of things, and the liberty of other religious denominations, the advancement of the material welfare of and which, after having been retained by his subjects, as the chief objects of his roign, the successors of that monarch, have been Born at Florence, and educated at Vienna abandoned by the present Emperor, as the favourite of his uncle, the Emperor Joseph, however, undertook to carry into Joseph, he united Italian mistrust and suspiexecution many of his reforms, without due cion, particularly towards the members of regard to the class interests, and what was his own family, with a steadfast, unrelenting worse, to the national feelings of the various maintenance of the rights of his crown, and populations of his empire, which raised so preserved the limitations imposed by his uncle much opposition to his plans, that he was upon the Church of Rome in his dominions, obliged to abandon them shortly before his with such firmness, that the Court of Rome He was succeeded in 1790 by his considered Austria as a schismatic country. brother, Leopold II., who had obtained great The struggle which he had to sustain, during reputation by his reign in Tuscany. Leo- many years, against the French-his vast pold died two years after his accession, empire all the while rapidly declining in the leaving the throne to his son Francis II., hands of incapables, knaves, and fools, was who in 1792, was crowned at Frankfort as not calculated to soften the severity of his Emperor of Germany. It was during his disposition, or to render it accessible to the long reign that the great events in the his-movements of pity. He became suspicious tory of Europe, which intervened between of all intellectual development, and of every the outbreak of the French Revolution and tendency towards political and ecclesiastical These change. He discouraged all sciences except events, as well as the history of Germany the physical ones. He was jealous of history in its internal and foreign relations, were in on account of its near connexion with politics. no small measure, influenced by the person- Political and metaphysical studies were subject to the most rigid surveillance. Educa-The new sovereign of the holy Roman tion and administration were conducted Empire was at his accession 25 years old. according to the old traditional forms; the Of a delicate constitution, and with little first consisting in a kind of mechanical trainself-reliance, he felt a strong aversion to the ling, the second in the performance of cerburden of a crown. At the sudden death tain routine regulations. But he studied, of his father, he at first refused to accept his con amore, the development of the Italian succession, and it was only on the second secret police, which was divided into differday after that his confessor succeeded in ent branches for the sake of mutual surveilovercoming his opposition, by representing lance, all its threads uniting in the hands of

The natural consequence of this shortmight fulfil all its duties, free from remorse sighted policy, which, fearing every intellecof conscience, by following on every occasion tual and moral superiority, cramps the the advice of the majority of his council. It noblest tendencies of a nation, was that was in this disposition of mind that he ascend- general disposition to sensual enjoyment ed the throne of the House of Hapsburg, up. and corruption of manners which saps the on which he sat during three and forty years. foundation of social order in a more dange-His abilities were moderate. He had a ous manner than any political commotion.

The monarch, whose own manners were un-|nigh extinct: no one regarded himself as the impeachable, was surrounded by individuals incomber of a great social organization for of the worst reputation, preferring them to which he lived and was ready to die. and even the appearance of decorum was played by the revolutionary government of thrown away at Vienna. Every sense of France, which, disposing of the lives and propriety was outraged when ladies of property of the nation with an absolute doubtful fame, accompanied by their wealthy power, and a recklessness unparalleled even protectors, might be seen in the Imperial in the annals of the most despotic countries, Theatre, occupying seats in the same row as at the same time inspired its armies with a during his life-time, he was applauded with- of the contest. Their treasury was exout measure, and almost worshipped; whilst hausted. The old soldiers were enfeebled abroad, with as little justice, he was consi- by thirty years of peace, and many of the

the biographer of Stein. The reign of Fre-surrendered to the French. derick the Great, which lasted forty-six Frederick William II. died in 1797, and politics of Europe, but particularly of Ger- The new king had many excellent personal many, were turning. deeply penetrated not only the cabinets and of will indispensable for a monarch, particualso their armies and populations, that it which the first part of his reign was passed. could not be suddenly changed even by the In Prussia there was no council of state or utmost offort of their monarchs. On the ministerial cabinet, but every minister was contrary, it became a most effectual cause of exclusively confined to his own department. mutual weakness to both these powers. It in which he received his orders from the experience that it was exchanged for a mu- monarch no longer maintained a constant tual good understanding and a common personal intercourse with his ministers, the effort on behalf of Germany.* The minor members of the royal cabinet obtained many States of Germany rather feared than trusted opportunities of giving their opinions about an alliance with Vienna or Berlin. universal tendency was to loosen the bonds to that department, so that it gradually of the Empire, and to escape the duties assumed a position of paramount influence, which they imposed upon its members. The The chief members of the royal cabinet army was unwieldy and ill compacted. The were Mencke, Beyme, and Lombard. The dict was wearing out a tedious old age; and a narrow, unenlightened spirit pervaded all but his repugnance to war did much harm the arrangements of government. The po. at a time when it was necessary to act with

men of principle on account of their subser- It was natural enough that a German viency. Demoralization spread without any coalition formed of such elements should be restraint among the aristocracy of Austria, ill suited to cope with the savage energy disthe emperor and the empress; and when republican enthusiasm. It is, of course, not individuals in high situations of trust were our object to recount here the events of the suspected of being concerned in the forgery war which commenced in 1792 with an of the Austrian state papers. On the whole, invasion of France by a Prussian army the world has praised and blamed Francis under the Duke of Brunswick and the king more than he deserves. The wits of Vienna himself, and whose disastrous retreat Goethe, were wont to say that he was great in little and after him Carlyle, have so graphically things, and little in great things. In Austria, described. The Prussians were soon wearied dered utterly insignificant and narrow-younger ones sympathized with the revolu-tionary ideas. The minor States of Ger-The coalition between Austria, Prussia, many were kept in the service with difficulty. and the other German states against France, At length, in 1795, the treaty of Basle terwas concluded in 1792. The condition of minated the war as far as Prussia was con-Germany at that time is well described by cerned, and the left bank of the Rhine was

years, had rendered the rivalry between was succeeded by his son, Frederick Wil-Austria and Prussia a hinge upon which the liam Ill., then in his twenty-seventh year. This idea had so qualities, but was deficient in the firmness governments of both those countries, but larly in such troubled times as those in was only after twenty-three years of bitter king. After Frederick's death, when the The the ministerial reports which were addressed litical life of the German nation seemed well- decision. He retired on account of ill health, and his colleague Beyme thus gained * The events of 1850, when a war between Aus- great influence. He was industrious and

tria and Prissia was on the point of breaking out, prove that the spirit of emulation between these two powers was removed only externally. A close alliance between the same powers seems now to be devoid of elevated feelings. He injured his reputation by this intimacy with another

member of the cabinet, Lombard, a native were supported to a large extent by public of the French colony of Berlin-a man of opinion at Berlin. considerable accomplishments and dexterity ponding practice.

that post in the preceding reign. the higher considerations of national honour, ceded to Napoleon. so that the majority were for the continuance obtain this object at so great a sacrifice."

treaty of Campo-Formio.

Government provoked a new war. any declaration of war, or the shadow of corruption of the Prussian statesmen. provocation. Had Prussia, under these circumstances, joined the allies, the French would undoubtedly have been expelled from coalition in 1805. But, though he greatly might be exposed from the side of Anstria of the manner in which it was obtained; and Russia if the power of France were annihilated or greatly reduced, declined an invitation to join the coalition, and his views

The conduct of Prussia excited strong in affairs, but of loose principles and corres- disapprobation among all the patriotic and This man acquired an thinking men of Germany. The prestige of entire influence over the minister of foreign the French Revolution, which had been affairs, Count Haugwitz, who had occupied hailed by many as the advent of liberty, had in a great measure passed away. The These three persons had the principal most favourable opportunity for preventing share in the contemptible foreign policy the dissolution of the German empire, and followed by Prussia from the accession of its subjugation by France was thrown away, Frederick William III. until the catastrophe by a short-sighted policy, which forgot the of 1806. The material condition of the great political truth, confirmed by all hiscountry was eminently prosperous during tory, that peace with a more powerful state that period. The high prices of corn in is secure only so long as the interests or the England raised the income of the land ambition of the rulers of that state permit it owners, and the system of territorial credit to last. In that position towards France afforded facilities for a trade in land by Prussia was now placing herself as well as which many large fortunes were realized, the rest of Germany. Austria, soon after These circumstances, however, with the long defeated by the armies of Buonaparte, conpeace, rendered the inhabitants too fond of cluded a treaty of peace at Luneville, by material enjoyment, and too insensible to which the whole left bank of the Rhine was

We cannot here present the deplorable of peace at any price, forgetting that ulti- history of the unprincipled exactions of the mate ruin overtakes nations which strive to French Emperor, the vacillations and treachery of Prussia, and the diplomacy of Haug-After Prussia had concluded peace with witz, which issued in the disgraceful treaty France in 1795, Austria continued the war of Schoenbrun, by which Hanover was ceded alone with great energy, and obtained under to Prussia. Napoleon soon declared even the Archduke Charles considerable advan- that adjustment null, and required Talleyrand tages in Germany. But in Italy she sustained to prepare another treaty still more disgracea series of defeats, and was compelled in ful to Prussia. The degrading terms were 1798, by young Buonaparte, to conclude the received by Haugwitz, and the treaty was signed on the 15th February 1806.* This This peace was not of long duration. The treaty could not but completely isolate continual encroachments of the French Prussia, deprive her of the confidence and An support of her allies and all other powers, alliance was concluded between England, and place her in an entire dependence on Austria, and Russia. These powers were France. It excited among the patriots of joined by Turkey, whose province of Egypt Germany the most violent irritation against had been invaded by the French without the blindness, the thoughtlessness, and the

the left bank of the Rhine, as well as from disapproved of the miserable policy of the Belgium, and France reduced to its frontiers Prussian government, it seems that the acbefore the Revolution. But the King of quisition of Hanover was considered by him Prussia, fearing the danger to which he so advantageous that it made him forgetful

^{*} Prussia contained at that time a population of 9,000,000 souls, and had an army of 250,000 men. Her finances were in a prosperous condition, the revenue amounted to 36,000,000 Prussian dollars (a dollar three shillings,) and the treasury, which had been exhausted under the preceding reign, was gradually replenished, and contained in 1805 a reserve fund of seventeen millions dollars.

^{*} Mr. Fox stigmatized the conduct of Prussia in the following manner:—"The conduct of Prussia in this transaction is a compound of everything that is contemptible in servility, with everything that is odious in rapacity. Other nations have ceded to the ascendant of military power: Austria was forced by the fortune of war to cede many of her provinces; Prussia alone, without any external disaster, has descended at once to the lowest point of degradation, that of becoming the minister of the injustice and rapacity of a master,"—Annual Register, 1806. Napoleon himself conceived the deepest contempt for Prussia, and treated her accordingly.

and he tried, in a letter to his friend Vincke, his health permitted, he left Nassau to join his eyes to the imminent danger in which the country in a wretched condition.* the liberties of Germany was rejected by The golden plate of Frederic II. was sent to the king, and the royal cabinet remained as the mint. A great part of the army received beyond the Rhine.

Meanwhile Napoleon's influence was completely established in the south-west of Germany by the formation of the Rhenish confederation. This measure virtually dissolved the ancient Empire of Germany, and French yoke was undoubtedly the most Francis II. exchanged the title of German pressing and indispensable measure, with a or Roman emperor, which his predecessors view to its internal restoration; but a gradual had held since the coronation of Charlemagne, introduction of self-government was, in Stein's for that of Emperor of Austria. New acts view, the principal means towards that result. of violence were soon perpetrated by Na- If the principles by which he was regulated poleon against Prussia. War was resumed, had been honestly acted on in Prussia and The feeble and ill-organized Prussian army the other States of Germany, the political was in a few days dissolved. The nation condition of that country now would be very was reduced to the lowest state when the different from what we find it to be. We war was concluded in 1807 by the treaty of extract the following passage in illustration of his sentiments:— Alexander arranged, at a personal interview. a plan for their mutual aggrandizement.

Important changes followed in the administration and policy of Prussia. The king dismissed his cabinet and recalled Hardenberg, who had been firm in his hostility to France. That statesman could not remain long in office, on account of the opposition of Napoleon. He therefore resigned, and advised the king to summon Stein. It was, indeed, a herculcan task which the new minister was required to undertake. Prussia had been deprived, by the treaty of Tilsit, of her richest provinces, and war had desolated the remaining ones. Her seaports were closed to England; and with an exhausted commerce she was bound to pay a heavy contribution to France, and meantime to maintain a large French army. In the face of these difficulties, advanced in life as he was, and in indifferent health, Stein unconditionally surrendered his services to his country, and displayed his great administrative talents in his new position at the head of the Prussian government. As soon as

The liberation of the country from the

"The legislation of a nation is defective so long as it is founded only on the views and ideas of its officials and of scholars. The first of these classes are so much occupied with details that they become unable to take a comprehensive view of affairs, and they are so attached to routine and matter of fact that they are opposed to every kind of progress;-the second are so much removed from practical life that they are unable to fulfil the necessities of common business. When a nation has risen above the condition of barbarism, when it has acquired a considerable mass of information, and enjoys a moderate degree of the liberty of thought, it should naturally turn its attention

to justify this measure by arguments not in the king, who was then residing at Memel, harmony with his high principle.* The close to the Russian frontier. At Berlin, as progress of events, however, soon opened well as in other parts of Prussia, he found Prussia was placed. In May 1806, he pre- order to obtain the means for discharging sented a memorial to the king, in which he the French obligations, the salaries of all the exposed the perilous situation of the State, employés were reduced—those of the highest and depicted in gloomy terms the incapacity by a half. The king himself limited the exof the ministers by whom its affairs were penses of his court. The princes of the directed. This representation on behalf of royal family gave up a third of their incomes. it was; but the Duke of Brunswick was furlough. Taxes were increased, nothwithdespatched to St. Petersburg to vindicate standing the ruined state of the country; the foreign policy of Prussia, and to request and the inhabitants were obliged to feed the the assistance of the Emperor Alexander in soldiers quartered in their houses. But the urging the retirement of the armies of France crown lands, on the security of which considerable sums were raised, particularly by means of the territorial bank associations, supplied Stein with the most important of his financial resources.

^{*} We commend to the advocates of peace at any "we commend to the advocates or peace at any price the pictures of the French occupation of Prus-sia, the degradation of the inhabitants, and the pro-cesses for exacting the stipulated tribute money which are presented in this life of Stein. The ex-action-money alone, which passed through the bands of Daru, amounted to above treenty-free millions of English pounds sterling—about five times the whole annual revenue of Prussia in the time of its greatest

prosperity.

† The territorial bank, or credit associations, were originally invented in Prussia, afterwards adopted in many countries of the Continent, and recently in-troduced into France under the appellation of the Banque de crédit foncier.

^{*} See Life of Stein, vol. i. p. 327.

towards its own internal and local affairs. Alturned with hope to the man whom the share in the management of these affairs will produce the most beneficial manifestations of patriotism and public spirit, but if every participation in them is refused to it, discontent will spread, which must either break out in dangerous manifestations, or else be suppressed by violent and discouraging measures. The character of the working and middle classes must become lowered, as their activity is exclusively devoted towards gain and enjoyment; and the upper classes must sink in public esteem by their idle and dissipated manner of life. Speculative sciences will acquire an undue value, and submen.

We cannot here describe the various inand important improvements were intro-coming every day more inevitable. primary schools.

and the entire military organization of the heart, and submitted to the most arbitrary kingdom was based, as far as possible, on propositions of France. The most patriotic the feelings of patriotism and personal honour. It was by the persevering appliguished in Europe.

Decree, dated at Madrid, in which the Prussian Minister was specially denounced as the
sian Minister was specially denounced as the
enemy of France, and by which his estates
wese confiscated and his person laid open to
arrest. He resigned office and quitted Prussia, but became at once a political power.
The eyes of all the German patriots werel Decree, dated at Madrid, in which the Prus-

greatest conqueror of the age condescended to signalize as his enemy. Stein was regarded as the most fitting leader of any movement for emancipating Germany from French rule. He was received with distinction in the Austrian dominions, into which he had retired, having taken up his residence in Bohemia. The King of Prussia, who was at St. Petersburg, sent a most gracious letter to him in his retreat, containing a message from the Emperor Alexander, inviting him jects of public utility will be neglected. What to make the Russian dominions his temporary is mystical and remote from common affairs will asylum. Amid the reverses which followed, engage the exclusive attention of the minds of the exiled Stein almost alone remained unshaken in his faith in the restoration of German liberty.*

Meantime a complication of external cirternal and administrative reforms which cumstances which occurred was placing Pruswere promoted by Stein in this crisis of the sia in an extremely difficult position. The history of Prussia and of Germany. The good understanding between France and Rusancient right of choosing their own ma- sia, which seemed to be so firmly established gistrates, and of administering their local by the treaty of Tilsit, and the interview affairs, was restored to the towns. Public between Napoleon and Alexander at Erfurt, education was also promoted. Notwith- began in 1810 to give way to a mutual standing the great difficulties of the time, jealousy, and both the powers were making a new university was established at Berlin, preparations for a conflict which was beduced into the universities of Königsberg and position of Prussia, situated between these Frankfort on the Oder, and also into the two Powers, was very critical. Neutrality was out of the question, as she had not a A most important measure for the resto- sufficient force to maintain it. There was ration of Prussia to her former position, little prospect of Russia being victorious in was, of course, the re-organization of her the impending struggle. On the whole it disabled army. The whole nation was sum- seemed most politic to conciliate France. moned to arms. The military profession But Napoleon indicated his designs more was honoured. The entire population re- clearly than ever. Although the arrears of ceived military discipline. The officers ob- contribution were now paid, he refused to tained a knowledge of the science of their fulfil the condition of evacuating the Prusprofession; advance from the ranks to the sian fortresses, and instead, even doubled the highest command was open to all; corporal garrisons, and imposed new contributions on punishments and the degrading martinet an already impoverished country. Friendly system were in a great measure abolished; overtures were rejected. The King lost

^{*} He was supported in his opinion by the famous action of these principles that the Prussian farmy was raised from the degraded condition, through which the nation became an of the most distinguished families of Corsica. He easy prey to France in 1806, to the state was educated at Pisa, and gained, though very young, of efficiency which has rendered it so distinefficiency which has rendered it so distin-ished in Europe.

Stein was soon exposed, however, to the by Paoli, tried to establish the independence of Corhostility of Napoleon, who issued an Imperial sica under the protection of England. He retired with the English from Corsica and came to this

officers quitted his service, and some of them science, were published at the expense of even joined the Russian army. Stein him-Government. This comprehensive scheme self now began to despair of Prussia and of for national development was without doubt Germany. The alliance of Austria with an honest measure, and constituted an efficient preparation for every other improve-difficult, and he was about to retreat to Eng.

Ind., when, in March 1812, he received from the Emperor Alexander the remarkable leterance in the Emperor Alexander the remarkable in the Emperor Alexander

ones at Dorpat, Kazan, and Kharkoff, were to Stein. founded under his rule. In every Russian county there was formed at least one gymioned the emperor at Vilna, in June 1812, nasium, which prepared pupils for the University, and in each district into which the versity, and mead user in which we have a second to receive the soon counties were divided, a school of preparation for the gymnasium was instituted, upon Germany in opposition to France.
Instruction in all the educational establish. The task was a difficult one in the embarments was gratuitous, and the academical rassed circumstances of the Russian empire. degrees conferred by the Universities were Stein developed his plans in the memoirs rendered advantageous to candidates for the which he presented to Alexander a few days civil service of the empire. The efforts of after his arrival at Vilna. He recommended, Alexander to promote the intellectual devel-opment of his subjects were not confined to should be stimulated, by means of docunational education. Literature and the public press were not neglected. The censure over Germany through the agency of snug-

and, ween, in March 1812, he received from the Emperor Alexander the remarkable letter which is recorded by his biographer.

The enlightened sentiments expressed by the Russian Autocrat, in his letter to Stein, may surprise some who read them. This, however, was not the only manifestation of liberal principles made by that monarch. At a later period some evil influences seem liberal principles made by that monarch. At a later period some evil influences seem to have clouded his better judgment. The Justice must be rendered to the memory of as sovereign who was liberal not only in words but also in his actions. Educated by the Swiss Laharpe, who afterwards took a prominent part in the democratic movements of his own country in 1798, he was imbued from his youth with the generous principles by which his conduct was directed in many respects after his accession to the throne. His first inperial act was to recall numerous individuals whom his father had banished to Siberia. But it was particularly in his efforts to promote the education of his subjects that his enlightened tendencies were conspicuous. The Universities of Moscow and Vilna were reformed, and new Moscow and Vilna were reformed, and new more at Dorpat, Kazan, and Kharkoff, were the second of his projects. The first in the execution of his reign was spent in wars, which the resources of the country, and to fair release the resources of the country, and to have clouded his better judgment. The fleding excited in German pto the resources of the country, and to have clouded his better judgment. The logical through the security of the whole attention of its ruler. At a later period some evil influences seem to have clouded his better judgment. The delicenter with the discontent occasioned by the non-fulfilment of the promises of constitutional governments which the monarchs of the country made to their subjects during the interest produced a ferment which penetrated into Russia, and which penetrated into Russia, and which is seems to have caused an unfavour

But to return: Stein left Bohemia and was rendered very liberal, and books not glers, whose trade was then active on aconly of a scientific and educational character, count of the prohibitory system which but also in several branches of political Napoleon was establishing wherever his power extended. His projects were approved by Alexander; a proclamation, drawn up by Stein, was addressed, in the name of the emperor, to the Germans, and ten thousand copies of it were printed and spread by various emissaries among the German troops in the invading army. A complete system of patriotic but revolution-

^{*} We may mention as a curjous instance his answer on one occasion to Madame de Stael. With this celebrated person the Emperor was arguing the necessity of a Constitutional Government, when she remarked, that under the rule of a monarch like himself, that necessity could not be felt. "If what you are pleased to say of me be true," replied Alex-ander, "I should be at best only but a happy acci-

[†] It is well known that in Russia the grades of

the civil service are assimilated to those of the army. The degree of Doctor gave admission into that service with a grade equivalent to that of a Major, of Master to that of a Captain, and of Candiate to that of a Lieutenant. * It is melancholy to think that this system has

citing.

plan.

The retreat from Moscow excited the expectations of the patriots of Germany. There were, however, many circumstances which tended to damp their hope of help from Russia. The resources of the empirewere much exhausted by recent efforts, and many influential persons wished to take advantage of the unexpected success, in order to conclude peace with France. This would have entirely thwarted the patriotic plans of Stein at the most critical moment, and it is believed, on good grounds, that he was the chief agent in inducing Alexander to continue the war. An alliance between Russia and Prussia was accordingly concluded, notwithstanding the temporizing policy of the king of Prussia, and a great part of Germany was soon liberated from France. There were, however, many obstacles to be overcome before the hopes of the patriots could be fully realized; and many influential men in Germany were of opinion that Napoleon would still maintain his ground.*

Though Napoleon at first obtained some successes over the allies, he soon saw that he had now an enemy to deal with, very different from the inefficient army of Prussia which he had so easily overcome in 1806. It was no longer the cabinets and their troops that he had to combat, but the German nation roused against the dominion of a foreign conqueror. The battle of Leipsic prostrated Napoleon's power in Germany. Stein, who was then intrusted with the supreme direction, insisted upon an ener-

ary propaganda was devised, under the pro- overthrow of Napoleon; whilst Metternich, tection of that Russian government which who represented Austria, (whose position at has since made such efforts to suppress in the time was not a little embarrassing,) Germany the spirit which it was then ex- fearing the increase of Russian power, was striving for a peace with France. A propo-Meanwhile the French continued their sition to make the Rhine the boundary of advance on Moscow, which they entered on France was actually made by the influence of the 14th September 1812. The news of Metternich; but as Napoleon hesitated to that event spread consternation in the capi-tal. The emperor himself remained firm; influenced the Emperor Alexander to cou-and Stein, only four days after the occupa-tinue the war. The whole of Germany was tion of Moscow, arranged with Alexander a gradually liberated. The French were explan for the administration of the provinces pelled from Holland, and the south of Germany which he proposed to recover France was invaded by Wellington. Notfrom France. A few months afterwards he withstanding the hesitation of Austria, Alexwas himself employed in executing that ander, supported by Stein and Pozzo di Borgo, firmly maintained the war policy, which issued in the surrender of Paris to the allied armies and the abdication of Napoleon.

> Germany was now liberated from the dominion of a foreign conqueror. It remained to secure for her, in the first place, an interior organization which should provide for the mutual rights of all the German States, thus rendering them sufficiently strong to repel foreign aggression; and, in the next place, to fix the frontier line needed for an efficient defence of the German Confederation against its powerful neighbours.

> No one could propose to reconstruct the empire exactly as it had been before the French Revolution, though there were many eminent statesmen who strongly advocated the necessity of restoring the dignity of the German Emperor. But this project, supported by Stein, and favoured by the free towns and minor principalities of Germany, could not be put into execution, on account of the jealousy with which the greater States of the Empire maintained their sovereign rights. It was therefore necessary to be satisfied with the establishment of the German Confederation, which constitutes the political organization of the country at the present day.*

getic prosecution of the war, and a complete * Goethe was of this number, and it is told that, "Goeline was of this number, and it is told trist, when Körner, the father of the well-known warrior-poet, expressed to him his hope of the liberation of Germany, Goethe angily said, "You may shake Your fetters as long as you please, you can never break them, but may render them more galling. When this was related to Stein, he quietly said, "Let him alone, he is grown too old."

^{*} The chief purpose for which this Confederation was established, was to afford a mutual guarantee of the rights and possessions of the contracting parties against internal usurpation and foreign aggression. It is composed of thirty-eight members, with an area of 11,510 German square miles, and a population of above forty-one millions. The military service (furnished by each State according to the number of its population) amounts to 303,493, and forms the federal army of Germany. The federal Diet, which is permanently assembled at Frankfort-on-the-Maine, is composed of the representatives of the Confederated States. Its authority is exercised in the double form of a General Assembly, called plenum, and a Minor Council. The plenum includes seventy votes, of which Austria, Prussia, Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Saxony, and Hanover, have each four, and the remaining States three, two, or one respect-

ries of Germany, Stein endeavoured, at the Prussian* as much as Russian ambition. Treaty of Paris, (against the wishes of England and Russia,) to obtain the cession of modified the sentiments of the statesmen as-Strasbourg and some other important military positions. Notwithstanding his efforts, France not only retained her frontier of 1792, but even some subsequently acquired territory. After the battle of Waterloo, Stein and Hardenberg sought to recover several important fortresses which had been wrested from Germany by Louis XIV.; but they found an insurmountable obstacle in the Emperor Alexander. As the Russian minister, Capo d'Istria, plainly stated to Stein, it was not the interest of Russia to weaken France for the sake of Germany. But the establishment of the German boundaries on the side of Russia presented far greater difficulty than the adjustment of the frontier on the side of France, and Stein had soon an opportunity to perceive that the chief danger to his country was not from the west, but from that very quarter where he had placed all his hopes for the deliverance of Germany. He flattered himself that Alexander would be so generous as to give up the advantages which he had acquired, and rest satisfied with a small portion of the Duchy of Warsaw-thus giving Germany a good military frontier on the east. In his ultra-Teutonic zeal, he seems to have forgotten that Alexander was the Emperor of Russia, and therefore bound to consider the advantage of his own country more than that of Germany. The Russian Emperor required, as the price of his services rendered against Napoleon, the whole of the Duchy of Warsaw, which he proposed to erect into a separate kingdom of Poland, with a representative constitution. This was by no means the interest of Europe in general, or of Germany in particular. It gave Russia not only an increase of territory, and four millions of subjects, but also a military frontier of the greatest importance, inserting a Russian wedge between the Austrian and Prussian dominions, and exposing the capitals of these two powers, in case of a war, to a Russian invasion. Alexander urged his claim strenuously, and was ready to support it by force of arms; he even made an appeal to the Poles to prepare to combat for their national rights. His conduct led to a secret agreement between Austria, France, and England, which was signed on the 3d January 1815 by Metternich, Castlereagh, and

As regards the settlement of the bounda- | Talleyrand, and which was directed against The return of Napoleon from Elba soon sembled at Vienna; and though the secret treaty alluded to was found in the French archives, and communicated by Napoleon to Alexander, he did not separate from his Russia ultimately received the allies. Duchy of Warsaw, with the exception of the small part ceded to Prussia.

The most important condition for the welfare of Germany was the establishment of constitutional government in all her States. This was required by public opinion, and promised, though in a very indefinite manner, in the tenth article of the Confederation. Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Baden, Hesse Darmstadt, and Nassau, accordingly granted representative constitutions, more or less modelled according to the French charter of Louis XVIII.; but the King of Prussia, who, in an ordinance published at Vienna on the 22d May 1815, promised that he was forthwith to establish a national deliberative assembly, granted tardily, in 1823, a convocation of the provincial States, which can deliberate only on local affairs.

The hopes of the German patriots, who in the war of 1813-14, had made such sacrifices, in order to render their country powerful and free, being disappointed by the result of the Congress of Vienna, a general discontent spread over Germany. The excitement was increased by the revolution in Spain in 1820, soon followed by revolutions in Naples and Sardinia. Secret societies, composed chiefly of the academical youth, spread in all parts of Germany; and the Diet of the Confederation, whose object is to maintain the internal as well as the external security of the several States, considered that it was its duty to suppress any attempt by the subjects of these States to innovate upon the established order of things. It was in consequence of this principle that a central commission of inquiry against revolutionary machinations was established at Mayence from 1819 to 1828, but which, instead of allaying, tended to increase the general irritation.

This Assembly meets when an organic change is to be introduced. The Minor Council is composed of seventeen votes, of which eleven States have each a vote, and the remaining ones six con-jointly. Austria presides in both assemblies.

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Prussia desired to gain possession of Saxony.

[†] It was the present monarch who, in 1847, convoked a kind of national representation, delegated by these States, with the right of voting new taxes, but having no control over old ones. It is well known that a constitution was granted after the events of 1848.

[†] After the Congress of Vienna, Stein retired from public life to his estate in Nassau, where he remained and publishing old documents relating to the history of Germany.

The French Revolution of 1830 produced doctrines about the nature of government an immense ferment in the whole of Gersoon as the ultra-conservative policy of Louis Philippe became known, a reaction commenced; and, on the 28th June 1832, nity.* the Federal Diet issued a series of resolutions, meant to restrain popular influence in the several States of the Confederation, and to strengthen the central and monarchical These resolutions, however, authorities. seemed not to give sufficient security to the reactionary party, and the Diet proclaimed, on 5th July 1833, a new law establishing a censure on works printed in Germany, or inall political associations; whilst the surveillance of the Universities, established in 1819, was rendered more severe. The governments of the Federal States pledged themselves to watch over their respective subjects, and over foreigners residing in these States; to surrender all persons who might be guilty of political offences; and to give military assistance mutually in case of disturbance. Thus the German Confederation, instead of directing its efforts towards a gradual development of a constitutional régime, which should secure the rights of the German people, and establish a cordial union between them and their respective sovereigns-imparting to the Confederation strength against foreign aggressions-adopted a course which could not fail to produce mutual distrust between the governments and the subjects of the confederated States, and to open a wide field for the intrigues of foreign powers interested in keeping Germany weak and disunited. The only really useful measure that has been introduced into Germany since her liberation from French dominion, is the Zollverein, or commercial union of several States, and that was established, not by the Federal Diet, but by the persevering efforts of Prussia.

It was in this state of discord between peoples and governments in the various states of Germany that the events of 1848 arrived. They found the people and their sovereigns equally unprepared for that tremendous crisis, which appeared for a time to threaten with a general overthrow, not only existing political institutions, but even social The populations of the confederated States, having been excluded from a practical exercise of self-government, could not possess that salutary experience which is the best safeguard of a nation in such critical times; and their activity being spent chiefly in speculation, many wild and impracticable

and social organization were promulgated. many. Hanover, Saxony, and Hesse Cassel, The governments, confounded by the unexas well as some minor principalities, intro-duced representative constitutions. But as all that was demanded by their revolted subjects, and then withdrew their concessions as soon as they could do so with impu-

The chief object of the German patriots assembled in 1848 at Frankfort, in a national parliament-the members of which were no longer, like those of the Federal Diet, envoys of the confederated sovereigns, but representatives elected by the populations of their states,-was to establish the unity of Germany by converting it from a Confederation of States (Staatenbund,) into a Controduced there from abroad, and prohibiting federated State (Bundesstaat.) The impracticability of this project was pretty evident to every attentive observer, conversant with the previous history and local relations of Germany. The author of one of the works placed at the head of this article, was able to predict its failure in the early part of 1848, when the hopes of the German innovators were at their zenith. We quote his words as published at the time :-

> "Germany is now undergoing a momentous crisis. The resolution of the Diet of Frankfort to abolish the sovereignty of the thirty-eight independent states which have composed the Germanic Confederation, in order to establish a German empire, is a bold undertaking indeed. It is, however, much more easy to pass such a resolution than to put it into execution, because it is difficult to admit that all these states, particularly the larger ones, should voluntarily resign their independent existence and merge into one whole, which cannot be done without a great sacrifice of local and individual interests. The commercial interests of Northern Germany, which have prevented its joining the Zollverein, must be sacrificed to those of the manufacturing countries of the South; Vienna, Berlin, and other capitals, must sink into a kind of provincial towns, and a great number of individuals who fill now high and superior situations in the ministries, foreign embassies, &c., of the differ-ent states, will be thrown out of employ; nay, the monarchs themselves must become nothing better than hereditary governors of their respective states, and cannot reasonably hope to retain long even this subordinate position, as their office will be soon found unnecessary, and replaced by much less expensive magistrates."†

^{*} We must make an honourable exception in the we must make an honourable exception in the case of the late king of Hanover, who, at the time of the greatest pressure, withstood many unreasonable demands of his subjects, but religiously remembered all which he had promised to concede. This conduct of a prince, who, as Duke of Cumberland, was always viewed as an enemy of liberal principles, illustrates the blessing of being educated under a constitutional régime.

[†] Panslavism and Germanism, p. 331.

"local and individual interests," which renders the establishment of a German unity impossible, unless by dissolving all the independent states into which Germany is now divided. It is doubtful whether the acceptance of the imperial crown of Germany, which was offered to the King of Prussia by the German parliament but refused by that monarch, would have accomplished the object proposed, as the measure must have encountered strong opposition from Austria, and it is the interest neither of Russia nor of France that a new German union, of the kind proposed, should be created. The mutual jealousy of Austria and Prussia brought them, in 1850, to the verge of a war, which would have been suicidal, not only for these two powers, but for the whole of Germany. Fortunately for them, all this jealousy seems now to have given place to a cordial understanding; and a treaty of commerce which they have recently concluded, gives a new and strong guarantee for the permanence of their friendship.

Germany may be considered as being now in nearly the same political condition in which it was before the events of 1848. The disappointment occasioned by the almost negative results of that crisis, seems to have produced a general lassitude, which, for some time to come, may preserve an internal tranquillity, notwithstanding the universal discontent which prevails through the German populations. But we are at present concerned with the internal condition of Germany, only in so far as it bears upon the foreign relations. Here our connexion

is of the most vital nature.

We have already indicated that the want of a proper union among the members of the German states, rendered Germany not only an easy prey to the arms of republican and imperial France, but enabled that power to convert one part of the Empire into a most efficient tool for enslaving the other part; the forces of the Rhenish Confederation greatly contributed to the defeat of Prussia in 1806 and 1807, and of Austria in 1809. Germany being delivered from the French dominion by the war of 1813-1814, all the efforts of her statesmen, as well as those of foreign cabinets interested in her safety, were directed to render her fronticr secure from a French invasion. But no precautions whatever were taken against the much greater possible danger which threatens Germany on the side of Russia,-though, as we have said, this subject did not escape the political foresight of Metternich, who, in order to guard against the progress of Russian influence, sought not so much the imperial title.

It is the existence of those innumerable to crush as to restrain the power of Napo-

The political relations between Germany and Russia, date from the early part of the sixteenth century. In 1514, the Emperor Maximilian first sent an ambassador to Moscow, in order to conclude an alliance with the Czar, which he thought might be useful to him against Poland and Turkey." This embassy did not, however, produce any important consequences. In 1586, the Czar of Moscow, Fedor Ivanovich, presented himself as a candidate for the vacant throne of Poland, proposing to unite his vast dominions with those of that country. He had many partizans, but his election was prevented by accidental causes, and Europe was thus saved at that time from the danger to which it would have been exposed, by the establishment of an empire extending from Silesia and the Baltic, to the Black and Caspian Seas, and the frontiers of China. The Court of Moscow, baffled in this attempt, made great efforts to support the election of the Arch-Duke Maximilian, against Sigismund Vasa, Prince-Royal of Sweden, and to induce the Emperor Rudolf to maintain the claims of his brother by force of arms. A regular and important political connexion between Russia and Germany was not, however, established until the time of Peter the Great, who sought to obtain possession of some small German principality, in order to have a vote in the diet of the empire, and thus to establish his political influence in Germany. He married his son Alexius (whom he afterwards executed) to a princess of Brunswick. and his daughter Anna to the Duke of Hol. stein; and thus laid the foundation of those family connexions with the princes of Germany, by which Russia now maintains a considerable influence in the affairs of that coun-Peter's successor, Catherine I., that extraordinary woman who, from a menial situation, rose to the throne, was on the point of attacking Denmark, on account of Sleswick, then claimed by her son-in-law the Duke of Holstein; and this circumstance-nearly involved England in a war with Russia. The Empress Anna, in 1730-40, sent to Germany an army of 30,000, to assist the Emperor Charles VI. against the French. She married her niece, a princess of Meeklenburg, to a prince of Brunswick, and de-clared their infant son the successor to her throne. It is well known that a palace-revolution placed Elizabeth, daughter of Peter the Great, upon the throne, and transferred

Maximilian on that occasion addressed the Czar by the title of Emperor, and Peter the Great made use of this document as a vindication for assuming the imperial title.

the Prince of Brunswick from the throne to ! a prison, in which, after having lingered for more than twenty years, he perished by a violent death.* Elizabeth sent, in 1748, a considerable force to the assistance of Maria Theresa against the French; but the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle prevented her from taking any active part in that war. The same empress, irritated by purely personal motives against Frederick II. of Prussia. joined his enemies during the seven years' war, when the whole province of Prussia proper was occupied by Russia, and its possession guaranteed to her by Austria and France. Elizabeth was succeeded on the throne by her nephew, the Duke of Holstein, Peter III., who, entertaining an almost insane admiration for Frederick II., restored to Prussia the conquered provinces. It was therefore only an accident which prevented Russia, about a century ago, from acquiring the important province, extending along the Baltic from Courland to the Vistula, which was yielded to her by the short-sighted policy of France and Austria. We have already mentioned that Frederick William, guided by his minister Baron Herzberg, concluded an alliance with Poland, but that, instead of fulfilling the conditions of the treaty, he joined with Russia in the second spoliation of that country, whose final dismemberment, in 1795, brought the dominions of Russia into immediate connexion with those of Austria and Prussia. have also referred to the alarm among the German statesmen, which was occasioned by the claims of the Emperor Alexander to the duchy of Warsaw; and shown how, notwithstanding the opposition of the Western powers, this acquisition was substantially effected .- Such have been the steps by which Russia has systematically encroached upon the territories, and sought to weaken the in-

fluence of the states of Germany.

The military position of Russia towards
Prussia and Austria is thus described in the

work from which we made our last quotation:—

"The present position of Russia in Poland is no less menacing to Austria and Prussia than it is to Turkey. The Russian frontier is now only sixty German miles distant from Vienna, and about fifty from Berlin.

"In case of a war, one battle lost by the Austrians may lead a Russian army to Vienna or to Prague, and deliver to it Galicia, accessible to the Russian forces from Podolia, Vollynia, and the kingdom of Poland, and which can then only be defended from Hungary, with which it has no other communication except by the military roads constructed across the Carpathian Mountains, but which may be easily destroyed or blocked up by the invaders.

^a Prussia is exposed in the case of a war with Russia, even to greater disadvantages than Austria, because a Russian army may easily get possession of Breslau, (only twelve German miles from the frontiers), where she would gain a strong military position on the Oder, and find immense resources in the rich province of Silesia.

"A still more vulnerable point is presented to a Russian invasion on the Vistula, because a Russian force entering at Thorn may easily occupy the banks of that river from the last named town to its mouth, and entirely separate from the rest of the Prussian dominions the province of Prussia proper, which, being surrounded by Russian pussessions and the sea may be attacked on all sides by land and naval forces.

"It is true that Prussia has made considerable preparations to meet such an eventuality that she has the fortresses of Thorn, Graudeng, and Dantzie, on the Vistula; and she has recently erected the fortress of Lyck, in Prussia proper, near the Russian frontier, and even fortified Königsberg.

- But experience has proved, that during the war of 1807, the fortresses of Prussia were no defence to that country, and that they fell one after another before the French conqueror. Supposing, however, that the Russian forces shall not be able to capture any of the Prussian fortresses, or maintain their ground on the Lower Vistula, or on the Oder, the mischief which they may inflict upon the rich low-lands of Dantzic, or in Silesia, can never be retaliated upon the comparatively poor Russian provinces which border the dominions of Prussia. Frederick II. was fully aware of these circumstances, having experienced their truth during the seven years' war; and the history of his times bears evidence to his constant efforts to keep on friendly terms with Russia.

"The same observation may be applied to Austria, because the devastation of such beautiful and rich countries as Moravia and Bohemia, to which they might be exposed, even in the case of a momentary success of a Russian invasion, can never be retaliated in the same degree, should an Austrian army penetrate even as far as the banks of the Dnieper.

"Now let us admit an eventuality exactly the reverse of that which we have discussed, and suppose that Russia, instead of invading the Prussian or Austrian territories, should be

^{*} The infant prince, who had been proclaimed as Czar-Ivan III., was confined in the fortress of Schlusselburg, and kept in almost solitary confinement till 1764, when a Russian officer, named Mirovich, having gained over a number of soliders of the garrison, made an attempt for his liberation, and to proclaim him sovereign of Russia. He had already penetrated to the prinoner's dwelling, when the officer on duty, acting in accordance with his instructions, in case of such an event, mindered the unfortunate youth. His parents and their remaining offering the action of the control of the

Russians would undoubtedly fall back upon the Vistula, and occupy a strong position between that river, the Wieprz, and the Bug, both falling into the Vistula. This position, defended in front by the fortresses of Modlin, Warsaw, Demblin (or lyangorod,) and Zamose, and in its rear by that of Rossi 2. military authorities to be most advantageous, and where a numerous Russian army may not only keep in check the forces of Austria and Prussia, but constantly menace their own dominions with an invasion, and prevent them by the same from penetrating further into the Russian provinces; whilst her army would draw without impediment from the interior of the country the necessary supplies and reinforce-ments. Should the Russian army not be able to maintain itself in the position we have described, it may then retire to the Beresina and the Dnieper, along the military chausse con-structed from Brest to Bobruisk, having its left flank covered by the impassable marshes of Polesia, and destroying behind it all means of subsistence and transport, so that its pursuit by the enemy would be rendered almost impossible.

"Supposing, however, that the invading army was to overcome all the difficulties of a march through a country generally barren, thinly populated, and moreover devastated by the passage of the Russian forces, the Russians may occupy a strong position between the rivers Beresina and Duieper, with the important fortress of Bobruisk on the first named river, the passage of which may be disputed by them with great advantage. They will be able in that position to receive with the greatest facility all kind of supplies from the exceedingly fertile provinces of Little Russin, and which may be very easily conveyed to Bobruisk, and even to Boriso, by the Dnieper and the Beresina, in

vessels towed by steamers. "The invading army will be, on the contrary, in the greatest want of every kind of supplies, having neither magazines nor the necessary means of conveyance, and cannot reach the banks of the Beresina without undergoing great privations, and being constantly harassed by swarms of Cossacks and Asiatic tribes which Russia may employ on that occasion with great advantage. Its forces will be consequently reduced, its chances of success diminished in the same proportion, and its retreat attended by the most disastrous consequences. It is therefore not probable that such an attempt would ever be made by a German army. It may be how-ever said that Russia may be assailed in a more effective manner from Galicia and the Bug, and that an invading army may, in case of a victory over the Russians, easily penetrate in that way as far as the banks of the Dnieper. In this case Russia will be able to make a stand upon that river, having the fortress of Kioff and its right flank completely protected by the marshes of Polesia, which extend from the mouth of Pripet falling into the Dnieper to the vicinity of Brest, the position of which may be rendered by the surrounding waters as impregnable as that of Mantua. She may also attack mean-while from the Vistula and the Niemen the

land. We must add, that the advantages of that position to Russia, and its dangers to Germany, will be greatly increased by the completion of the railway connecting Warsaw with Moscow and St. Petersburgh. The construction of this railway has been commenced, and is prosecuted with great vigour, whilst at the same time carriages, peculiarly adapted for the transport of troops, are now in progress. It has been calculated by competent authorities that an army of 50,000 men may be carried, by this means, in one week over a distance which usually requires now three months of march.

The gradual progress of Russia in Turkey has secured to her advantages, especially against Austria and Southern Germany, to be added to those which she has obtained by her acquisitions in Poland. The treaty of Bucharest, in 1812, extended her frontier to the left banks of the Danube, and placed the most important of its mouths-that of Sulina-at her command. But the Danube is the most important commercial channel of Austria, passing through her dominions from west to east, and connecting her by the Black Sea with the Levant. It is no less important to all Germany than to the Austrian dominions, because it not only receives many navigable rivers, but, being now connected by the Maine Canal with the Rhine, and by railways with the first emporiums of Europe, it forms the most important commercial road between the west and the east. This road may at any time be stopped by Russia, who commands its entrance into the Black Sea, and who will acquire an entire command over a large part of its course, if she is allowed to take pos-session of the Danubian principalities. This is therefore a vital question for Austria; and Metternich, deeply conscious of this, was preparing, in the winter of 1828-1829, for a war with Russia, in order to prevent her second campaign against Turkey. His projects were however thwarted by the indifference with which they were received by the English Ministry, who were then embarrassed, partly by the Catholic question. and still more by the decided opposition of. Charles X. of France, who declared that if Austria was to make war on Russia, he would immediately invade her frontiers,

^{*} Panslavism and Germanism, pp. 21-28.

Besides her geographical or strategical more than eighty millions of souls, extendadvantages for the reduction of Germany, ing from the Adriatic to the Pacific Ocean, Russia has, particularly on the side of and from the Mediterranean to the Baltic Austria, others which we may perhaps call Sea. And is it here necessary to observe, thinical. The majority of the Austrian that Russia is the only existing power population belongs to the Slavonic race, cog-through which this gigantic, but not imposnate with the inhabitants of Russia, and speaking dialects of the same mother of establishing a federation of Slavonic Retongue, those of the southern Slavonic publics, entertained by some imaginative lated to the Russian language.* She has, not deserving serious consideration. moreover, more than three millions of subjects belonging to the very Church of which the Emperor of Russia has now proclaimed the Greek communion at large, which conpresent Eastern crisis.

The national sympathies among the various branches of the Slavonic race have been successfully stimulated for more than twenty years by the efforts of several Slavonic writers, who have promoted what is called literary Panslavism. The first idea of this kind was started by the late Kollar, a Slavonic Protestant clergyman at Pesth that this, originally a purely intellectual movement, should not assume a political ferent branches of the same race, particularly those who have no political existence, striving to rise out of literary insignificance by uniting their separate efforts, should also desire to acquire a political importance by uniting the whole Slavonic race into one powerful Empire or confederation, which should secure to the Slavonians a decided preponderance in the affairs of the world. An empire so composed would comprehend

sible scheme might be realized? The idea population of Austria being very nearly re- persons, is in present circumstances a Utopia

The idea of a political Panslavism, propagated not only by Russian agents but also by many sincere and disinterested Slavonic himself the champion, in that appeal to the patriots, naturally created serious apprehenreligious feelings of his subjects, and also of sions and much angry feelings among the Germans. Instead of endeavouring to prostitutes the most important element in the mote an independent national development among those Slavonians who are not yet under the dominion of Russia,-which would be the best means of arresting her ambitious schemes in that quarter, they began violently to assail Panslavism, maintaining that the Slavonians had no right to a national existence, and that the Germans could never allow to their nationality a political equality with that of the Teutonic race, thus in Hungary, and a poet of considerable playing the game of Russia in the most merit in the Bohemian language. He pro- effective manner. Such sentiments were posed that all the better educated Slavonians, almost universally expressed by the German particularly those who are engaged in press on many occasions; for instance, when literary occupations, should study the va- the illegal annexation of the Republic of rious dialects of their common mother Cracow by Austria met with strong reprotongue, and also the literature of each. This bation on the part of the English public idea met with general favour, and rapidly and government, many German writers exgained ground, so that at this moment ulted in this act of violence, considering it almost every Slavonic scholar of any stand- as a new triumph of their nation in its proing is conversant with the inter-dialects of gress towards the East. The German his native language, and their best produc. Parliament, assembled at Frankfort in 1848, It was, however, almost impossible manifested very unfriendly feelings towards the Poles of Posen, who maintained in their own country the rights of their nationality tendency. It was very natural that the dif- againts the encroachments of Germanism, and the same assembly declared its intention to force the Slavonians of Bohemia, at the edge of the sword, to submit to their authority.*

> These hostile manifestations against the Slavonians produced a corresponding feeling among those towards whom they were directed, who succeeded in forming a powerful party in the Austrian Parliament, assembled in 1848 at Vienna, and transferred afterwards to Kremseir. The object of this party was to render Austria essentially a Slavonic state, by giving to her a predominant Slavonic character, instead of the German one which she is now maintaining,

[.] According to the Austrian official returns, her Slavonic population amounts to rather more than 15, 000,000, while her German population is scarcely 8,000,000. Moreover, only about half of this latter number forms a compact population within the prov-ince of Austria-Proper and the Tyrol. The remain-der are scattered among the non-German populations. According to the Slavonic ethnography of Schaff-vzyk, the Slavonic population of Austria, in 1842, numbered 16,791,000.

^{*} The same Parliament, professing liberal princi-ples, sent a message to Radetzki congratulating him on his victory over the Italians!

This line of policy was meditated by the Paskevich, recommending the vanquished of the comparatively inferior state of mental cultivation which then prevailed among his They have however Slavonic subjects. since that time immensely advanced in this respect, and so also have their claims to political significance. The strength of the Slavonie party in Austria was greatly increased by the separation of the Croats from the Magyars, who had attempted to impose upon them the use of their own language for official purposes, instead of the Latin, the employment of which in all public transactions had kept together for many centuries the heterogeneous populations of Hungary, and the abolition of which, in order to be replaced by the Magyar tongue, may be considered as a principal cause of the ruin of that country. The German democracy of Vienna, supported by the Parliament of Frankfort, allied itself with the Magyars; it was therefore natural that the Croats took the part of the Court, and that they were supported in this view by the leading men of the other Slavonic populations of Austria. The object of the Croats in attacking Vienna under Jellachich, was not to prove their loyalty to the Austrian dynasty, but to secure the rights of their nationality, and to establish the supremacy of the Slavonic race They were, however, in the Austrian state. sorely disappointed in their expectations. As soon as the Hungarians were crushed, the Austrian Government resumed its ancient Germanizing policy. This political course, which met with much approbation in Germany, produced a violent irritation among the Austrian Slavonians, and particularly the Croats, who, in order to shew their disapprobation of this tendency, proposed the introduction of the Russian language in all the public transactions of their country. This strong manifestation of Russian Panslavism, in a population whose loyalty had preserved the Austrian Empire probably from a total dissolution in 1848, produced considerable alarm among the Austrian statesmen, and a painful impression upon all the thinking men of Germany; it did not however lead to any change in the Germanizing policy of the Cabinet of Vienna.

The Russian sympathies in Austria are The Russian sympathies in Austria are tained in the work entitled, The Frontier Lands of not limited to the manifestation of the events which we have just mentioned; they have been widely diffused in the Austrian dominions by the Hungarian campaign of Eastern politics, for its interesting descriptions and 1849, during which the conduct of Russia was as conciliatory as that of Austria was violent and unprincipled. The letter of

Emperor Joseph II. at the beginning of his to the elemency of the Emperor of Austria, reign, but abandoned probably on account and his refusal to comply with this demand, have not failed to produce the effect which was thus sought to be obtained. These circumstances have greatly increased the dangers of Austria, who has now to deal not only with the discontent of the Italians and Magyars, but also with that of the Slavonians. Her only chance of getting over this complication of difficulties was the conservative policy, which had hitherto been pursued by the Emperor of Russia, and which had inspired the cabinet of Vienna as well as the rest of Europe, with an apparently wellgrounded security. But the present unprovoked attack on Turkey has now revealed a premeditated intention to carry out the vast schemes of ambition which the Russian Emperor has inherited with his crown.

It would be illustrating a truism if we were to expatiate here upon the causes which must hinder England and France from permitting Russia to take possession of Constantinople, or even to make new acquisitions from the Turkish territory; These have, moreover, been referred to in our last Number.* But if the extension of Russia at the expense of Turkey is prejudicial in more than one respect to the political and commercial interests of England as well as those of France, it is a question of the most vital importance to Austria-one in fact which is to be or not to be to that power. This is manifest when we consider the circumstances which have been already described. It is therefore natural that Austria should make the greatest effort to preserve peace; because, in case of war, she has no alternative but either to take part with the Western powers against Russsia, or to join with the latter in order to obtain a share in the spoil consequent upon the dissolution of the Turkish empire. She at least cannot on any account remain neutral in the conflict which now seems impending in the East.

A single glance at the map of those countries may convince our readers of the truth of our assertion. By the occupation of Moldavia and Wallachia, Russia outflanks the Austrian possessions to the bank

^{*} See Article on Our International Relations. t We strongly recommend to our readers the very interesting description of these Principalities contained in the work entitled, The Frontier Lands of

of the Danube, and if she is allowed to oct to which we have already referred in this cupy the Turkish territory between that article. We have shewn that this position river and the Balkan, she will at once extend is equally menacing to Prussia and to all to Montenegro, and completely enclose the Germany, as it is to Austria, consequently Austrian dominions from Silesia to the Prussia is as much interested as Austria in frontier line between Austria and Turkey in effecting it on a solid and permanent from Cattaro to Transylvania is, on both foundation. The vacillating character of the sides, inhabited by the same Slavonic race, present King of Prussia, and his near relaspeaking the same language, and animated tiouship with the Emperor Nicholas, will at least in many cases by the same national probably induce him to preserve a neutral sympathies and antipathies. Should there position; but if the alternative were pre-fore Russia permanently acquire this portion sented to Prussia, either to have her Rhenish of the Turkish territory, she will gain, by provinces invaded, and her ports blockaded, her geographical position, as well as by her or to take advantage of the present opporreligious and ethnical influence on the tunity to remove the danger with which she Slavonic and Wallachian population of is constantly threatened on the side of Austria, such a preponderance over that Russia, she would not, we believe, hesitate state, that it must virtually become a vassal long in adopting the latter course. of the Czar. Should it, however, be the policy of Russia, as is more probable, to blessing; but we cannot help thinking that begin by establishing an independent state it is fortunate for Europe and the progress or states in Servia and Bulgaria, the influ- of her civilisation, that the Czar has chosen ence of these states upon those Austrian for his unprovoked aggressions on our Slavonians, who, as we have said, inhabit Turkish ally the present moment, when the Turkish border, will be so great that England and France are cordially united, sooner or later they must separate from her and when their forces are not engaged elseand unite with their brethren who enjoy an where. It is evident that Nicholas, after independent political existence. On the having so emphatically declared his intention other hand, if Austria, uniting with Russia, to go forward in defence of the orthodox faith, shall seek to extend her territory at the in an appeal, without precedent in the history expense of Turkey, which was the intention of Russia, which was addressed as much to of the Emperor Joseph II., and which is the Greek Christians of Turkey as to the now recommended by some German politi- religious enthusiasm of his own subjects, cians, she will add greatly to her internal cannot now withdraw his pretensions, withand external embarrassments, by thus increasing the number of her subjects belonging to the Slavonic race and the Eastern Church. This will not only open within that if we shall be obliged to draw the her dominions a wider field for Russian sword in just quarrel, it may not be returned influence, but it will considerably strengthen to the scabbard until a solid peace, such as that party which seeks to give the Austrian will effectually remove every cause of state a Slavonic instead of its present uneasiness on the part of Germany as against German character, and which cannot but Russia, shall be established. We particuimmensely augment the difficulties of the larly rejoice in the cordial union between cabinet of Vienna. We think it probable, England and France, and in the straightforhowever, that if the war which now unfortul ward and honourable manner in which the nately appears to be imminent, shall take French Emperor has acted on the present place, Austria will not hesitate between a Russian and an Anglo-French alliance, but must join the latter. If she acts otherwise, she must at once lose Lombardy and have the friendship of England; and we hail this her commerce annihilated; whilst in declaring against Russia, she may, with the assistance of her Western allies, effect a harbinger of her gradual return to a liberal territorial arrangement, which shall meet government at home, that formidable position which Russia now occupies in Poland towards Germany, and

There are about 2,600,000 Wallachians under the Austrian dominion, and about 2,000.000 in the Danubian principalities. They all belong to the Eastern Church.

Let us add, that the whole obtaining a change of this state of things, and

War is a great curse, and peace a great out diminishing that influence over the former which Russia, for so many years past, has been labouring to consolidate. We trust occasion. Instead of supporting Russia like Charles X. in 1829, or hankering after her alliance like Louis-Philippe, he has preferred not only as evidence of a sound foreign policy on the part of France, but also as the ART. IX .- 1. The Administration of the speak presently of the result of this great Afghanistan." 1853.

2. Memorials of Indian Government; being a Selection from the Papers of Henry St. George Tucker, late Director of the East India Company. Edited by J. W. KAYE.

3. India as it may be. By GEORGE CAMP-BELL, Bengal Civil Service, Author of " Modern India." 1853.

4. India as it ought to be. By Major W. Hough, Author of "Political and Military Events in India." 1853.

The India Question of 1853. By H. THORY PRINSEP, late of the Bengal Civil Service. 1853.

6. Letter to John Bright Esq., M. P. J. C. MARSHMAN. 1853.

7. The Mission, the Camp, and the Zenana.

By Mrs. Colin Mackenzie. 2 vols. 1853. 8. India Reform Tracts. I. to IX. 9. India under a Bureaucracy. By John

Dickinson, Jun. 1853.

10. An Address to Parliament on the Duties of Great Britain to India in respect of the Education of the Natives, and their Official Employment. By CHARLES HAY CAMERON,

&c. &c. 1853. 11. Minutes of Evidence before the Houses of Lords and Commons. 1853.

12. Hansard's Debates. June and July. 1853.

Or the individual merits, or rather of the peculiar characteristics, of all these several works, we shall probably speak incidentally in the course of the present article. But we have no intention of minutely examining The exuberance of the their contents. growth of books and pamphlets, only imperfeetly represented by the above catalogue, is sufficient indication of the pressing importance of the subject. Only six months have passed away since we last addressed ourselves to an inquiry into the character of "The Government of the East India Company." Since that month of February more has been written, and more has been said upon the subject, by writers and speakers in this country, than during the entire preceding period of our literary and political existence.

On the 3d of June 1853, the President of the Board of Control, Sir Charles Wood, brought forward, in a five hours' oration, the ministerial scheme for the future government of India. From that time up to the present

East India Company; a History of Indian judicial inquiry -of the verdict and of the Progress. By John William KAYE. sentence. But it becomes us first to speak Author of " The History of the War in of the real nature of the question that has been before the public, and of the temper in which it ought to have been, if it has not been, considered.

Throughout the last two centuries and ahalf, that great public body, known as the East India Company, has been the link which has connected the British nation with the country and the people of Hindostan. But the administrative character of this great body has been tardily developed. The government of the East India Company is scarcely yet a century old. It has slowly taken shape, and risen into consistency out of a series of temporary shifts and transitory expedients; and it is still little more than a congeries of fragments of different systems-a mass, as it were of compromises, without any presiding harmony and uniformity to render it readily intelligible to the student who would acquaint himself with the constitutional peculiarities of the Anglo-Indian Government, without tracing its rise and progress. It is only by studying the historical autecedents of the administration of the East India Company as now established, that we can rightly estimate its present character. Doubtless, if with our present experience we had to frame de novo a great administrative system-if we had to re-constitute and re-organize all the departments of the State, to fabricate an entirely new set of agencies and authorities-legislative, executive, fiscal, and judicial-and to prepare for them new codes whereby to regulate their administrative functions—the result of the wisdom and experience of the present day would differ greatly from the system or no-system which has been the heterogeneous growth of a series of experimental reforms. An edifice constructed piecemeal from time to time, upon no fixed principle, is always more or less unsymmetrical. All - Government, therefore to some extent, is a bundle of inconsistencies-of relies of barbarism tied up with new sprouts of civilisation. It always bears the mark of progress upon it-of exploded errors and successive experiments, continued strivings after unattainable perfection. Even in the most enlightened European countries, where a continued succession of the same race of men have legislated for their own countrymen, this constitutional patchwork is strikingly apparent. But in India, where there has been a diversity of ruling powers-where the Mussulman has usurped the throne of the Hindoo, where the hour of publication, the East India Company | Mahratta has expelled the Mussulman, and have been formally on their trial. We shall the Frank has subjected both Mussulman

and Mahratta, the anomalies and inconsisten- their existence. We are continually legiscies of which we speak are necessarily lating against them; but they grow apace, greater and more palpable. Experiment has in spite of our legislation. Taxation, too, followed experiment—one system has been is a grievous burden in India. Its pressure engrafted upon another-until out of a suc- is severely felt. The labouring man, in his cession of changes, each one wise and bene- mud hut, with his handful of rice for his daificial in itself, there has arisen what must in ly meal, and his rag about his middle, is truth be regarded as the most singular piece compelled to contribute his quotum to the of patchwork in the world.

reconcile so many conflicting creeds and an-tagonistic institutions, and to establish a evils may have been aggravated, but they government capable of working at all, are not peculiar to the system of adminis-The question now is, whether it has workhas been committed into our hands.

in this peculiar case, rather than as failures gress—when, in the grand paradoxical words common, in a greater or less degree, to all of the poet, all life dies and death lives, human institutions. Doubtless, under the in stagnant marshes of corruption, and government of the East India Company, amidst noxious jungles of misrule, that poverty, ignorance, and crime have thriven; but where do they not thrive? In Great Journal, has shewn that the pressure of taxation, growth of them. We admit and deplore is higher in India than in England.

necessities of the State. But is the English But, at all events, under this patchwork labourer untaxed? Has he not also to consystem of administration our Indian empire tribute a portion of his wages, earned painhas grown into what it now is-the most fully by much brow-sweat and weariness of magnificent foreign dependency that the world frame, that palaces may be built and armies has ever yet seen, and it has not so expand- may be maintained, and, if need be, battles ed and consolidated itself in spite, but in about which he knows nothing and cares consequence of this patchwork. If we nothing, may be fought?* In India, the had been in too great a hurry to make Eu- state of the laws is disfigured by all sorts ropean institutions of the best Westminster of anomalies and contrarieties, and in the Hall stock strike root in the soil of Madras administration of justice many errors are and Bengal, we should have seen, instead of committed, and little consistency preserved. a triumphant success, only a destructive fail-But this again is not peculiar to our Eastern We have heard English legislators dependencies, though the difficulty of seask, with reference to the present system of curing an unbroken succession of unimpeach-Indian government. " Do you think if we able judicial decisions is, in such a country, had to begin over again we should ever necessarily much aggravated. Morcover, it make such a thing as that ?' In all probamust be admitted that in India the public bility we should not; but the "thing" has money is not expended in the manner which been shaped in accordance with local and in- would most contribute to the happiness of cidental requirements, and it is only by this the people. But where is it so expendedgradual progression, this successive genera- where is there not extravagance in one dition of new parts, which, it must be acknowly rection, niggardliness in another? Where ledged, makes in the end a very unsymmet- is the public money not grudged when only rical whole, that we have been enabled to the people are to be benefited? By the aced so well during the Past as to give are directed—they are not necessarily inus any confidence in its working for the herent in it-they are not fairly referrible to Future or whether it would be more expe- it. Evils of this kind may, and we know dient to "begin over again," and to establish, do, co-exist with forms of government more after an entirely different model, a new systheoretically appreciable—they may, and tem of government, more in accordance we know do, disfigure administrations shaped with our modern ideas of political institu- after the fairest constitutional models. It is tions, but perhaps less adapted to the re- altogether an error and an injustice, therequirements of the particular country and the fore, to argue that because these evils exist, particular people the sovereignty over which the system which permits them should be cleared away, root and branch. It is one Now, it appears to us that some error has thing to permit, another to encourage. Rebeen encouraged and some injustice has been formation, too, is one thing, revolution is committed by those who have commented another. It is only when the case is very upon the shortcomings of the government of desperate indeed—when improvement unthe East India Company as defects peculiar der the old system seems hopeless—when to the system of administration maintained there are no signs of ameliorative pro-

possible, then, but not until then, are we to a government of progress.

bethink ourselves of Revolution,

It seems to us, therefore, that they who its constitution and certain shortcomings apparent in the aggregate result, err grievousprovement.

Indian administration. The balance of evi- pany, pp. 134, 135. dence, indeed, is greatly on the other side. It is no sufficient answer to this that much

the cry of "Delenda est" is to be raised. It is not maintained by experienced writers Only desperate diseases require the application of desperate remedies. When, under Marshman, Mr. Kaye, or Mr. Campbell an existing system, good government is im- that the government of India has not been Neither has any such assertion been made by public speakers who have had actual experience of clamour for the entire abolition of the pre- the condition of India as it was a quarter of sent system of Indian Government, because a century ago, and as it is at the present there are admitted to be certain defects in time. Writers and speakers of this class express one common opinion to the effect, that under each successive charter, India has ly in their conclusions. Nor are those who, assuming the converse of the proposition, and beneficence. "For this much," says argue that if the present system has worked Mr. Kaye, "at least is certain, that when well, it ought not be altered, otherwise than the Company began to think less of trade, "peccante in this kinde" themselves. A they began to think more of government. system may work well and yet be improve Under the Charter Act of 1813, which deable. It may work well-and yet work prived them of the monopoly of the Indian better. It has been often said of the speech trade, their administrative efficiency considewherewith Sir Charles Wood introduced rably increased. But it was under the Act the New India Bill, that if his premises were of 1833, which left them without the comcorrect his conclusions were unsound—in-deed, that the practical course of the Aber-deen Ministry has been inconsistent with the hypothesis of good government under the name of a Merchant company, that the Company's rule. But to us this appears greater progeess has been made towards entirely fallacious. The Indian minister degood government, than throughout all the clared in effect, that the system had worked long years—the long centuries—when trade sufficiently well to warrant its retention. was uppermost in their thoughts. I believe But he did not declare that it was so theo- that the Directors of the East India Comretically or so practically perfect that no pany, since they ceased to be managers of modifications could be advantageously in- a leviathan mercantile firm, have taken troduced. His argument went to no greater more serious and enlarged views of their length than this-the system has worked so duties and responsibilities as guardians of a well that we are not called upon to super-country inhabited by a hundred millions of cede it by another. But the probability is fellow men. I believe that there has been that it would work better still, if it were to more wisdom in their councils-more nobe modified and amended. This, indeed, is bility in their aims-more beneficence in the principle of almost all modern legisla- their measures. They have now become a tion. Our representative system, on the purely administrative body; and it is imwhole, works well, and yet it is continually possible for any one, tracing, step by step, being amended. Sir Robert Peel's new as I have done, the growth of that close tariff worked well, and yet it is not main- connexion which now exists between them tained that because it worked well, his fol- and the people of India, not to mark a prolowers are guilty of any inconsistency in supporting the amended tariff of Mr. Gladstone, views, and a progressive improvement in Sir Charles Wood says, that what is called the character of their measures. There the "double government," has worked well; have been more good things done for India but neither he nor any of his supporters there has been more earnest, serious, enmaintain that it cannot be amended. Whe- lightened legislation for the benefit of the ther it has now been amended, is an open people, under the Act of 1833, than durquestion, which we shall come presently to ing the previous two centuries and a quarconsider; but it is certain that a system ter of British connexion with the East. may work well and yet be capable of im- And yet never has a benevolent government, recognising the great truth, that peace is the That the system has worked well is de- mother of improvement, ever been connied, in some quarters-but not by men fronted, in its career of internal ameliorapractically acquainted with the subject or tion, by so many impediments to success." capable of appreciating the difficulties of -Administration of the East India Com-

has been left undone, that some mistakes | Control. It is notorious, indeed, that the pohave been committed, and that some ne- licy of the East India Company is essentially gleet is apparent in matters of the first im- pacific-that there is nothing more distasteful portance to the happiness of the people. to them than the waste of their financial re-The most strenuous upholders of the pre-sources upon foreign wars. And yet argusent system of Indian Government do not ing that India is misgoverned because the contend that either theoretically or practi- country is kept in a chronic state of warcally it is a perfect government. All they fare, and admitting that these wars are made maintain is, that it has made reasonable by that moiety of the "double government" progress, that it is continually advancing in known as the Board of Control, Mr. Bright the right direction, and that there is much and his associates clamour for the abolition hope for the future to be gathered from a of the other moiety, and the retention of retrospect of the past. Fairly to judge the that which, by their own shewing, is the administrative efficiency of the Anglo-Indian very "fons et origo" of all the evil they Government, we should look at India, as it denounce. was in 1833 and as it now is in 1853. We fail us in such a trial. From the elaborate or misquoted the authoritities they have in hasty outline before the discussions, which Control, especially in the Secret Commitin hasty outline before the discussions, which control, especially in the Secret Comminum to the control of all these several proofs of physical and double government that the power is not over sounding, no invective, however biting, can do away with these mountains of fact, that one absorbs more than its can do away with these mountains of fact, the declaration is only so much bellowing qual distribution. On the contrary, the to drown the roar of the waves; the biting is no more efficacious than the biting of a principle of the recognition on the soundness of the recognition of these defects is a proof of a principle, for it is because the principle is

" India Reform," who have relieved with their fanciful oratory these midsummer debates, that little or nothing has been done for the benefit of the people, because all the time of our Indian rulers, and all the money in their treasury have been devoted to the prosecution of unprofitable wars. It is admitted that these wars have been made, for the most part, not by the court of Directors, but he they have been the court of Directors. Control: that in the solution of the most view of the court of Directors. but by the Board of Control, or by states tal questions-questions of peace and war-afmen sent out to India in direct communica- feeting the finances of the country, and theretion with, and supported by, the Board of fore the means of internal improvement, the

Nothing, it appears to us, can be more do not know one of the ordinary tests by illogical than this. Indeed, it would seem, which the progress of a nation is estimated, from the printed speeches, that Mr. Bright tests either moral or material, which would and his followers have either misunderstood work of Mr. Kaye, from the brief but preg-nant pamphlet of Mr. Marshman, from the against the "double government." It has comprehensive speeches of Sir Charles been contended, for instance, by some wri-Wood and Sir James Hogg, may the ters-and in our opinion with undeniable reader gather in detail-what we sketched justice-that the powers of the Board of principle, for it is because the principle is But assuming that the government of only imperfectly fulfilled in practice-be-India—the "double government," has hi-therto borne only the bitter fruits of tyran-ny and oppression, we are still incapable of ment is not adequately maintained—that understanding the arguments which have these defects have arisen. Mr. Kaye and been advanced, and the course which has Mr. Tucker, who have been quoted by Mr. been pursued by the opponents of that sys- Bright and others as authorities against the tem of "double government" which is said system of double government, only mainto have fulfilled its mission by accomplish tained that the absolutism of the Board of ing the ruin of the people. It is argued by Control in the Secret Committee is mischiev-Mr. Bright, and that small body of able ous in its results. The passage from the and enthusiastic gentlemen, known as the former writer quoted by Mr. Bright, on or "Young India" party, the introduction of the New India Bill, was this :-

> "It should ever be uppermost in the minds of those who, considering the constitution of the Indian Government, and its effects upon the happiness of the people, would judge rightly of the responsibility of its different agencies and

Court of Directors have no more power than ostensible responsibility without actual powthe mayor and aldermen of any corporation town. The happiness of the people of India is dependent less upon the will of a deliberative body of four-and-twenty English gentlemen, a large majority of whom have studied India under an Indian sky-who are experienced in the languages and the usages of the people, and to whom the system of administration in all its details is as familiar as household words-who have, as a body, no connexion with party, no dependence on the fate of ministries, whose official lives do not hang upon an adverse vote, and who can, therefore, pursue from year's end to year's end a consistent course of administrative conduct-than upon the caprice of a single man, who may be gone to-morrow, who may preside over the India Board and govern India for a fortnight, and then be suddenly deposed by some gust of Parliamentary caprice, by the mistaken tactics of an inexperienced party leader, or the neglect of an inefficient 'whip-per-in.'"—Administration of the East India Company, pp. 132, 133.

If this be an argument against the system of "double government," it is only an argument against it so far as it bears upon the mischief arising from the delegation of so large an amount of power to one moiety of the government-that moiety being a single man, who is seldom chosen on account of any particular fitness for the office of Indian Minister, and who is liable to be suddenly displaced on the occurrence of any one of those numerous mischances which continually threaten the existence of our English cabinets. The arguments of the writer are all in favour of a double government that shall be really a double government-a government of two parts mutually controlling one another. He contends not for the abolition-but for the perfection of the system. If he has anything to say against the system, it is that it is not sufficiently a double government. Mr. Tucker's arguments are all in the same direction. What he was most anxious to secure was "a disposition of the powers of the Board and the Court in such a manner as to maintain a just equipoise without compromising the efficiency of the system." - [Memorials of Indian Government, p. 33.] - "Unity of design and action," adds this able and honest stateman, "is very essential in the exercise of political power; but the plan before us would seem to put us forward before the public as an administrative body, to be entrusted with certain mechanical functions, whilst all substantial power would rest with administration is, I think, that which assigns is ignorant and irresponsible, and yet pow-

er, and bestows unlimited power without direct responsibility." In this last powerful antithetical sentence, Mr Tucker hits the blot. The Court of Directors have hitherto enjoyed responsibility without power, and the Board of Control power without responsibility. We do not here speak according to the statute, but according to the fact. The Court of Directors have been rendered a convenient scapegoat. Whatever has been done amiss has been laid to their charge. It matters not how powerless they may have been. It matters not how strenuously they may have protested against measures which they could not prevent. If those measures were carried into effect, through the agency of the Board of Control, the Court of Directors have been denounced by public writers and public speakers, and have suffered in public estimation, on account of misdeeds of which they have not been the instruments but the victims. Whatever, therefore, may be the law, the fact is, that the Company have borne the responsibility, whilst all the real power has been in the hands of the Board of Control.

This is the real defect of the "double government." The remedy lies upon the surface. Either the power of the Board of Control should be diminished, or its responsibility increased, "It is unquestionable," says Mr. Tucker, "that where large powers are to be exercised there should be direct responsibility; and that there should also be found knowledge and experience to regulate their exercise." Hitherto there has often been in the Board of Control, not only power without responsibility, but power without knowledge. It is very certain that in the formation of a new Cabinet, the office of Indian Minister is one which is never held of any great account. It generally happens, not that the man is to be fitted for the office, but that the office is to be fitted to the man. It is not asked, "Whom have we amongst us capable of presiding at the Board of Control?" but "What shall we do with — if we do not give him the Board of Control?" We do not presume that Mr. Bright and his associates will question this obtrusive fact. And yet whilst so much is said about improving the character of the Court of Directors, we hear nothing about the necessity of improving the character of the Board of Control. The argu ments of the India Reform party have hith-It would make us something erto resolved themselves into this, that belike a steam-engine, which the hand of the cause the Board of Control is bad, the Court engineer is wont to stop or put in motion at of Directors is to be abolished-because Now, the very worst system of the Indian Minister appointed by the Crown

left just where it is.

Ministers who have introduced the new In- to be restricted. In short, as regards the dia Bill, they have practically endorsed Home Government, the general tendency those put forward by the India Reform of the new India Bill is to weaken the au-party. If their conclusions do not keep thority and lower the dignity of the East pace with their premises, it is not because, India Company, and to increase the power whilst admitting that the present system of of the Crown. double government has worked well, they have attempted to improve it, but because opposed in Committee by no inconsiderable these attempts have been made in the wrong section of the House of Commons, but upon again the old story of the man and the lion. obtained. It may be doubted whether, in The sculpture was wrought by the man, and so the lion was undermost in the struggle, the best of the divisions, have had the best Doubtless, if the company had manipulated of the argument. Upon the subject of the Ministers would have been diminished. But are surprised to see Sir Charles Wood quotas the Bill was framed by the Crown Min- ing the authority of Mr. Tucker. That existers, and it was necessary, on account of perienced and upright Director was of opin-the pressure from without, to do something, ion that, though the territorial business might that something consisted in the diminution be done by "twenty, or oven sixteen Direcof the power of the Court of Directors, and tors," it would be expedient, for the followthe expansion of the Crown element in the ing reasons, to preserve the present number new Indian constitution. Certainly, no case inviolate :has yet been made out-no facts have been and weed to warrant this practical conclusion. All the facts, illustrative of the evils of the old system of double government, only tend to show that the Board of Control have hitherto possessed too much power and too little responsibility; and that if the little responsibility; and that if the value of the process of the larger number. The patronage can, with more safety, be assigned to the larger number. There is a freater probability of our commanding the services of men of high character and independent influential in the double government, the present system, strange and anomalous as is great blunders and the great crimes which may appear in theory, is, that is collects together have so retarded the domestic improvement, men from different branches of society, possesshave so retarded the domestic improvement of India would never have been perpetrated.

the East India Company is to be more limited in number. Its twenty-four members, or (including the six directors, "out by rotation") is thirty members, are hencefurnard in body, which no ministry could safely attion") its thirty members, are henceforward tion ") its thirty members, are henceforward to be reduced to eighteen. Of these eight lie principles. Their power and independence teen members, six are to be nominated by would diminish with the diminution of their the Crown. The salaries of the Directors number; and they would no longer constitute are to be slightly increased; and, on the other hand, their patronage is to be dimin- the selfish policy which too often displays itself ished. All the civil patronage of the Company is to be taken away from them. Those valuable "writerships," of which we have be sound or unsound, whether Mr. Tucker's heard so much, are henceforth to be the property of the public. There is to be an open tain that the ministerial proposition to recompetition for them. The more valuable competition for them. The more valuable duce the number of Directors derives no portion of the military patronage is to share support from it.* But, in our opinion, Mr. the same fate; commissions in the Engineers and Artillery corps, and a certain numneers and Artillery corps, and a certain number of those in the Infantry—that is to say, only cited Mr. Tucker's authority orally in the all the appointments known as Addiscombel House of Lords, but adduced it in his letter to the

erful, his power should be increased, his ir- appointments, are to be competed for in the responsibility diminished, and his ignorance same way. In other important respects, as in the uncontrolled selection of members Whatever may be the arguments of the of Council, the powers of the Company are

All these several restrictions have been The fact is, that we have here each point a Ministerial majority has been the new India Bill, the power of the Crown reduction of the number of Directors, we

Court of Directors had really been more fortune. One of the practical advantages of the ing habits of business, and varied knowledge and experience in almost every profession and Let us examine, somewhat in detail, the nature of the proposed remedy. Under the new India Bill the Court of Directors of upon each other. Their connexions are numein this country.

> Now, whether the views here expressed authority be of any or no weight, it is cer-

Tucker's views are extremely sound-his moiety of its present numerical strength, is authority of the greatest weight. In 1833, as gratuitously humiliating to the East Inwhen the above passage was written, the dia Company as it is unworthy of the arguments it contained were considered to be conclusive; and the old number of Directors was retained. Now, what has happened since to invalidate these arguments, and to warrant an opposite conclusion? The Company's territories have been greatly extended, and the territorial business of the Court greatly increased. If, in 1833, it was desirable that there should be twenty-four Directors, why is it now desirable that the number should be reduced to eighteen? It is very fairly argued by the chairman and deputy-chairman of the Court of Directors, that, "taking into consideration the magnitude of the British empire in India, the varied circumstances of its vast population, the extent and number of the native states embraced within the area of the government of the paramount power, or bordering on its frontier; the extent, and in many respects the different character of the native armies of the three presidencies; having reference, moreover, to the variety of revenue systems which obtain in India, and to the large operations of finance as connected with the government at home and abroad, which require to be undertaken from time to time; and adverting to the fact, that the duties of the Court are continuously performed, from day to day, throughout the whole year, without any vacation, it must be apparent that to secure the presence in the Court of Directors of the requisite personal knowledge and experience on all affairs relating to this, the largest and most important of the British possessions, the present number of Directors is necessary." [Letter of the Chair-man and Deputy-Chairman of the East India Company to the President of the Board of Control, July 1, 1853.] We have yet to be made acquainted with anything on the other side more cogent then these practical considerations added to those stated by Mr. Tucker, to induce us to forego the opinion that there is little wisdom in the reduction of the number of Directors. The tendency of the measure is certainly to diminish the independence of the Court and to degrade its character in public estimation. If it be desirable to retain, even for a brief period, the Court of Directors of the East India Company as a governing power, it is desirable to uphold its dignity. But we cannot help thinking that the measure by which the Court is to be suddenly reduced to a

Court of Directors, of July 5, 1953. And as far as we can see, it is the only argument which either speech or letter contains.

Crown Ministers who have decreed it. If the downfal of the Company be determined upon, at all events care should be taken "ne non procumbat honeste." Nothing can be more impolitic than to cover it with shame.*

In the first instance, according to the provisions of the new bill, the Court of Directors is to be strengthened by the displacement of nine working members of the old Court, and the substitution of three Government nominees. The three following vacancies are to be filled up, as they occur, by Ministerial nomination. The Court will then consist of eighteen members, twelve elected by Proprietors of East India Stock, and six nominated by the Government of the day. To the principle of this limited nomination we see no very eogent objection. lieve that the evils of the canvassing system have been much exaggerated. But it is eertain that many men, whom it would be extremely desirable to associate with the Home Government of India, have been deterred by their insuperable aversion to the canvass, from seeking a place in the Direction. It is not certainly a consequence of high reputation that the men so distinguished should make the best Directors. Some of the very best Directors who have ever sat in the Court have been men of very limited Indian experience. But, making every allowance for occasional disappointments-admitting that great names are often great delusions-we still recognise the expediency of connecting with the councils of Leadenhall Street such men as Lord Metcalfe, Mr. Elphinstone, Mr. Holt Mackenzie, Sir George Clerk, Sir George Pollock, Mr. Robertson, Mr. Wilberforce Bird. Mr. Willoughby, and other men of the same stamp, who have brought home with them great Indian reputations and great Indian experience. It is not to be doubted that such men have been deterred by the

^{*} The Court of Directors, now consisting of thirty members, is to be weeded by itself. One half of its components are to be cast adrift in April We do not allude to the personal consideranext. We do not allude to the personal considera-tions suggested by such an arrangement as this—to the embarrassing position in which the Directors, thus called upon to sacrifice and be sacrificed, are placed —to the many cases of individual hardship involved in the sudden expulsion from office of men who in the sudden expulsion from once of their who have spent some of the best years of their lives in the endeavour to obtain an important and honour-able appointment. But we cannot help commenting on the loss of dignity entailed upon the Court by a measure involving so many circumstances of lutierous perplexity, and which has already brought down upon them a shower of ridicule against which nothing can shelter them.

canvass for seeking a place in the Home pointment would be cancelled by the Board Government of India. To secure the ser-vices of men so distinguished and so quali-fied, it is proposed that a third part of the found wanting. There is everything under vernment of the day. The clause, however, of a job. the Crown.

any such conclusion? The Court of Direc it is above all things desirable to maintain. tors being in no sense a family party, but

Directors should not be elected, but nominated. The power of nomination, as we have shown, under the new India Bill, has dom and discretion, and nothing as far as devolved upon the Crown-that is, the Go- we can see, to render likely the perpetration

in which this was decreed, did not pass But the same cannot be said of nomina-through committee in the House of Commons without a severe contest, originating thing is more notorious than that ministerial in an amondment proposed by Mr. Vernon patronage is turned to political uses, and Smith, to the effect that the power of nomination should be vested not in the Crown, reason to think that these India House apbut in the Court of Directors. Neither pointments would form an exception to the arrangement is free from objection. But it general rule. But if there be in connexion appears to us, after an attentive perusal of with the great subject of Indian governall that has been said on both sides of the ment any one truth more incontrovertible question, and much previous consideration than all the rest, it is this, that it is essential of all its bearings, that the balance of argu- to the prosperity of India that the government is in favour of nomination by the ment of the country should in no wise be a Court of Directors, a veto being given to government of Party. We can conceive nothing more mischievous than that any The only legitimate object of the con-number of the Directors should be political templated change is the infusion into the tools, deriving their existence from, and sub-Court of Directors of greater ability and servient to, the minister of the day. The experience than can be secured under the safeguard of India has hitherto been the freeexisting system, and if men of high charac- dom of the East India Company from all ter and attainments are as likely to be political bias. The Court of Directors are nominated by the Company as by Her of no party. There is no such thing as a Majesty's Ministers, we can see nothing to party question ever discussed at the India justify the preference that has been given to House. Every question is tried on its own the latter. As it is not contended that the minimerits. Its justice or its policy is regarded isterial element is not sufficiently strong in without a thought of its effects upon the the "double government," and there can be position of contending parties. The war in nothing gained by any gratuitious degrada-tion of the Court of Directors, it is only by man. The war in Scinde was made by a sssuming that the Government of the day Tory. But both measures were denounced is more likely to exercise the power of with equal emphasis by the same body of selection with wisdom and discretion, that men in Leadenhall Street. The East India we recognise the expediency of the new Company has long stood up as a barrier bearrangement. But what is there to justify tween India and Party, and such a barrier

We look with extreme jealousy, therean association of men differing greatly from fore, upon any measure, the tendency of one another, in respect of character, profes- which is to weaken the independence of the sion, political opinions, social connexions, Court by infusing into it the political or and personal interests, would be little likely party element which obscures the abstract to enter into a conspiracy against common justice and policy of great measures, and weal, and to be swayed by private consider- makes personal considerations paramount in ations to select men not qualified to dis- the councils of the state. That the system charge their duties with advantage to the of ministerial nomination proposed in the State, Taking the narrowest view of the new India Bill will have this pernicious tenquestion, relying not at all upon the honour dency is not to be questioned. The first of the Directors, we may still confide in their selections will, doubtless, be made without prudence. Nothing could be more suicidal reference to any other considerations than at such a time than an abuse of the trust the individual fitness of the nominees. Inreposed in them. A bad selection would deed, there is reason to believe that in the be an act of gratuitous and unmeaning folly, first instance, whether the nomination were the perpetration of which it is almost im- left to the Company or to the Crown, the possible to conceive. An objectionable ap-same men would be selected. But we have

no guarantee for the continuance of this im- | As, except in very rare cases of incompetency partiality. The watchfulness of Parliament or misconduct, every Hailey bury student remay subside. The difficulties of the minis- ceives an appointment in the Company's try may thicken. A weak government may, covenanted civil service, a Haileybury nominin course of time, be substituted for a nation is tantamount to a gift of one of these strong one. A time may come when all appointments. As the offices in this cothe patronage in the hands of ministers venanted service are worth from £400 to must be turned to party uses, when every £10,000 a-year, these "writerships" contide-waiter's or letter-carrier's appointment stitute the most valuable portion of the must be given with an especial object; patronage of the East India Company. It when parliamentary support must be purious now proposed to strip the Company enchased at any cost, even at the cost of hon-tirely of these perquisites of office, and to our; when everything must go down before open Haileybury College to public compethe one great overpowering instinct of self- tition. there be, when corruption is rioting every- is one, the abstract excellence of which all tribution of the Indian patronage? And it willingly concede that the British dependenis not only that in such a conjuncture the cies in India should be in no wise regarded minister of the day may appoint to seats in as a great farm in the hands of a few private the Leadenhall-street council men whose ad- individuals—that the perquisites of office are herence is to be purchased, or whose ser- of no moment or account in comparison with vices are to be rewarded; but that, through the welfare of the people-that all monothese Government nominees, much of the polies injurious to the public weal should imordinary India House patronage may be mediately cease and determine-and that, turned to political uses. The late discredit therefore, if the administration of British able revelations of the manner in which the India can be carried on in a manner more Dockyard patronage was recently applied conducive to the interests of the people under to electioneering purposes, have not certain- a system of public competition, than under ly done much to strengthen our faith in one of private nomination, it is indisputable ministerial nominations.

the influence of the Crown, as represented tary appointments open, under certain rehowever excellent it may be in theory, be its projectors anticipate. The subject is one therefore, to consider it in detail.

Under the existing system, no person can ordeal at the civil college at Haileybury; transferring, under cover of a popular idea, and no person can enter Haileybury without the civil patronage of the East India Coma nomination from an East India Director. pany to the hands of the Ministers of the

preservation. In such a crisis what hope can Now, the principle of public competition where, that purity will preside over the dis- reasonable men must acknowledge. We that the youth of England should, without It is true that the new India Bill, by reference to the great question of Leadenreducing the amount of patronage in the hall-street connexion, be suffered to compete hands of the Directors, limits the extent to freely for the loaves and fishes of Indian which the Government of the day can, office. But a grave doubt here suggests through its nominees, convert appointments itself as to the practical effect of the proposed in the Indian service into instruments of system upon the future efficiency of the political advancement. But as a large num- Indian civil service. The new bill provides ber of cadetships still remain in the gift of that, "subject to such regulations as may be the Company, and as these, in the present made by the Board of Commissioners for over-stocked condition of all the home prothe affairs of India, any person being a fessions, are eagerly coveted, much harm natural born subject of Her Majesty who may still be done by an undue exercise of may be desirous of being admitted into the College at Haileybury or Military Seminary by the Government of the day. At the same at Addiscombe, or of being appointed an time we are not sure that the new system assistant-surgeon in the Company's forces, of competition, which is to throw all the shall be permitted to be examined as a cancivil appointments and all the scientific mili-didate for such admission or appointment." We can have no clear conception, therefore, strictions, to all her Majesty's subjects, will, of the manner in which the competition is to be carried into effect until we know what attended with those practical results which the regulations are to which the competition is to be subject. It is obvious that reguof very great importance. We propose, lations might be framed, which, under the specious name of open competition, would render the system a closer one than that hold an appointment in the covenanted civil which exists at the present time. The whole service of the East India Company, who has thing, therefore, may be little better than which exists at the present time. The whole not passed through the required educational "a delusion and a sham"-a pretext for

Crown. But we will assume, for the sake all belong, not, as we have seen it said, to a of argument, that the proposed competition period of two centuries and a half, but to the system is to be a reality, not a pretence— last fifteen years of our rule. Under no that the principle will be really carried out, system are we likely to rear abler ad-and that any well-educated youth in the ministrators than the Metcalfes, the Ander-country will be permitted to present himself sons, and the Clerks, of whom we are now to the Haileybury examiners, to say that he speaking. But these, it may be said, are is a candidate for a writer-hip, and to claim merely exceptional cases, rising out far that his qualifications should be put to the above the dead level of the service, and not

whether the young men thus selected from among numerous competitors (we assume again that the competition will be eager and of Directors. If this can be demonstrated, of the Indian civil service is to be tested by all argument is at an end. know at least that the Civil Service of the East India Company, as at present constituted, is not wanting in administrative zeal and ability of the highest order. A few exceptional cases there may be; but, as a whole, it may be said of our Indian civilians, that a more intelligent, a more industrious, a more upright body of administrators does not exist in any part of the world. There is justice in what Mr. Kaye says upon the subject, and we are not inclined to question the soundness of the test as far as it goes :--

"It was said by Canning during the debates on the India Charter of 1813, that there could not be anything radically wrong in the system which had produced all the able Company's servants, who had given their evidence before the Parliamentary Committees. Forty years later the same remark might be made, with this pungent addition. The system cannot be radically wrong which has produced the able Company's servants whom the Queen's Ministers have selected from time to time, not merely to govern the Crown colonies, but to extricate them from difficulties into which they have been thrown by the intemperance or incapacity of men who have not been trained in the Indian service. When great colonial embarrassments arise-and they do arise sometimes-it is commonly to the talents, to the temper, to the discretion, to the firmness, and to the integrity of some servant of the Company, that the perplexed Minister looks for the saving hand that is to extricate him from his dilemma."

In Jamaica, in Canada, in Ceylon, at the Mauritius, and at the Cape, the civil servants of the East India Company have administer- the relative amount of book-learning aced the affairs of the Crown colonies with as quired by the different candidates for Haileymuch advantage to the State as credit to bury scholarships. We have to a doubt themselves-and the signal examples of ad- that the degree of proficiency attained will ministrative efficiency, to which we allude, be very great. We have not a doubt that

to be taken as specimens of their class. To The only important question then is, a certain extent, this, of course, must be granted. The Company's civilians are not all Metcalfes any more than Her Majesty's officers are all Wellingtons. But because crowded) will, on proceeding to India, make Metcalfe and Wellington are great men, it better administrators than those, under the does not follow that all their comrades were existing close system sent out by the Court small. Our conviction is that the efficiency There is nothing a surer and more comprehensive standard more to be said upon the subject. But the than that afforded by the production of a few conclusion, plausible as it is must not be great names. And it is unquestionably of too hastily accepted. In the first place, we far more importance that the service should be stocked with good revenue and judicial officers of all ranks, than that it should be adorned by a few Metcalfes and Clerks. We are not of the pumber of those who

> contend that because a system has been found to work well, no effort should be made to improve upon it. The "let well alone" principle may be carried to such an extent as to stand lamentably in the way of progress. Something in the onward march must be hazarded, or no great social improvements will ever be brought to perfection. But there are some experiments more uncalled for and more hazardous than others. and we require at least to be assured, when violent changes of the kind are projected, that there is some reasonable ground for believing that the new system will be more beneficial than the old. Now, the present reform proceeds entirely on the hypothesis that the boy who distinguishes himself most in collegiate exercises, is likely to maintain the same forward position in all the practical concerns of adult life. It is assumed that we shall secure for the Indian service a better class of administrators by educating under a severer forcing process than is now necessary, a certain number of striplings up to the highest point of scholastic proficiency that can be attained at this period of incipient manhood. We do not know any kind of test that can be applied under the new system-we do not know any kind of examination that can be conducted-which will do more than ascertain, and that imperfectly,

the Haileybury "course" of study will be , half a century of experience—experience of must acknowledge that we have no great faith in the durability of attainments of this class. The fact is, that powers unnaturally developed prematurely decay :--

"Like those forced flowers which only bloom, One hot night, for a banquet room.

We want more serviceable stuff than thissomething of a rougher and readier kindsomething that will stand the wear-and-tear of active life under an exhausting climate. And knowing as we do that much more than book-learning is required to make a good Indian administrator-and that the process by which large supplies of this book-learning are acquired at an early age, is often productive of lamentable degeneration of other qualities, even more essential to the practical success of the civilian in adult life in the East, we cannot help doubting whether the competition system, the very essence of which is this hot-bed process of forcing, will really produce a more serviceable class of administrators than those to whom is now entrusted the management of the domestic affairs of our Indian Empire.

Upon such a subject as this we hold that the authority of Mr. Tucker is of much weight.* What he wrote he wrote after

* Very much to the point also is the following passage—the growth also of actual experience—taken from a periodical to which frequent reference has been made during the pending debates on the new India Bill, the Calcutta Review:—"There is no service in the world, no climate under the sun, in which the union of moral and intellectual with physical superiority should be an object of more earnest prayer than in the civil service of India: no profession where the 'mens sana' in the 'corpore sana' should be the point which all education should ever keep in view. Yet with numerous examples ringing in our ears, and with a foreknowledge that all their vigour will be required to meet the encroachments of a burning climate, this detestable practice of overfagging is persisted in by the students of almost every generation. Even in the climate of England the effects of hard reading for a first class have ruined the prospects of many a gifted individual—many a noble heart has cracked under the pressure of preparation for an approaching degree. What then shall we say for an approaching degree. What then shall we say of such an expenditure of faculties on the part of those whose frame is to be exposed to the damps of Bengal or the hot winds of Hindostan, to the scorching of Googerat, or the noxious winds of the Coucanof Googerat, or the noxious winds of the Coucan— who may have to brave, if required, the fatigues of a journey in the glaring months of May and June, or may be destined to imbibe a slow and secret poison from the leaden gusts of the Sunderbunds." and intelligent and experienced writer says, in another part of the same paper, "The first thing which strikes us when searching for practical results is the impossibility of predicting the future success of the man from the collegiate course of the student.

got up with consummate effect. But we the character of the civil service and the working of the system, gathered partly in India, partly in the India House. The following passage, written in 1843, relates immediately to the Haileybury process of education, but bears closely upon the question of competition :-

> "Our excellent and accomplished professors at Haileybury wish to send forth men, like themselves, eminent and highly-finished scholars; but this is not what we want. We do not require literary razors to cut blocks. Our service presents a vast deal of rough hard work, for which intellectual hatchets are more suitable. We want young men of sound principles and good understanding and moral habits, with minds fresh and pure, and with frames healthful and strong to sustain the laborious duties of the service. Mark the attenuated frames of some of our first-rate scholars, and say if they are fit to undergo the fatigues and annoyances of a suffocating cwcherry for eight or ten hours successively. This was no uncommon occurrence with our judicial functionaries. Before the College was thought of, the civil service of India produced men of vigorous intellect and of a masculine character, fully equal in every attribute of statesmen to those who have succeeded. Not that I undervalue education; on the contrary, I appreciate it most highly, although it may happen, now and then, that the usefulness of the scholar is neutralized by the pride of the pedant. I must repeat, that we do not require for our service deep theologians, profound lawyers, crudite physicians or metaphysicians, or subtle political economists. The men most dis-tinguished in our service have gone out to India before the age of eighteen; and when they felt a deficiency, some of them have educated themselves. I am not, however, at all disposed to depreciate the value of our College—far from it; I have myself too often had occasion to regret that I did not enjoy the advantage of a College education. Let us not, however be led away by visionary speculations so far as to sacrifice a substantial good, or to incur a contingent evil, by giving an undue preference to scholastic learning. If our first soldiers and civilians had learning. If our first soldiers and civilians had possessed the learning of the first James, India, suspect, would never have been conquered by us; or, if conquered, would not long have been retained by the force of erudition. In fact, what we most want in India are men of good understanding, of moral character, and of industrious habits. There are some situations, no doubt, where talents and attainments of a high order are eminently useful; but, in general, the substance, and not the polish, is that to which we should most look."

> It would be superfluous to enter a protest against the hypothesis, that in stating these

college by no single addition from the common herd. We may look down the roll for a series of years, [Again, we may see others apparently 'marked, and our eye be attracted by names sufficiently quoted, and signed,' but whose after-career has not familiar from their after-career, but distinguished at I answered to the promise of the early start."

we are, in any way, depreciating the value of such learning as is acquired in the schools. We estimate these scholastic acquirements as highly as Mr. Macaulay himself. But we cannot bring ourselves to believe that the literary proficiency of the boy fairly foreshadows the practical success of the man. It is hardly sufficient, to establish a point of this kind, that a few great names should be quoted-that it should be stated, as it was by the brilliant Member for Edinburgh, in the course of the debate on the second reading of the India Bill, that Chief Baron Pollock, Judges Alderson and Maule, and others, took the highest University honours. To the names he cited might have been added that of Lord Langdale; and, writing as we do with especial reference to the subject of Haileybury education, it would be a bêtise of extreme magnitude to omit the name of the present distinguished principal of that institution, Henry Melville, who was senior wrangler and Smith's prizeman. These were all Cambridge men. Oxford has put forth at least one notable illustration of the fact that the boy is father of the man in the case of Sir Robert Peel, who distanced all his cotemporaries and took a "double first" in 1808. But these cases, adduced by Mr. Macaulay in his very clever but inconclusive oration, are, after all, only exceptional cases, culled from the University annals of the last fifty years. The cases, indeed, that support the competition principle are singularly few. If any valid arguments are really to be drawn from the revelations of the Oxford and Cambridge Calendars, we are almost afraid that the numberless records of distinguished University men, who have done nothing in after life to fulfil the promise of their youth, must be taken as a proof that a facility of acquiring book learning, whether belonging to the literis humanoribus or to the exact sciences, is really no proof of the existence of that serviceable kind of intellectual energy which pushes a man, in after years, in front of his cotemporaries.

Indeed, we have often thought that these exhibitions of early intellectual development are very melancholy things to contemplate. Anything like forcing is bad. Sickliness, not health, comes out of it. An excessive expenditure of vital energy, whether physical or intellectual, at the most critical period of life - that of incipient manhood - is almost certain to bring down its punishment upon the spendthrift. This cannot be too emphatically repeated. Outraged nature is laborious days," only that he may take the always resentful. There may arise cases, foremost place among his contemporaries—perhaps, in which the punishment is long and go out at the head of the list of the five

arguments and advancing these authorities, I deferred. There may even be some robust constitutions which seem to defy, from first to last, under the safeguard of a peculiarly happy organization, the ravages of excessive work. But it may be laid down, as a general rule, as intelligible in theory as it is apparent in practice, that any overstraining of the faculties in early life is followed by symptoms of exhaustion and decay in manhood-that any kind of undue excitement has its corresponding period of reaction and prostration-in a word, that to overwork the boy is to debilitate the man. Now, if there be any soil in the world for which plants of a hardy growth are required, it is the soil of our Anglo-Indian possessions. It demands a very large supply of vital energy to carry a man profitably through the work of an Indian civil servant. The best scholars do not, for this reason, make the best judges and collectors. The most proficient boys have not generally risen into the most distinguished men. For our own parts, we candidly acknowledge-trusting that the acknowledgement will not render us fairly amenable to the sarcasms of Mr. Macaulay, as writers to be classed with those worldlings who sing, inter pocula, such chants as the following :-

"A scholard, when just from his college broke

Can hardly tell how to cry bo to a goose! Your Noneds, and Bluturchs, and Omurs, and

'Fore George they don't signify this pinch of

To give a young gent right education, The army's the only good school in the nation; My schoolmaster called me a dunce and a

But at cuffs I was always the cock of the school-"

that we have never seen a pale-faced, gauntframed student, groaning under a weight of prizes at the Haileybury examination, without earnestly wishing to see a few less prizes opposite to his name in the college list, and a few more notches opposite to it in the cricket-score. We do not mean by this that cricket is better than learning; but we do mean that health and energy and elasticity are very essential to the young Indian civilian, and that the forcing process of which we speak is destructive of all.

Now, if after his entrance into Haileybury, the young student, though he knows that only extreme incapacity or misconduct will deprive him entirely of the advantages of his nomination, "scorns delight and lives

is likely to be the application of the forcing system, when not the rank in the service, but actually the service itself, is the object of competition. The foreing will now be the work of years. Years of unhealthy intellectual excitement will precede the day of examination. The process will be carried on uninterruptedly after admission within the college walls; so that whatever may be the evil at the present time, it will be tre-bled under the new system. The amount of "cramming" which will go on, as soon as the new competition clause is brought into operation, will be something terrible to contemplate. We cannot think that it will contemplate. We cannot think that it will work well. We do not know, as we have said, any mode of examination, in the hands of the ablest and honestest men to whom this responsible office can be entrusted, which can do more than determine the amount of actual knowledge acquired by each candidate. Presuming that the candidates are very numerous-and if they are not numerous, the principle is only imperfectly carried out-it will be impossible for the examiners to discriminate satisfactorily between mere acquired book learning, the result of hard cramming, and that which is the grow of a hardier, more serviceable kind of talent, which lasts a man throughout his life. And if they could so discriminate, they must give the preference to the result rather than to the capacity—to the actual rather than to the conjectural. We know no system of public competition and public examination which gives the examiner the power of classthey do, but to what they are capable of He must be guided by actual doing. results.

From all this we think it may be not unfairly deduced that the competition system, whatever may be its theoretical recommendations, will not have the effect of supplying the Indian civil service with a class of men better qualified to carry on the administrative duties of the three Presidencies. We do not assert-we are by no means of opinion-that the service cannot be improved. We should have been glad to see some regulations framed for the better training of the young civilian. We believe that his educational antecedents under the existing system, do not prepare him to take part, with any certainty of an efficient performance of his duties, in the judical business of the Whether to obviate this admitted evil it would be desirable to separate the reference to appointments in the Civil Serjudicial from the executive department of the vice of the Company, but we believe that service, we cannot now afford to inquire. they apply with even greater force to the

or six writers who proceed every half year | "If," says Mr. Tucker, in an admirable paper to each presidency-how much more violent on the education of the civil service, which we have already quoted-" If I were satisfied that the judicial branch of the service could be entirely separated, I should be disposed to make an exception in favour of a more extended course of education for that branch, because a more particular knowledge of the principles of law, of the rules of evidence, and of the practice of our courts, as well as a knowledge of our local code of regulations, might be highly useful to our judical functionaries; but this service is so blended with the revenue branch that a complete separation, I fear, could not be effected without inconvenience." Mr. Campbell, however, a younger and a bolder reformer, who perhaps after half a century of experience would question the expediency of an entire separation of the two departments, thinks that it might advantageously be effected. Whatever may be our opinion of such a change as this, it is impossible not to assent heartily to what Mr. Campbell says upon the subject of legal training. "If we are to have a separate judicial depart-ment," he writes in his recent suggestive volume on *India as It May Ee*, "it is absolutely necessary that the European judicial officers should be educated and professional jurists; and to get good jurists for India you must especially educate men to the profession. . . . To qualify men for such duties you must have the highest education added to great talent, and it is indispensable that the education should commence in England." It is certain that the judicial system, or no-system, which obtains in our Angloing candidates, with reference not to what Indian possessions, is the weakest point of our Eastern administration. Writers of very different character and very different general opinions-as Mr. Tucker, Mr. Campbell, and Mr. Norton-concur in lamenting the recent degradation of the judicial branch of the service. It is very certain that there is something wrong at the bottom of this. But because the judical service might be improved, and the present system reformed, it does not follow that a sweeping revolution is demanded. It appears to us, indeed, that the new India Bill ini tiates a revolution, but does not supply a remedy. We believe that out of the materials supplied as hitherto by the Court of Directors, a more efficient civil service could be provided. But we can as yet see no reason to anticipate that the new competition system will make any such provision.

These remarks on the proposed competition system have been written with especial 20*

arrangement by which the Addiscombe to the highest military authorities in Europe military appointments are to be thrown open to all comers,* It has been alleged, in the course of the recent debates on the India Bill, that the civil servants of the Company to whom the internal administration of our Anglo-Indian possessions is entrusted, are wanting in some of the essentials which render men competent to fill important judicial and fiscal offices; but it has never been alleged, even by the most vehement of the India reformers "below the gangway," that the officers of the Company's Engineer and Artillery Regiments are wanting in any of the qualifications necessary to the most efficient discharge of their duties. It is not pretended, indeed, that under the existing system Addiscombe has not sent forth, generation after generation of well-instructed officers in no wise behind the most be liant representatives of the military scie. o of Europe. If we were called upon to name that institution which has sent forth the greatest number of men distinguished in recent history, as soldiers and savans-as diplomatists and administrators-we should emphatically name Addiscombe. It is the great merit of the existing system that it has supplied the Indian army with men, who are not merely soldiers-not merely savans -but men in whom the military and scientific characters are duly blended, who are at the same time men of thought and men of action, who can calculate an arc of the meridian, conduct the operations of a magnetic gineer and artillery appointments-being survey, regulate a mint, construct a canal, erect a fort, defend a beleaguered city, civilize savage tribes, besiege the strongest fortresses in the world, improvise raw armies in an enemy's country, explore unknown regions, conciliate barbarous potentates, lead our own soldiery through the most difficult defiles, bristling everywhere with an armed population, or administer the affairs of newlyacquired provinces-all with equal success. It would be difficult to allege anything against the efficiency of those Engineer and Artillery regiments which have produced such men as Pollock and Whish-as Pottinger and MacGregor-as Everest and Boileauas Forbes and Irvine-as Lawrence and Dixon—as Abbott and Shakespear—as Baird Smith and Lake, and others of the same stamp whom it would be easy to mention. But, relying not at all upon great names, looking only at the general efficiency of the services, we would confidently appeal

with the question, whether the Company's Engineer and Artillery regiments are inferior to any in the world. We gather from Mr. Larpent's very interesting "Journal," that the "Duke was continually complaining of the Artillery attached to his army in the Peninsula. Since the period of which the journalist wrote, the general efficiency of that branch of the service, though the corps has had few opportunities of distinguishing itself, has greatly increased. We do not doubt that in the event of an European war, the "Ubique" regiment would be equal to the occasion. We only say that the conduct of the Indian Artillery, in every war, has evoked the commendations of the greatest generals who have served in India; and by none has it been more eulogized than by the latest of our military commanders-by Napier, by Har-

dinge, and by Gough.

We do not know what is to be gained by interfering with a system which has admittedly borne only the best fruits. We are certain that no system of preliminary competition will have the effect of improving the character of these services. If any lesson of experience, bearing directly on the question, is to be gathered from the history of the past, it is this :- That, as far as the forcing process has been applied, under the existing system, it has been found singularly inefficacious. The Addiscombe system is a system of internal competition. The enabout a third of the whole-are competed for by the cadets. It is not to be questioned that among these young engineer and artillery officers are to be found the very flower of their respective terms. But the most distinguished students have not generally become the most distinguished officers in after life. Indeed, it is melancholy to think how many who have held the foremost place of all in these scholastic competitions, have achieved nothing in the great practical contests of the outer world. Death has in too many cases brought their career to a premature close. It would be easy to show that a large number of those who have earned the highest distinctions at the seminarydistinctions rarely to be gained except after years of previous training and intense study at the institution-have so expended their vital energies in early life, that their debilitated constitutions have been unable to sustain the wear-and-tear of the exhausting climate of the East, and, after a few years of prostration, they have sunk, with all their unfulfilled promises, into the grave-or, if death has not solved the question of the expediency or inexpediency of the foreing pro-

^{*} Since this passage was in type, we have been gratified by learning that the Indian Minister intends to modify this part of the Competition Scheme, by leaving the Addiscombe appointments on their present footing.

cess, they have returned with enfecbled ministration of its affairs placed under an health and exhausted energies, perhaps with independent Lieutenant-Governor, as in the obscured intellect, to England. These are no imaginary pictures. We write with a list of names and a record of circumstances before us

We have only one more general observation to make with reference to this system of competition. The Indian services can never be really "thrown open to the public" so long as education at Haileybury and Addiscombe is as costly as it is at the present time. It would be almost as consistent to throw open a royal park "to the public," with the stipulation that no one shall enter it except in a carriage and four, with outriders, as to say that Haileybury is open to the public, as long as the cost of education is more than £200 a-year. We know that direct appointments in the Artillery and the Line, have been given by East India Directors to certain educational institutions for competition among the students, and that the mere necessary expenses of outfit and passage-money have, in some cases, sufficed to deter qualified candidates from coming forward to compete for them. We mention this only to shew how the liberality of such a system as that decreed in the new India Bill, may, after all, be more in word than in deed-how, in fact, its boasted openness and freedom may be little better than more delusions.

We must now quit this important subject, but before doing so we may advantageously call attention to the chapter in Mr. Campbell's work on the "Civil Service" of the East India Company. We do not concur in bly the necessity of keeping India beyond this able writer's conclusions. We do not think that it would be expedient to transfer the education of the young writer to one of thing good may come out of the new inter-our two great leading universities. But there est—if, indeed, it be a reality—which has is much practical information in the chapter, and some of the suggestions are worthy of attention. Mr. Campbell is a young man whose energy and ability would probably whose energy and ability would probably known as the "Young India" party, who de-have secured for him a forward place in any nounce the atrocities of the Company's govprofession. Of the Indian civil service to which he belongs he is likely to be one of tinction. But we do not think that this acthe brightest ornaments. We differ from tivity will be wholly without its uses. We him extremely on many important points; but this difference of opinion does not tend to obscure his merits.

We have now dwelt on what we conceive to be the most important portion of the new India Bill. We have treated purposely, in a matter-of-fact manner, of the practicalities of the question. There are other clauses, however, on which, if time and space had been allowed to us, we should have com-

north-western provinces, is a measure which is likely to be laden with advantageous results; and, if common report, which points to Mr. Halliday as the first Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, be not a liar, we may assure ourselves of its good working.

But, after all, quitting these individual details, and looking at the broad general question of the prosperity of India, we cannot say that we see much in the new India Bill to render us hopeful of the future. It was doubtless, intended to be an onward movement, but it appears to us to contain all the elements of retrogression. It seems to promise a worse -because a more party-ridden home government and a deteriorated body of local administrators. It weakens what was really the strong point of the existing system, and gives us nothing strong in its place. It hardly touches any admitted defects. It spoils what is good and leaves unremedied what is bad. If any one desire thoroughly to acquaint himself with the pernicious effect of party influences on the government of India, he should turn to Mr. Tucker's "Memorials of Indian Government,"-a collection of masterly papers, distinguished by as much high principle as solid sense-by as large a practical knowledge of all the subjects discussed as by power and facility of expression. We do not think that there is any volume extant which treats so largely of the practicalities of Indian Government, and there is not one that inculcates so forcithe reach of the baneful influence of party.

But we are not without a hope that somebeen awakened in favour of the affairs of our Indian possessions. We need not say that we differ from those energetic reformers, ernment and clamour loudly for its total excannot say, with reference to the general de-meanour of the House of Commons during the recent debates on the New India Bill. that anything more than a very languid kind of interest has been excited. Excepting on rare occasions, as when, for, example Macaulay or D'Israeli was addressing the House, or Bright was indulging in some biting personalities, the attendance has been meagre, and the attention distracted. It mented. The arrangement by which the cannot yet be said that Parliament has begun government of Bengal is to be detached to interest itself in Indian affairs. But there from the Supreme Government, and the ad- is an increasing number of men in the House .

least are men of moderate views and high character, as Mr. Thomas Baring, Mr. Monkton Milnes, Lord Jocelyn, and Mr. Vernon Smith-men whose judgment neither party nor prejudice can obscure. These differ greatly from the "Young India," conclave; but "Young India," as we have said, has its uses.

Though there is evil in unhealthy excitement of any kind, we cannot help thinking that there is an unhealthy torpor, which is even a worse symptom. Incessant agitation for agitation's sake would be both mis-chievous and absurd. But Parliamentary vigilance is greatly to be desired; and it were well that the Legislature should never forget that we have vast Indian possessions. Much has been said about the advantage of a Government directly responsible to Parliament. But what benefit is there in responsibility to a Parliament knowing nothing and caring nothing about India? The first thing for Parliament to do is to reform itself. If our senators would take more interest in Indian affairs, India would, doubtless, be better governed.

We rejoice, therefore, in the activity of the "Young India" party. We hope that they will add to their numbers and prosecute their studies with unwearying perseverance. We are certain that the first effect of increased knowledge of the subject will be the increased moderation of their views. If they continue, as we trust they will, to publish "India Reform Tracts," and to make speeches in Parliament, we feel assured that each succeeding Session will show how increased knowledge brings increased humility and increased toleration; and how increased humility and increased toleration will bring with them an increase of power. They are for the most part men of ability, and we are bound to believe of strong and sincere convictions, and it is only because they are wanting in moderation that they are without influence in the House.

Our observations have been entirely of a practical kind, and have related almost exclusively to the provisions of the New Bill. We are well aware that all the higher points of interest arising out of the great conditionof India question have been left untouched. Nothing has been said by us about the education-nothing about the evangelisation of the natives of India, because little or nothing has been said about these great things in the doing greater justice to these important held in lasting remembrance."

who take a deep individual interest in affairs | themes than could be done in such an article of Indian government. Some of these at as this, It is admitted by all who have given their attention to the subject, by Mr. Marshman, by Mr. Kaye, and other writers, that the sums expended by the Indian Government on the education of the people is grievously small in proportion both to the extent of the population and the revenues of the state. If Parliament will take upon itself to control the Indian minister, and to prevent the continual perpetration of ruinous wars, the East India Company will have more money to spend upon the education of the natives, and will not, we trust, be unwilling to spend it. In the meanwhile, it is not to be denied that the Government educational institutions have done something, at least in the large towns, to diffuse among the higher classes of natives the light of European learning, and that similar establishments, supported by private individuals or associations, have exerted themselves also, with immense success, in the great cause. We hope that the time is not far distant when there will be but one uniform system of education in all the schools, whether supported by Government or by missionary bodies, throughout the whole of India-when it will no longer be thought a dangerous innovation to suffer Scripture truths to be taught openly to the children of Hindoo and Mahommedan parents. Already in this respect is a striking change visible in the views of

* We may quote here with much gratification, Mr. Kaye's notice of the rise and progress of what is now the Institution of the Free Church of Scotland in Calcutta .- " It was in the month of May 1830, that Alexander Duff, a minister of the Church of Scotland, arrived at Calculta. He was then a very young man, but his wisdom was far in advance of his years. Never was purer zeal-never sturdier energy devoted to a high and holy calling. He went out to India charged by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland with the duty of establishing an educational institution for the purpose of conferring on native youths all the advantages of a sound and comprehensive European education—an educa-tion, indeed, of the highest order, 'in inseparable conjunction with the principles of the Christian faith.' It was a great experiment—a few years beisith: It was a great experiment—a rew years of fore it would have been a dangerous one. Bu'l Duff never so regarded it. He began his work; and he waited. He opened his school with seven pupils; and ere long he had 1200. There was never any reservation on the part of Duff and his associ-ates. It was openly and unequivocally avowed that the Holy Scriptures were taught in the schools. But the native children came freely to the Christian institution, and regarded their Christian teachers with affection. There are missionary schools scattered over all parts of India, and freely the children come to be taught, but there is not one which, either debates to which we have alluded, and the for the magnitude or for the success of the experi-Bill, which is the especial subject of our in-quiry, is altogether silent about them. We Duff and his associates. Bombay and Madras share dury, is altogether shent about them. We worthily in these honours; and the educational hope before long to have an opportunity of achievements of their Scotch divines deserve to be

men holding authority. Worthy hopes are | vellous Empire in the East. Prussia sends forth The taking the place of unworthy fears. gospel, and the teachers of the gospel, are venerated in high places. Though "the Camp" stands out boldly in the foreground of Anglo-Indian life, the "Mission" is not wholly obscured.* Never, indeed, has there been juster ground for a hopeful assurance that all things are tending towards the emancipation of the heathen in India from the chains of ignorance and superstition by which they have so long been bound.

Cautious it is always necessary to be; but caution must not be suffered to degenerate into timidity. There is "a stretched out arm" that will always protect us so long as we dare to do right. We may not have been altogether unprofitable servants but we have an account of our stewardship still to render, and we have not yet acquitted ourselves of the great debt of gratitude to Providence for the mighty things that have been wrought in our behalf. Our Indian Empire, it has been truly said, is the admiration and envy of the European world.

"There is not," continues Mr. Kaye, "a foreign State that does not wonder at the marvellous success which has attended, not only the progress of our arms, but the progress of our administration. France, under the burden and the trouble of a new Empire in Algeria, seeks counsel from the East India Company as to the true mode of governing Mahommedan subjects. Austria looks on with respectful wonder, gravely confessing a right understanding of all the elements of our national grandeur, except our mar-

her princes to see the great marvel for themselves, and to tell on their return how we conquer kingdoms and how we retain them. Russia, with ill-disguised chagrin, tries to believe the falsehoods of our enemies, and yet knows in her inmost heart what is the wisdom and beneficence of our rule. The marvel and the mystery are more patent to stranger eyes than to our own. We think too little of the mighty Providence which, out of a petty mercantile adventure, has evolved the grandest fact recorded in the History of the World.

"We should never close our eyes against the great truth of this mysterious interference. should enter largely into all our thoughts of the practicalities of Indian administration. The face of God has never yet been turned away from us save when we have done manifestly wrong. Often, in the weakness of our faith, we have doubted and hesitated; we have given ourselves up to petty shifts and temporary expedients, only to find that the very essence of political wisdom is to dare to do right. When that large-minded director of the Company, Charles Grant, declared that 'if from unworthy fears we should disayow our religion, he should fear that the Great Author of that religion would be provoked to withdraw his protection there from us,' he uttered sentiments which, forty years ago, were declared to be those only of an amiable fanatic. But what was once believed to be the wild mouthing of enthusiasm, is now looked upon as the language of calm and authoritative reason. Since our Indian statesmen and soldiers began to take more solemn views of their duties as Christian men, and the Directors of the Company have recognised more clearly and more gratefully the wonderful interposition of Providence in their behalf, they have achieved an amount of practical success such as never attended their efforts, when they suffered manifold idle fears and vain vaticinations to arrest the stream of Indian Progress,"-Administration of the East India Company, pp. 661, 662.

There is not a passage in the volume from which this extract is taken, which more commands an unreserved assent. The very essence of political wisdom is to dare to do right.

^{*} In Mrs. Colin Mackenzie's very interesting work, "The Mission, the Camp, and the Zenana," the reader will find much very important and novel information relative to some of of our principal missionary establishments, especially those connected with Scotland. The book is obviously that of a very intelligent lady, who has seen much and thought much, whose sympathies are always in the right direction, and who does not abstain from the expression of her strong convictions. It is a very important contribution to our stores of Anglo-Indian literature.

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